

### An Upper Bal (Svan) Text

As I observed in an earlier article (**Bedi Kartlisa XLI**, 1983), Svan texts are reasonably easy to obtain in Soviet editions of Svan materials. However, it is rare to find such texts accompanied by any kind of translation. Therefore, I determined to publish in that earlier article the English translation of a published Lašx text based on the Georgian translation provided during a series of lessons in Tbilisi 1979-80 by Shura Oniani; the Georgian translation was also included. A grammatical analysis of the original Lašx appeared in **Revue des Etudes Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes 1** (pp. 9-34) in 1985, with the Mingrelian translation following in a later volume [4, 1988, pp.21-49]. Since text 180 from Ak'ak'i Šanidze, Maksime Kaldani and Zurab Č'umburidze's 1978 «Chrestomathy of the Svan Language» (Tbilisi: University Press -- in Svan, with Georgian introduction) was also examined during those lessons with Oniani, I have decided to make available to the interested reader a parallel compendium consisting of the English, Georgian and Mingrelian translations together with a grammatical analysis of the original Upper Bal text; the Mingrelian version is essentially that which was translated from the Georgian by Nugzar Dzhodzhuva.

I begin with some emendations to the Svan and Mingrelian versions of the first text.

#### Svan

On p.18 the analysis of item [3] (8) should begin with the underlying morphological structure *\*šm-x-uγv-a-x* item [8] (1) *ax-wγv* should be split into 3 morphemes, namely *ax-wγv* where the final morpheme is the postposition 'after' and the middle exponent is the Dative marker of the pronominal base; if one compares item [31] (6) *x-š-zmān-i-x* 'they take care of her' with [38] (1) *š-a-x-š-zmā-a* 'X took care of Y', the former seems to contain an extra morpheme, namely *-am*; item [34] (14) was wrongly transcribed from the original text and should read *a-x-tam-ān+a*, as in [42] (12), which is thus a Perfect in *-ān+a* rather than the Pluperfect, as incorrectly described and which would have been *a-x-tam-ān-ān*; the Aorist would have been *a-x-tam-ān*. This means that the construction is not after all a counter-example to the rule that indirect speech in Svan involves no change of tense, as stated in the analysis. The Mingrelian equivalent is not exact, for *bayan-ep-k da-g-e-bad-u* is Aorist and should read *bayan-ep-i da-r-bad-ab-u*, which is the exact Perfect equivalent of the Georgian *bayāv-ab-i da-g-bad-ab-i-a*; item [36] (15) is surely a Present in *-a* rather than an Aorist, as stated. It follows that the Georgian should be *brč'q'in-av-an* (not *brč'q'in-av-d-*



[2] pägo i tantxērīl j̄amil=dačvir l-i-x. [3] ču i-zg-e-x lu-murq'vam lä-zg-a-isga. [4] gun x+o+č+a li-zg-e x-ā+r-x. [5] k'et(+il) eš x-o-pv-e-x. [6] tantxērīl me-txvyār l-i i k'ōj's ersk'ān-s dē+m x-ā-cvr-e i dec-s -- pirven-s. [7] kor či ladāy nā-txvyar-ēm-i layv-š̄ gveš-i x-ā+r. [8] mē+rm-a-y či x-a-mn-e, kor-te lax mušgvr-i-d yār x-o-qd-en-i, i mič-eš+d-i mas+ār-d x-u-γv-e. [9] pägo eĵ-k'alib la-c'v-āš ču l', ēre dec-e ant'q'väsg-s x-a'ĵeš, mare la-c'v-ev-d x+o+š+a x+o+č+a lu+vz+er+e l-ā+sv i kor i házv=ag+ām sār-k'd læ-gn-e x-ā-d, eč-žī+n c'q'al-ian-d x-o-q'dān-ān i x-u-γv-ān mäg. [10] či gu x-ā-d al dīna-d xaxv-d, mare ka d-ār moš x-o-bd+āv-d+a li-šgvem-s. [11] ašxv ladāy dāv an-q+ād pägv-ē la-šgom-te i okvr-ā sk'ivr-āl šu-n x-u-γv-e marglit'-ar-šv ži la-gvš-il-e, sg' ā-č+ād kōr-te, x-o-č-a ladāy x-ā+kv i čv-ē-sgur-d+a. [12] tantxērīl-d t'abäg o-x-g-e dāv-s, mare ašx-žī+n ešxv-i nā-txvyar-e ka de-š a-x-ā-d, eč-zum li-zveb x-e-k'v-ād al pistrāy-s. [13] gvian+d+i ona-s at-x-ā-d dāv-s: «k' ānq'vs la-m-ēm-d isgwi dačvir!

[14] na+q'dān+wir-d al sk'ivr-āl-s la-ĵ-hved-n+e i nač'vlaš-d hādur-d x-o-pšir-ām i x+o+č-ām gānz-s. [15] pägo-s č'ik-i la-rd-a-isga gar ot-u-rd-un-i i yvaš-ā tvel gar x-e-γv-en+i le-zob-d.»

[16] tantxērīl-s mas+ār-d at-xār-an al ambāv i x-e-k'v-ād dāv-ā x+o+l-ām gu-žī li-pšvd-e, mare pägo-d x-ā+kv: «čik' ēser mič-u es-neb-e p'asxv-i li-t'x-e i eč-ka-n+yo mič-n-ēm-u la-x-ā-mbv-āl-e.» [17] «gu+n ezer, dāv!» x-ā+kv pägo-d. [18] «ĵ'ēser ašxv ambāv-s x-ā+kv-in-n+e, eĵa-s eser čv-ēmoš ā-qsn-e, eč-ka-s eser ka x-o-nqr-i xaxv-d, d+oš eser ad-qsn-a-s, eč-ka-s eser sk'ivr-āl nā-nc'ir-yēr kā-v la-x-vēm.» [19] dāv q'abul-s o-x-q+ād i x-ā+kv: «eĵ-gvār-s unq'vs si im m-ā+kv-in-n+e i ā-x-sk'vēr, ēre mi gu-d d+oš unq'vs ān-qv-e i p'asixv d+oš e-ĵ-i-t'x-a.» [20] «yay' ēser mā-y l-i dec læ-par ču+kvā+n či-d ma-č-ēn+e.» [21] dāv-d ād-sk'ōr-e i ka la-x-t'ix: «či-d ma-č-ēn+e unq'vs gim-žī+n, dec læ-par ču+kvā+n miš-gvi pägo l-i, eĵ-gvār unq'vs d-ār i-zel-āl gim-žī+n. [22] eĵ' ānq'vs l-i ma-č-ēn+e i kveq'ana-žī+n mäg-u eč-ī na+cād l-i.»

[23] pägo-s lä-cv ot-txār i x-ā+kv: «ĵyad eser yal la-x-kad-a dāv i sk'ivr-āl eser ču le-cvr-e x-ā+r. [24] či-n ma-č-ēn' ēser ĵa mād l-i dec læ-par ču+kvā+n, ma-č-ēn' ēser l-i nā+šdv+eb-i lä-mqer i tvel i baž.» [25] dāv-d māmngveš m+oš la-x-t'ix. [26] sk'ivr-āl čv-es-cvir. [27] anā-g-ān i lī-z-i lä-y-bin-e. [28] q'ōr-žī+n at-x-ā-d: «pägo-s unq'vs eš-ī dā-s xv-ā-mb-e, nišān unq'v č' o-cur i atxe unq'vs ču d-ār m+oš mu-cvr-e, ado eč-iš-s išv-s-i ā-ptkv-e i ĵ'ĵv-s-i.» [29] tantxērīl-d x-ā+kv: «kā-v eser ād-tār, x+o+l+a nā+p'īlc'ur, ado miča cxvi-caqemd-i bed-iš-d an-sq'+ē-n-e.» [30] dāv la-zungor-uš a-č+ād miča kor-te i al-y-ār ame+čū+n a-sād-x. [31] al dāv es+nār č'abigy l-i, mare txvim-i ka li-tn-e mād x-o-šid, ode pägo-s ču čv-

äd-q'edän-i. [32] ašxv säxalc'ip-zum šu-n x-u-γv-e k'etil i tval-äš i tän-iš am-gvār ču d-ār ä-r-i.

[33] ašxv ladäy a-č+äd tantxērīl lä-txvyar-te, x-e-c'-äd šuk'v-isga txēra, daqal ču x-ō-z sgvebin+čū+n la-clār-e, k'et'ōl gar x-o-bīr-a i mič ču x-o-k'ar. [34] a-č+äd sga tantxērīl. [35] txēr-ēm-iš ču li-dgār-i x-a-k'uč, mare eǰ-gvār sa+bral tēr-ār-ži +n ka lo-x-v-sgid-da txēr', ēre at-cvādī-an, caqemād čv-ad-t'axār-e i sgā-č+äd txēra-tē'sga. [36] txēr-ēm x+o+š+ā-d-i ad-k'ar-e i q'ia-xān-ži+n jǰiv o-x-v-c'v-ān-da. [37] a-č+äd sga tantxērīl txēra-tē'sga, ot-q'ih-e q'ia-ču+n t'vet' i ž' a-x-q'vip jǰiv. [38] es+nār-i lä-dyar-āl-ži-n at-cxat'-a q'ia-s jǰiv i ču vet a-l-q'im-ē-l-i. [39] txēr-ēm kvin lä-y-xvānt', ži lä-y-švem i amsvāld-šāl x-ā+kv tantxērīl-s: «am-gvār najr eser amsvāld-s txēra-d mā+de-ī amsvāld-d mām x-o-q'r-a. [40] iva-ladäy eser im-ži+n a-x-t'ix-e mič al hašam-s, mare al ēser šu-n-u lä-y-e! [41] šomvā-y eser gu+n tam-i o-x-q-e-s, eč-ka-s eser ži-v ān-k'id al pätv, miča žaxē-v an-u-ršven i la-x-šed-n+i, hē-mma lä-mšdel-āl x-ē-r-a.» [42] ka lä-y-k'ič pätv, ka la-x-vēm tantxērīl-s i ja čv-äd-hel-än.

[43] al-a gu+n at-ənbaž-an tantxērīl-s. [44] a-č+äd eče-čū+n k'ōǰ-te-ka, γvaš a-dgār i āgi-t' ān-qid. [45] āgi-s pägo-s k' ō-x-u-mbav-e txēr-ēm-iš i miča säx. [46] ä+r-i-x am-ži+n x+o+č-ām-d j'amil-dačvir i mäg al-y-ār-s x-e-nt'y-ēl. [47] pägo x-a-k'p-un-e tantxērīl-s li-č'iž-āl-s, mare al-a dē+m i-č'iž-āl. [48] ašxv ladäy a-č+äd-äd tantxērīl lä-txvyar-te, mare eǰ-k'ālib le+rt+en ladäy mir at-marjun, ere ka imvā-y a-x-pišvd, či k' āt-kād. [49] i-zel-āl, am-ži+n sga la-x-xvīd sxvebin-isga t'q'ar buyva i lä-y-bin-e mič-eš-tē'sga li-č'vm-e txum nā-k'uš. [50] tantxērīl x-ā-pšvd-e caqamād-s i x-a-t'q'c-i, mare t'up ka k'vipx-e cxvi-s. [51] od-em-čik+d muč'v-ār-ži+n i-ncōl-e. [52] am-ži+n tantxērīl-d es-tēvr-āl-e, miča ži-kā+n k'āj-isga sanāy-s x-e-c'-äd. [53] ž' es-sk'in-e amxāv-te-ži+n i čv-es-sgur-da a-mē'sga, buyva de+š a-č+äd al sanāy-te-ži+n i ču+kvā+n čv-ad-q'ur-da. [54] tantxērīl-s ka la-kāb i lä-z dē+m-te x-ā+r i suru tam' ō-x-q+äd lic-iš i le-zvb-ēm-iš, eč-ka-s ž' ān-k'id txēr-ēm-i pätv i ž' an-u-ršven txēre. [55] am-ži+n šiš+d eme-čū+n es-padg-än txēre. [56] oxvišd yet sgā-d x-o-nqr-i-x txēr-āl. [57] ä-x-č'vād-x sga buyva-s i ginj+il-d ad-g+en-e-x. [58] tantxērīl-d maqvām x-ā+kv i kor-te li-c's-i lo-x-v-bin-e, mare txēr-ēm x-ā+kv: «mič eser mič-eš+d kvin ot-cvīr-a, eč-ī māgiēr-s eser γal im x-ā-čom-da ja. [59] ami-s eser le-ršvn-i-d māmā x-a-q'a miča najr-caxān.» [60] tantxērīl dē+m i-čom ami-s i ā-c's-i, mare txēre dē+m x-o-nqr-i. [61] eč-ka-s tantxērīl-d x-ā+kv: «mā-y eser x-e-k'v-e-s miča-š-xān-ka, eǰā-v i-šgvm-in. [62] harāk' eser kor-isga ešxv-i dačvir gar x-o-r-i, eǰa-s eser-ī dē+m äd-švën-i miča bed-ži+n, ado išgan eser hādur-d-i im ad-zār-i.» [63] eč-ka-s txēr-ēm x-ā+kv: «yayv' eser he d+ōm i-gn-i, miča dačvir eser, ašxv ladäy miča-š-

tě'sga dāv ā-m-q+ed-ē-l-i la-šgom-d, eči-s-u la-x-vēm xaxv-d i le-ydar-ad eser mām o-x-q+ed-n-i.» [64] tantxērīl-d imed x-ā+kv. [65] txēre čū-d ād-hel-ān i tantxērīl āgi-t' an-q+ād. [66] āgi-s miča dačvir t'at'-la-čxrik'-a x-a-šgur, eč-žī+n x-a-gvn-eb miča ĵamil. [67] tantxērīl-d lemesg an-ā-šv-e. [68] x+o+č+a q'velp an-sq'-e i x-ā+kv miča dačvir-s: «hat', x+o+l+a pāgo, mōle le-zveb ma m-ā-m-in, ado ošt'xv ladāy m-ā+r ma'mad. [69] am-n-ēm xārĵ o-x-v-mār-e i lā-diar-āl-žī+n k' o-x-u-nbav-e mäg: im-žī+n x-e-q'ār, im-žī+n ot-bac-e dāv-āš+d miča txvim. [70] pāgo-s at-x-ā-d: «ĵ' ēser ājem lā-y-ār ā-m-t'ex-ē-l-i kor-te, atx' ēser dāv-s mā+de-i ečā-n x+o+l-ām-i k' āt-qar-n-i.»

[71] am-žī+n dāv-ad an-q+ād q'ōr-isga, okvr-ā sāt'r i okvr-ā čāng šu-n-ad x-u-γv-e i r+a+kv: «x+o+č+ā-v unq'vs ladāy ĵ-ā+r-x!» [72] al-y-ār-d akān' o-x-k'id-x i dāv čv-el-s}sgur-da. [73] lā-y-bin-e-d li-šgvem pāgv-ēš. [74] al-y-ār q'abul-s o-x-q+ād-x. [75] dāv-d sāt'r-ōl i čāng nišān-d ka la-x-vēm. [76] ana-g-ān i x-ā+kv: «am i am lēt eser ĵa mē-q'-a+s a-zz-i min-eš-te, mādil-u x-ē-r-a-x i kverc'ār hāl moš x-e-tx-ēn-x, eč+šeld-u lā-y-qer-n-e-x min-s x-e-šgd-ōl-d-ēd-x, eĵ-k'ālib k'at.» [77] ĵa a-č+ād. [78] mē+rm+a lēt la-x-ā-g-ān-x q'or-s ešd-yor+i dāv mē-q'+i-d. [79] pāgo, tantxērīl i me-kurc'īl märe sga lā-y-qr-en-e-x i a-č+ād-x. [80] ašxv adgil-s mindver-isga eš dyam-e mäg, eĵ-k'ālib kor ču la-g. [81] gark'i+d obāš kor-ār x-a-cxip'-x, mare am+gvār d-ār l-i-x. [82] amxāv-tē'sga ā-č+ād-x kverc'ār. [83] q'ōr-te-ka x+o+č+a č'abigv lā-x-zaz-x i x-ā+kv: «ĵ' ēser l-i eĵ dāv, mu-šgvem i txērē-y mare atx-ad eser mad x-ā-šd-ēn-a txvim-i ka li-ton-e.» [84] pāgo ma-lat'-šv γveš+gim+ču vet ād-k'āp. [85] bāzi x+o+č+a ŋ-q'ī-āl a-čvmin-x. [86] eč-ka-n+γo tantxērīl-i k' ād-čič'-e-x, x+o+č+a li-zg-e=li-rd' ād-q(+)-id-x i la-mzar-ē-v l-i-šd.

#### Georgian Text

##### [1] pāgo da tantxērīl-i

[2] pāgo da tantxērīl-i jma-da a+r-i-an. [3] cxovr-ob-en k'ošk'-ian sa-cxovr-eb-el-ši. [4] jal+ian k'arg-i cxovr-eba a-kv-t. [5] k+on-eb-a i+se u-duy-t. [6] tantxērīl-i mo-nadir-e a+r-i-s da k'ide-s arčv-s ar a-rč-en-s da ca-s -- prin+v-el-s. [7] saxl-i q'ovel dye na-nadir-ev-is xorc-it sa+vs+e a-kv-s. [8] sxva-sa-c q'vela-s a-č'm-ev-s, saxl-ši tu st'umr-ad vin-me mo-s-di-s, da tav-is-tvisa-c blom-ad a-kv-s. [9] pāgo i+s-et-i še-sa-xed-av-i a+r-i-s, rom c-is varsk'vlav-s h-g+av-s, magram še-sa-xed-av-ad u+pr+o [k'arg-i] mšven+ier-i i-q'o, da saxl-i da ezo-garemo sark'e-d ga-m-xd-ar-i h-k+on-d-a, i+se supta-d e-k'av-a da h-k+on-d-a q'vela-per-i. [10] q'vela-s sur-d-a e+s kalī-švil-i col-ad, magram vera-vin u-bed-av-d-a txov+n-a-s. [11] ert dye-s dev-i mo-vid-a pāgo-s sa-txov+n-el-ad, da okro-s sk'ivr-eb-i xel-ta a-kv-s margalit'-eb-it a-vs-eb-ul-i, še-vid-a saxl-ši, «ga-marĵ-oba» u-txr-a da da'jd-a. [12] tantxērīl-ma supra da-udg-a dev-s, magram ert-

jer-ze ert-i na-nadir-ev-i ver e-q'o, i+m-xela č'am-a u-nd-od-a a+m c'q'e-ul-s. [13] gvian[-del] žam-s tkv-a dev-ma: «unq'vs! mo-m-e-c-i-t šen-i da! [14] nišn-ad a+m sk'ivr-eb-s mo-g-c-em-t da sa+pas+ur-ad k'idev u+pr+o bevr da k'arg ganj-s. [15] pägo-s č'ik-is sa-m-q'+op-el-ši-ya va-m-q'+op-eb da j'ixv-is t'vin-i-ya i-kn-eb-a sa-č'm-el-ad.»

[16] tantxērīl-s jal+ian e-c'q'in-a e+s ambav-i da u-nd-od-a dev-is cud gul-ze ga-šv-eb-a, magram pägo-m u-txr-a: «jer-o me-o da-m-a-neb-e p'asux-is mi-c-em-a da ma-s še+m+deg šen-o e-lap'arak'e.» [17] «jal+ian k'arg-i, dev-o!» u-txr-a pägo-m. [18] «me-o ert ambav-s g-e-t'q'v-i, i+ma-s-o tu a-xsn-i, mašin-o ga-mo-g-q'v-eb-i col-ad, tu ver-o a-xsn-a, mašin-o sk'ivr-eb-i jobn-is ga+mo-o mo-m-e-c-i.» [19] dev-i q'abul-s mo-u-vid-a da u-txr-a: «i+m-nair-s, unq'vs!, šen ra-s m-e-t'q'v-i da mo-a-k'varaxč'in-eb, rom me gul-ad ver, unq'vs!, mo-vid-e da p'asux-i ver g-i-txr-a?» [20] «aba-o ra a+r-i-s c-is kveš q'vela-ze u+k'et+es-i?» [21] dev-ma a-k'varaxč'in-a da u-p'asux-a: «q'vela-ze k'arg-i, unq'vs!, ca-da-xur-ul-is kveš čem-i pägo a+r-i-s, i+m-is-tan-a, unq'vs!, ara-vin da-di-s mic'a-ze. [22] i+s, unq'vs!, a+r-i-s q'vela-ze u+k'et+es-i da kveq'ana-ze q'vela-mc m-is-i sa-nacvl-o i-q-o-s.»

[23] pägo-s sa-sa-cil-o ga-u-sk'd-a da u-txr-a: «jal+ian-o, vai-me, še-m-cd-ara dev-i da sk'ivr-eb-i da-sa-t'ov-eb-el-i a-kv-s. [24] q'vela-ze u+k'et+es-i-o me ara var ca-da-xur-ul-is kveš, sa-u+k'et+es-o-o a+r-i-s mšvid-ob-is ga-g-eb-a da t'vin-i da nič'i.» [25] dev-ma vera-per-i u-p'asux-a. [26] sk'ivr-eb-i da-u-t'ov-a. [27] a-dg-a da c'a-svl-a da-i-c'q'o. [28] k'ar-tan tkv-a: «pägo-s, unq'vs!, mainc ara-vi-s da-v-a-neb-eb, nišan-i, unq'vs!, da-v-t'ov-e-o da axla, unq'vs!, vera-vin (mi)m-a-t'ov-eb-s, torem i+m-isa-s xorc-sa-c ga-v-xetk-av da jval-sa-c.» [29] tantxērīl-ma u-txr-a: «ga-e-tr-i-e-o, cud-o glaxak'o, torem čem-i mšvild-isr-is msxverp'ad ga-g-xd-i.» [30] dev-i junjul-it c'a-vid-a tav-is saxl-ši da e+se-n-i ak da-rč-nen. [31] e+s dev-i turme č'abuk'i a+r-i-s, magram tav-is ga-mo-čen-is upl+eba ara a-kv-s sanam pägo-s da-nišn-av-s. [32] ert-i sa+xel+mc'ip+o-s-odena xel-ta a-kv-s k+on-eb-a, da tval-ad da t'an-ad a+m-is-tan-a ara-vin a+r-i-s.

[33] ert dye-s c'a-vid-a tantxērīl-i sa-nadir-o-d, še-xed-a gza-ši mgel-s, txa u-dev-s c'in da-glej-il-i, cot'a-ya ga-mo-u-k'li-i-a da ma-s ga-γ-eb-ul-i a-kv-s [p'ir-i] [34] še-vid-a tantxērīl-i. [35] mgl-is mo-k'vl-a u-nd-a, magram i+m-gvar sa-bral-o tval-eb-it še-xed-a mgel-ma, rom še-e-cod-a, mšvild-i da-s-c'i-i-a da še-vid-a mgel-tan. [36] mgel-ma u+pr+o ga-a-g'o, da q'el-i+dan jval-i ga-mo-u-čn-d-a. [37] še-vid-a tantxērīl-i mgel-tan, ča-u-q'o q'el-ši xel-i da a-mo-a-jr-o jval-i. [38] turme č'am-isa-s ga-k'vex-eb-i-a q'el-ši jval-i da k'inayam da-m-xrčv-al-a. [39]

mgel-ma sul-i mo-i-tkv-a, da-i-sven-a da adamian-i-vit u-txr-a tantxērīl-s: «a+m-nairi si-k'et-e-o adamian-s mgl-is-tvis k'i ara, adamian-is-tvis ar u-kn-i-a. [40] tav-is dye-ši-o rogor da-g-i-brun-eb šen a+m madl-oba-s? magram e+s-o xel-it c'a-i-γ-e-o! [41] roca-o jal+ian ga-sa-č'ir-i mo-g-i-vid-e-s-o, mašin-o a-i-γ-e e+s tma, čem-i saxel-i-o a-xsen-e da še-g-e-c'ev-i, tu švel-a še-sa-jl-eb-el-i i-kn-eb-a.» [42] mo-i-c'q'vit'-a tma, mi-s-c-a tantxērīl-s, da tviton ga-kr-a.

[43] e+s jal+ian mo-e-c'on-a (?ga-u-k'vir-d-a) tantxērīl-s. [44] mi-vid-a i+k-ve k'ide-s-tan, jixv-i mo-k'ā-a da saxl-ši mo-i-t'an-a. [45] šin pāgo-s mo-u-q'v-a (/u-amb-o) mgl-isa da m-is-i saxe. [46] a+r-i-an a+se k'arg-ad jma-da da q'vela a+ma-t še-nat'ri-s. [47] pāgo u-rc-ev-s tantxērīl-s col-is txov+n-a-s, magram e+s ar txo-ul-ob-s col-s. [48] ert dye-s i+se-v c'a-vid-a tantxērīl-i sa-nadir-o-d, magram i+s-et-i marcx+en-ian-i dye ra-γa+c še-e-mtxv-a, rom ra-sa-c e-sr+ol-a, q'vela-per-s a-a-cil-a. [49] da-di-s, a+se še-xvd-a c'in-i+dan t'q'iur-i buya da da-i-c'q'o m-is-k'en si-rb-il-i tav-p'ir-is mt'vr-ev-it. [50] tantxērīl-i e-svr-i-s mšvild-isar-s da u-rt'q'-am-s, magram t'q'av-i uk'an-a-brun-eb-s isar-s. [51] ert-xan-s rk-eb-ze i-čer-eb-s. [52] a+se tantxērīl-ma da-a-tval+ier-a, tav-is ze-vit k'ide-ši ganjina da-i-nax-a. [53] a-xt'-a a+ma-ze da da-ǰd-a a+ma-ši, buya ver a-vid-a a+m ganjina-ze da kve-vit da-c'v-a. [54] tantxērīl-s gverd-is a-sa-kc-ev-i da c'a-sa-svl-el-i ar+sa+it a-kv-s da na+met'an-i ga-sa-č'ir-i mo-u-vid-a c'q'ī-isa da sa-č'm-el-isa, mašin a-i-γ-o mgl-is tma da a-xš+en-a mgel-i. [55] a+se uceb mand ga-č'n-d-a mgeli. [56] xut-i-ode k'vl+av a-xl+av-s mgl-eb-i. [57] še-mo-e-s-iv-nen buya-s da da-x-i-es. [58] tantxērīl-ma madl-oba u-txr-a da šin še-p'at'iz-eb-a da-u-c'q'o, magram mgel-ma u-txr-a: «šen-o me sul-i še-m-a-rč-in-e, i+m-is sa+mag+ier+o-s ra-s g-i-zam-d-i-o? [59] e+s-o sa-xš+en-eb-l-ad ar varg-a šen-s si-k'et-e-s-tan.» [60] tantxērīl-i ar švr-eb-a a+ma-s da p'at'iz-eb-s, magram mgel-i ar mi-h-q'v-eb-a. [61] mašin tantxērīl-ma u-txr-a: «ra-c g-i-nd-od-e-s-o čem-gan, i+s i-txov-e-o! [62] saxl-ši-o ert-i da-ǰa m-q'av-s-o, i+ma-sa-c ar da-v-zog-av-o šen-i gul-isa-tvis, torem sxva-s sul ra-s da-v-zog-av?» [63] mašin mgel-ma u-txr-a: «aba-o tu ar dg-eb-i-o, šen-i da-o -- ert dye-s šen-tan dev-i-o mo-vid-a sa-txov+n-el-ad -- i+ma-s mi-e-c-i-o col-ad, da sa-nan-eb-l-ad ar mo-g-i-va.» [64] tantxērīl-ma da-a-imed-a. [65] mgel-i i+se-v ga-kr-a da tantxērīl-i šin mo-vid-a. [66] šin tav-is-i da ga-mo-kek-il nacar-s u-zi-s, i+se c'ux-s tav-is-i jm-is ga+mo. [67] tantxērīl-ma cecxl-i da-a-nt-o. [68] k'arg-i γvelp-i ga-a-k'et-a da u-txr-a tav-is da-s: «ha, cud-o pāgo, cot'a sa-č'm-el-i ra-me m-a-č'am-e, torem otx-i dye v-marx-ul-ob!» [69] a+ma-n p'ur-maril-i mo-u-mzad-a da č'am-isa-s u-amb-o q'vela-per-i: ro+gor da-e-mart-a, ro+gor da-h-p'ir-d-a dev-s m-is tav-s.

[70] pägo-m tkv-a: «tu šen-o cocxali da-brun-eb-ul-x-a+r saxl-ši, dev-s k'i ara, i+ma-ze u+ar+es-sa-c c'a-v-q'v-eb-i-o.»

[71] a+se dev-i-c mo-vid-a k'ar-ši, okro-s sark'ar-av-i da okro-s čang-i xel-ta-c a-kv-s da tkv-a: «k'arg-i, unq'vsl, dje-mc g-a-kv-t!» [72] a+ma-t salam-i u-txr-es da dev-i da-žd-a. [73] da-ic-q'o k'vl+av pägo-s col-ad txov+n-a. [74] e+se-n-i da-tan+xm-d-nen. [75] dev-ma sa-k'ar-av-eb-i da čang-i nišn-ad mi-s-c-a. [76] a-dg-a da u-txr-a: «a+ma da a+m yame-s-o me-o da-m-p'at'iz-eb-el-s v-gza+vn-i tkven-tan, madli g-k+on-d-e-t-o da maq'r-eb-i ra-c met'i i-šov-o-t, i+mden-i c'a-mo-i-q'van-e-t, tkven rom g-e-k'adr-eb-od-e-t, i+m-gvar-ad...» [77] tviton c'a-vid-a. [78] me-or-e yame-s mo-a-dg-a-t k'ar-s t-or-met'i dev-i da-m-p'at'iz-eb-l-ad. [79] pägo, tantxērīl-i da me-korc'il-e k'ac-i tan-i-a+xl-es da c'a-vid-nen. [80] ert a+dg+il-a+s mindor-ši i+se bzin-av-s q'vela-per-i, i+s-et-i saxl-i dga-s. [81] irgv+iv blom-ad saxl-eb-i-a gars-še-mo-rt'q'm-ul-i, magram a+m-is-tan-a ar-c ert-i ara-a. [82] a+ma-ši še-vid-nen maq'r-eb-i. [83] k'ar-eb-tan k'arg-i č'abuk'i še-mo-e-geb-a-t da u-txr-a: «me v-a+r-o i+s dev-i m-txov+n-el-i da mgel-i-c me v-a+r-o, magram a+k-a-mde-o ar m-k+on-d-a upl-eba tav-is ga-mo-čen-isa.» [84] pägo si-q'var-ul-it uk'an k'inayam c'a-i-ko-a. [85] a+ma-yam k'arg-i keip-i gada-i-xad-es. [86] še+m+deg tantxērīl-i ga-a-sij-es, k'arg-i cxovr-eba-q'op-n-a ga-a-t'ar-es, da da-loc-v-il-i-mc v-i-q'o-t [da-loc-v-il-i-mc v-a+r-t]

### Mingrelian Text

[1] pägo do tantxērīl-i

[2] pägo do tantxērīl-i da do jima r-e-n-a. [3] o-xor-an-a q'ors'am+i o-xor-u-s. [4] jal+am jgir+i cxor+eba u-γ-u-n-a. [5] k+on+eba teš u-p-un-a. [6] tantxērīl-i nt'q'-al-i r-e do k'inde-s skver-s va-t'-eb-ul-en-s do ca-s(i) -- ma-purin-el-s. [7] ?ude ir-dya-s na-nt'q'-ol-iš xorc-it(i) e-pš-a u-γ-u. [8] šxva-sa-ti arjo-s č-an-s, ?uč+a mitin-i o-k'at-u-(n-)da, do mu-š+o-ti xolo brel+i u-γ-u. [9] pägo ti-jgua mik'-a-jin-al+i re ca-š muricx-i-s ko-g-a, mara mik'-a-jin-al-o umos+i sk'vam+i r-d-u, do oze do k'ar-i sark'e-cal+o a-p-u-d-u gino-rt-el+i, ti-jgua supta-t u-k'-eb-u-d-u do u-γ-u-d-u ir-pe-li. [10] ir-k'o-s/arjo-s o-k'o-d-u osur-o, mara mi-tin-s v-a-bed-e-d-u t-iš(i) txu-al-a. [11] art+i dya-s ndem-i-k ku-mo-rt-u pägo-š(i) o-txu-š+a, do xe-s u-k'-eb-u margalit'-ep-it(i) e-pš-a orko-š(i) zanduk'-ep-i, min-i-l-u ?ude-š+a, «go-morjg-u-a» k-u-c'-u do ka-do-(do)xod-u. [12] tantxērīl-k(u) t'abak'-i ga-u-nc'q'-u ndem-s, mara art+i na-nt'q'-ol-i-k(u) art č'k'om-u-a-s v-a-bay-u, ti-zuma o-č'k'om-al-i o-k'od-u ti č'q'el-s(i). [13] gvian žam-i-s tk-u ndem-i-k: unq'vsl ko-m-u-č-i skan+i da! [14] mangier-o ate zanduk'-ep-i-s ki-me-r-č-an-k(i) do sa+pas+ur-o xolo umos+i met'i ganj-s. [15] pägo-s brol-iš o-xor-u-s ku-d-v-o-xor-u-an-k(i) do xvale jixv-iš t'vin-i a-?u-ap-u o-č'k'om-al-o.'



[16] tantxērīl-s jal+am-s e-c'q'in-u te ambe-k(i) do o-k'od-u ndem-iš glaxa gur-it go-t'-eb-a, mara pägo-k u-c'-u: 'dio ma-va ku-d-m-a-neb-i p'asux-iš(i) me-č-am-a, uk'ul(i) si (ka)d-u-ragad-e.' [17] 'gval-o'ǰgir+i, ndem-i-a! u-c'-u pägo-k. [18] 'ma-va art+i ambe-s ko-g-i-c'-in-k(i), ti-k-ia g-eš-k-a-čin-u-da ti-nc'q'ama-va mid-g-a-ʔun-u-k(i) osur-o, v-eš-k-a-čin-u-da-va, ti-nc'q'ama-va zanduk'-ep-i ko-m-u-č-i g-o-r'jin-i-ni t-iš+e+ni/ti-š(i) gur-(i)š+e+ni-a.' [19] ndem-i-k d-e-tan+xm-u do u-c'-u: 'ti-ǰgua-s(i), unq'vs!, si mu-s(i) m-i-c'-in-k(i) do mu-s(i) m(o)-i-gon-en-k, ma ve-me-p-xvad-e-ni do p'asux-i ve-me-r-č-e-ni?' [20] aba-va, mu r-e ca-š(i) tudo arjo-ši u+ǰgu+š-i?' [21] ndem-i-k i-pirk-a do u-c'-u: 'arjo-ši u+ǰgu+š-i, unq'vs!, ca gino-por-il-iš(i) tudo čkim+i pägo r-e, ti-ǰgua, unq'vs!, mi-tin-i ve-gl-ur-s(i) dixa-s(i). [22] tina r-e, unq'vs!, arjo-ši u+ǰgu+š-i do te ki?ana-s arjo ti-s(i) ku-go-l-u-ap-u-d-a-s.'

[23] pägo-s jic-a-k(i) ge-u-o-l-u do u-c'-u: 'jal+am-ia me-čilat-ir-e ndem-i, do zanduk'-ep-i d-a-t'-eb-el+i a-p-u. [24] arjo-ši u+ǰgu+š-i-a ma va-v-o+r-e-k(i) ca gino-por-il-iš(i) tudo, u+ǰgu+š-i-a r-e švid+eba-š ga-g-eb-a, č'k'ua do nič'-i.' [25] ndem-s mu-tun-i-k(i) v-a-ragad-u. [26] zanduk'-ep-i ke-d-u-t'-u. [27] g-e-dirt-u do ul-a ki-d-i-č'q'-u. [28] k'ar-iš gima-lu-s ko-tk-u: 'pägo-s, unq'vs!, išeni-ti mi-tin-s(i) va-d-v-a-neb-eb, nišan-i, unq'vs!, ke-d-i-p'-t'-e-ve do anc'i, unq'vs!, mi-tin-s(i) ve-m-u-a-t'-eb-e-k(i), vara t-iš(i) xorci-si-ti do-b-rgin'ǰ-un-k(i) do jval-i-si-ti.' [29] tantxērīl-k(i) u-c'-u: 'mid-e-čerčel-i-a, si glaxa ma-txu-al-i, vara čkim+i škvil-sagan-iš msxverp'ŋ-o gin-g-o-rt-in-u-a.' [30] ndem-i-k sergel-it mida-rt-u mu-š(i) ʔude-ša do ten-ep-k(i) tak(i) ke-do-sk'id-es. [31] te ndem-i turme boš-i r-e/?+op-e, mara dud-iš(i) gito-rčk-in-a-š(i) neba va-u-γ-u so+iš+a-x(i) pägo-s va-do-nišnun-si-ni. [32] art+i sa+xe+nc'ip+o-zuma γv-en-a u-γ-u xe-s(i), do tol-o do t'an-o me-ǰjin-al-o ti-ǰgua mi-tin-i va-r-e.

[33] art+i dya-s mida-rt-u tantxērīl-k(i) o-nt'q'-al-u-š+a, ka-mk'-a-ǰjin-u šara-s (n)ger-s, oc'oxole ge-u-j-u do-rgin'ǰ-il+i txa, čič'e a-p-u mo-rk'-eb-ul+i do [p'ǰj-i] go-n'ǰ-am-il+i a-p-u. [34] ki-me-rt-u tantxērīl-k(i). [35] (n)ger-iš(i) ʔvil-u-a o-k'o, mara ti-ǰgua coda tol-ep-it(i) ke-mk'-a-ǰjin-u (n)ger-k(i) e-cod-u, škvil-i gim-u-k'un-u tudo do ki-me-rt-u (n)ger-iš+a.

[36] (n)ger-i-k(i) umos-o ga-n'ǰ-u p'ǰj-i do k'iser-iš+e jval-i-k g-eš-u-rčk-in-d-u. [37] ki-me-rt-u tantxērīl-k(i) (n)ger-iš+a, k-in-u-čan-u q'orq'ot'a-s xe do g-eš-e-γ-u jval-i. [38] turme č'k'om-u-a-š(i) dro-s(i) q'orq'ot'a-s go-č'k'al-ap-u do daxe do-škvil-e. [39] (n)ger-i-k šur-i m-i-tk-u, m-i-svan'ǰ-u do adaman-cal-o u-c'-u tantxērīl-s(i): 'ti-ǰgua mu-tun-i adaman-s (n)ger-iš+o vari, adaman-iš+o va-u-

k'et-eb-u-n-ia. [40] mu-tun-i dya-s mu-ner-o do-g-i-rt-in-u-a si te mard+oba-  
 s/madl+ba-s? mara tena-va xe-ti mid-e-g-i-a! [41] mu-žan-sa-t jal+am-s go-g-i-  
 č'ir-d-u-n-ia, ti-nc'q'ama-va ge-č'op-i ate toma, čkim+i saxel-i-a ko-š-in-e do ki-  
 mš-k-e-xvar-eb-u-k(i), ke-š-m-a-l-eb-u-da-va.' [42] g-eš-i-sop-u toma, ki-me-č-u  
 tantxērīl-s(i), do me-din-u. [43] tek(i) jal+am-s m-e-c'on-u (?g-u-k'vir-d-a)  
 tantxērīl-s(i). [44] ki-me-rt-u tek-ne-s'e k'irde-š+a, do-?vil-u erckem-i do ki-m-i-  
 γ-u ?ude-š+a. [45] ?ude-s pāgo-s k-u-c'-u (n)ger-iš(i) do mu-ši ambe. [46] r-e-n-a  
 taš(i) ?gir-o da do ?jima, do arjo mi-o-nat'-u tin-ep-i-s(i). [47] pāgo u-rč-en-s  
 tantxērīl-s osur-iš(i) mo-?on-ap-a-s, mara ti-s(i) va-mo-?un-s osur-i. [48] art+i  
 dya-s xolo mida-rt-u tantxērīl-k(i) o-nt'q'-al-u-š+a, mara ti-?gua k'varčx-ul+i dya-  
 k ke-še-xvad-u namda mu-su-ti o-?ot-u-ni ir-pel-s(u) e-i-o-čilit-u. [49] gil-ur-s(i)  
 taš(i) do oc'oxole-š+e ke-še-xvad-u t'q'a-š(i) xoj'i-k(i) do ki-d-i-č'q'-u ti-nc'q'ama  
 gila-rul-a saxe do dud-iš(i) t'ax-u-a-t(i). [50] tantxērīl-i ko-?ot-an-s škvil-sagan-s  
 do ku-m-a-xvamil-u-an-s, mara t'q'eb-i uk'a-xale o-rt-in-u-an-s sagan-s. [51] art-  
 xan-s rkal-ep-s a-čer-en-s. [52] taš(i) tantxērīl-k(i) išo-ašo ki-mk'-i-?jin-u, mu-ši  
 dud-iš(i) žido k'irde-s ko-jir-u ganjina. [53] g-eša-sxap'-u t-iš+a do ki-mto-do-xod-  
 u ti-s(i), xoj'i-s v-eša-rt-u ti ganjina-š+a do tudo ki-d-i-njir-u. [54] tantxērīl-s  
 xasila-š(i) al-a-rt-ap-u do o-ul-ar-i so-tin-iš+e va-u-g-u do nabet'an-i-k g-u-č'ir-  
 d-u u-c'q'ar-o-ti do u-o-č'k'om-al-o-ti, ti-nc'q'ama ge-č'op-u (n)ger-iš(i) toma do  
 ko-š-in-u (n)ger-i. [55] ucpa+ti ko-rčk-in-d-u (n)ger-i-k. [56] xut+i xolo o-xol-u  
 (n)ger-ep-i. [57] ki-mš-a-xol-es xoj'i-s do do-rgin'-es(i) (/na-sop-a-ti gin-a-rt-in-  
 u-es). [58] tantxērīl-k(i) madl+oba k-u-c'-u do ?ude-š+a da-p'ěj-eb-a ku-d-u-č'q'-u,  
 mara (n)ger-i-k u-c'-u: 'si-a ma šur-i ki-mša-m-skilid-e do t-iš(i)  
 sa+madl+ob+el+o-s mu-s g-i-γol-an-d-i-a? [59] tena-va o-s'in-al-o xolo va-gir-u  
 skan+i ?gir-ob-u-a-nc'q'ama.' [60] tantxērīl-i v-a-tx-u va-da-p'ěj-a-si-ni, mara  
 (n)ger-i va-me-?un-s(i). [61] ti-nc'q'ama tantxērīl-k u-c'-u: 'mu-ti g-o-k'o-d-a-si-ni  
 tina ko-p-tx-i-a! [62] ?ude-s-ia art+i da p'-un-s-ia do ti-si-ti va-do-b-zog-un-k(i)  
 skan+i gur-(i)š+e+ni, do šxva-s(i) mu-s(i) do-b-zog-un-k(i)? [63] ti-nc'q'ama (n)ger-  
 i-k(i) u-c'-u: 'aba-va va-čer-d-u-ki-da-va, ti-nc'q'ama skan+i da-va art+i dya-s  
 skan-da ndem-i-k-ia me-rt-u-ni o-tx-u-š+a-ni, ti-s(i) ki-me-č'i-a osur-o do o-  
 nan-eb-el-o va-g-a-γv-e-n-u.' [64] tantxērīl-k(i) d-imend-u. [65] (n)ger-i-k k'ine  
 me-din-u, do tantxērīl-k(i) ?uč+a ki-me-rt-u. [66] ?ude-s mu-ši da ga-mo-k'ek'-il  
 t'ut'a-s ek'-u-xe, teš(i) c'ux-en-s mu-ši ?jima-š(i) gur-(i)š+e+ni. [67] tantxērīl-k(i)  
 dač'xir-i ki-d-a-rz-u. [68] ?gir+i no+rγv+a g-a-k'et-u do k-u-c'-u mu-ši da-s(i): 'ha,  
 čiče pāgo, čič'e mu-tun+i o-č'k'om-al-i ko-p-č-i, vara otx+i dya r-e p'ičvan-i m-i-  
 γ-u-ni!' [69] tek(i) ?jimu do kobal-i g-a-nc'q'-u do č'k'om-u-a-š(i) dro-s k-u-c'-u ir-  
 pel-i mu-k(i) a-γol-u-ni, muč'o ki-d-u-p'ir-u mu-ši dud-i ndem-i-si-ni. [70] pāgo-k  
 ko-tk-u: 'si-a cocxal-o do-rt-in-ap-e-da ?ude-š+a, do ndem-s(i) vara ti-ši  
 u+praš-i-s mid-v-a-?un-u-k(i).'

[71] taš(i) ndem-i-ki-ti ku-mo-rt-u k'ar-s, xe-s(i) orko-š(i) mi-o-g-am-al-i do orko-š(i) čang-i xe-sa-ti u-k'eb-u do ko-tk-u: ĵgir+i, unq'vsl, dya g-i-γ-u-d-a-n(i)! [72] tin-ep-k(i) go-morjg-u-a k-u-c'-is(i) do ndem-i-k(i) ka-do-xod-u. [73] ki-d-i-č'q'-u k'ini pägo-š(i) xe-š(i) txu-al-a. [74] ten-ep-k(i) ki-d-e-tan+xm-es. [75] ndem-i-k(i) mi-o-g-am-al-ep-i do čang-i nišan-o ki-me-č-u. [76] g-e-dirt-u do u-c'-u: 'te do te ser-s-ia ma-va də-ma-p'ej-al-ep-s/də-ma-p'at'iz'eb-el-ep-s ku-mu-v-o-škv-an-k(i) tkvan-da, mard-i g-i-γ-u-d-a-ni do mu-zma/mu-da met'i ma-qar-ep-s k-i-š-in-ti-ni, ti-mzuma/ti-mda mol-e-ʔon-i-ti, tkva g-a-škidir-u-ap-u-d-a--n(i) tis'nero. [77] titoni mida-rt-u. [78] ma-žir-a ser-s ku-m-a-dirt-es k'ar-s vit-o-žir+i ndem-i-k(i) də-ma-p'ej-al-o/də-ma-p'at'iz'eb-el-o. [79] pägo, tantxērīl-i do me-diar-e k'oc'ci mun-ep-i-c'q'ama mid-e-ʔon-es do mida-rt-es(i). [80] art+i adgil-s mindor-s rc'k'in-un-si-ni ir-pel-i, ti'ĵgua Ŗude ki-ge-dg-u. [81] ir-dixa-š+e ti-s go-ʔun-s brel+i Ŗude-ep-i, mara ti'ĵgua nam-tin-i va-r-e. [82] tina-š+a min-i-l-es(i) ma-qar-ep-k(i). [83] k'ar-en-s ĵgir+i boš-i-k(i) ki-še-xvad-es do u-c'-u: 'ma v-o+r-e-k-ia ti ma-txu-al+i ndem-i do (n)ger-i xolo ma v-o+r-e-k-ia, mara teš+a-x(i) va-m-i-γ-u-d-u neba dud-iš(i) gito-rčk-in-u-a-š(i). [84] pägo-k(i) daxe vara ʔor-opa-t(i) uk'a-xale ke-d-a-ntx-u. [85] a+m/ate ser-s ĵgir+i rxin-i ge-gn-i-g-es. [86] uk'uli tantxērīl-i k-en-i-sin'j-u-es, ĵgir+i cxor+eba do r-in-a u-γ-u-d-es do xvam-il-o v-o+r-d-a-t(i)!

### English Translation

#### [1] Pāgo and Tantxērīl

[2] Pāgo and Tantxērīl are siblings. [3] They live in a [Svanetian] towered dwelling. [4] They have a very good life. [5] Their possessions are so plentiful (literally = they so boil for them). [6] Tantxērīl is a hunter and leaves no chamois alive on the rocks or bird in the sky. [7] Every day he has a house full of the meat of his spoil. [8] Everyone else too he feeds if anyone comes to visit him, and for himself also he has food a-plenty. [9] Pāgo is such a beauty that she resembles a star of the sky, but she was even more beautiful to behold, and her house and grounds she had turned into a mirror -- so clean did she hold and keep everything. [10] Everyone wanted this girl to wife, but no-one dared ask her. [11] One day a demon came to court Pāgo, and in his hands he had chests of gold stuffed full of pearls; he went into the house, said «Good day!» and sat down. [12] Tantxērīl laid out a spread for the demon, but at one sitting a single spoil of the hunt could not satisfy him, so much feeding did this cursed one require. [13] Late on the demon said: «Ugh! give me your sister!» [14] As a token I shall give you these chests and in payment even more and better treasure. [15] I shall place Pāgo only in a dwelling of glass, and she will have only brain of tur to eat.»

[16] Tantxērīl was most insulted at this and wanted to send the demon away with a flea in his ear, but Pāgo said to him: «First let me answer him and then you speak to him.» [17] «Very well, demon!» Pāgo said to him. [18] «I shall tell you something -- if you explain it, then I shall come with you as your wife; if you should be unable to explain it, then give me the chests as a result for being worsted.» [19] The demon agreed and said to her: «Ugh! what will you say to me or what will you devise such that I may be unable, ugh!, to guess it and give you the answer?» [20] «In that case, what is best of all beneath the sky?» [21] The demon worked it out and answered her: «Best of all, ugh!, upon the earth beneath the sky's roof is my Pāgo -- no-one, ugh!, walks on the earth who is like her. [22] She, ugh!, is best of all, and would that everyone in the world might be her surrogate.»

[23] Pāgo broke out laughing and said to him: «Alas, the demon is sorely mistaken and must leave the chests behind. [24] I am not the best of all beneath the sky's roof -- the very best is the understanding of peace, brains and intelligence.» [25] The demon could offer her no reply. [26] He left her the chests. [27] He rose and was about to depart. [28] By the door he said: «Pāgo, ugh!, I shall nevertheless surrender to no man -- a token, ugh!, I have left behind and now, ugh!, no-one will be able to abandon me, otherwise I shall tear apart her flesh and bones.» [29] Tantxērīl said to him: «Get the hell out of here, you foul wretch, otherwise I shall make you victim of my bow and arrow.» [30] The demon set off at a trot to his own home, and the siblings stayed behind. [31] This demon is apparently (in reality) a (human) youth, but he does not have the power to reveal himself until he becomes engaged to Pāgo. [32] In his hands he has possessions befitting an empire, and no-one can equal him for looks and strength.

[33] One day Tantxērīl went hunting; on the way he saw a wolf -- a goat lies in front of it, ripped apart; it has removed only a small piece and has (sc. its mouth) open. [34] Tantxērīl went in. [35] He wants to kill the wolf, but the wolf looked at him with such pitiable eyes that he took pity on it, laid down his bow and arrow and went up to the wolf. [36] The wolf opened (sc. its mouth) wider, and a bone could be seen from its throat. [37] Tantxērīl went up to the wolf, stuck his hand down its throat and removed the bone. [38] While eating, the bone had apparently got stuck in its throat, and it had almost choked. [39] The wolf took a deep breath, rested and like a human being said to Tantxērīl: «Such a favour no man has never done for another man let alone for a wolf. [40] How shall I repay my gratitude to you when the time is right? -- but take this with you anyway. [41] When you are in great need, take up this hair, say my name and I shall help

you, if help will be possible.» [42] He plucked one of his own hairs, gave it to Tantxērīl and disappeared.

[43] This pleased Tantxērīl greatly. [44] Right there he went up to a rock, slew a tur and brought it home. [45] At home he told Pāgo everything that had happened between the wolf and himself. [46] The siblings prosper as before, and everyone looks upon them with envy. [47] Pāgo advises Tantxērīl to take a wife, but he asks for no-one's hand. [48] One day Tantxērīl went hunting as before, but such a bleak day fell to his lot that, whatever he shot at, he missed. [49] On he goes, when thus before him he met a wild bull, and it began to run towards him with one thing only in its mind. [50] Tantxērīl shoots his bow and arrow at it and strikes it, but its hide deflects the arrow. [51] For a while it keeps him on its horns. [52] Tantxērīl thus looked around and saw above him in the rock a ledge. [53] He jumped on to it and sat down in it; the bull could not get up on to the ledge and lay down below it. [54] Tantxērīl had no means of getting away from it or of escape anywhere and was in great need of food and water -- then he took up the wolf's hair and called the wolf. [55] Thus in a flash the wolf appeared there. [56] With him are about five other wolves. [57] They set upon the bull and tore it to pieces.

[58] Tantxērīl expressed his gratitude to him and began to invite him home, but the wolf said to him: «You saved my life -- what should I have done to repay you? [59] This is not worthy of mention besides what you did for me.» [60]

Tantxērīl does not give up and invites him, but the wolf will not follow him. [61] Then Tantxērīl said to him: «Whatever you want from me, ask it! [62] Why of course! -- at home I have only one sister -- not even her shall I spare for your sake, and I shall certainly spare nothing else!» [63] Then the wolf said to him: «Well, if you won't give up, give your sister as wife to the demon who one day came to you to ask for her hand, and you will have no regrets.» [64] Tantxērīl gave him assurance. [65] The wolf again disappeared, and Tantxērīl came home. [66] At home his sister is sitting by raked over ashes -- she is so upset for her brother's sake. [67] Tantxērīl lit the fire. [68] He stoked up a good blaze and said to his sister: «Hey, poor Pāgo, make a bit of food for me to eat -- I've been fasting for four days!» [69] She prepared a meal for him, and, while eating, he told her everything -- how it had happened that he had promised her for the demon. [70] Pāgo said: «Since you have returned home alive, I'll marry not just the demon but even something worse than that!»

[71] Thus did the demon come to the door -- in his hands he has a golden instrument and a golden harp, and he said: «Ugh, good day!» [72] The siblings greeted him, and the demon sat down. [73] Again he began to ask for Pāgo's hand. [74] The siblings agreed. [75] The demon gave them the pipes and the harp as a token. [76] He arose and said to them: «This very night am I sending to you someone with my invitation -- I thank you, and, however many more groomsmen you find, bring them all along in whatever way you see fit.» [77] He left. [78] On the next night there came to their door twelve demons to invite them. [79] They took Pāgo, Tantxērīl and the wedding-guest(s) along with them and left. [80] At a certain spot in a meadow everything is sparkling -- such a house is standing there. [81] All around an abundance of houses surrounds it, but none of them can rival it. [82] Into it the groomsmen entered. [83] By the doors a fine youth welcomed them in and said to them: «I am that suitor-demon and I am the wolf, but hitherto I have not been able to reveal myself.» [84] Pāgo almost fainted backwards with love. [85] This night they put on a good celebration. [86] Later they married off Tantxērīl and enjoyed a good life -- and blessed let us be!

#### Analysis

[2] illustrates the Pres[ent] of the copula. The paradigms for the three languages are:

	SVAN	MINGRELIAN	GEORGIAN
1st per[son] sg	<i>xv-i</i>	<i>v-oH-e-k</i>	<i>v-aH</i>
2nd per sg	<i>x-i</i>	<i>(o+)H-e-k</i>	<i>x-aH</i>
3rd per sg	<i>H-i</i>	<i>r-e(n)</i>	<i>aH-t-a</i>
1st per pl incl.	<i>H-t-šd</i>	<i>v-oH-e-t</i>	<i>v-aH-t</i>
1st per pl excl.	<i>xv-t-šd</i>	<i>v-oH-e-t</i>	<i>v-aH-t</i>
2nd per pl	<i>x-t-šd</i>	<i>(o+)H-e-t</i>	<i>x-aH-t</i>
3rd per pl	<i>H-x</i>	<i>r-e-n-a(n)</i>	<i>aH-t-an</i>

We note first the distinction in S[van] alone between inclusive and exclusive forms for the 1st per plural, whilst M[ingrelian] alone has a suffix marking 1st & 2nd personhood. The root is *v-* in both M and G[eorgian], with which a versioniser is fused (intermittently in M), whilst S has *-i*: M shews Pres tense by the e-vowel, which correlates with G *-i* in 3rd person forms. S and M share a marker of 3rd personhood (S *-i* = M *-i*), though S *-i* is confined to only a handful of verb-forms, whilst 3rd per plurality is shewn by S *-x* = M *-a(n)* = G *-an*. The masdars are S *H-t-š-e* = M *r-in-a* = G *q'axp-n-a*. S also possesses a copula that is cognate to the M-G paradigms (viz. *xv-aH-i*, *x-aH-i*, *aH-i*, *H-aH-t-d*, *xv-aH-t-d*, *x-aH-t-d*, *aH-t-a*) and employs it in the meaning of 'exist' (e.g. *ka-d xv-aH-i* 'I am ill').

[3] shows the Prev[erb] *šiv* in its emphatic rather than perfectivising role, just as M uses *šv* and West G dialects use *šz* though not here. S has the Subj[ective] Ver[sion] *š* in this Pres form, whilst M & G lack it; the Them[atic] Suff[ix] is S *-ə* = M *-əw* = G *-əb*. The affix that derives an adjective indicating 'possessed of N[oun]' is prefixal *šv* in S but suffixal *-šw* in G & *-əw* in M. The circumfixes indicating 'place for V[erb]' are S *šš* *-ə* = M *ə* *-w* = G *šə* *-ə*. Masdars are S *š-žg-ə* G *ššw-əb-ə* M *šv-w-ə*. Whilst S & G use full postpositions for 'in' (*-šgə* *-šš*), M simply uses the Dat[ive] case in *-ə*.

[4] shows S using the comparative *švəššə* in place of the strict positive *əšv* 'good'. In M preposed attributive adjectives never change for the case of their N, always ending in *-i* if consonant-final. M & G have their regular roots (*-žg*, *-šv*) for 'have (inanimate X)' with their indirect conjugation, the Dat logical Subj[ect] being shewn by Obj[ective] Ver *w* in M and Sup[essive] Ver *ə* in G and its plurality by M *-ə* & G *-č*. M has a Pass[ive] Them Suff *-w*. S uses its existential copula with 3rd per Ind[irect] Obj[ect] shewn by *š* (plurality = *-š*) plus Sup Ver, the underlying structure being *šš-ə-ə-w-š* (= Latin *est est*).

[5] shows almost perfect symmetry between the three languages, G lacking any Them Suff to correlate with S *-ə* & M *-w*; the masdars being S *š-pv-ə*, M *pv-ə* *š-ə* / *plu* *-un-əp-ə*, G *šv-š* 'boiling', though the cognate G root would be as in *ə-pv-əb-ə* 'rising (of dough)'. All three Vs agree in number (S *-š*; M *-ə*; G *-š*) with the 3rd per Dat N. S has Obj Ver vowel *-v* for such 3rd per Ind Obs.

[6] has the agent-N 'hunter' from masdars *š-tšv-är* = G *nəšir-əb-ə* = M *š-ntš-ə* *-w-ə* 'hunting'. The Dat Ind Ob precedes the Dir[ect] and is shewn in S by the initial *š*; an alternative for 'chamois' in M (*əvčəw-š*) is cognate with S *əvčəš*. Both S & M use their word for 'sky' (*šəč*; *čəš* anatomically for 'palate'. The whole expression is common as praise of great hunters, e.g.

SVAN	ENGLISH
<i>k'šš-ə+ə p'iver-š de+ə š-ə-cur-i</i>	You do not leave a speck on the rock,
<i>čxək<sup>2</sup>-i+ə č'iver-š de+ə š-ə-cur-i</i>	You do not leave any bird-eater in the forest,
<i>mindver-š šč'v-är-š de+ə š-ə-cur-i</i>	You do not leave deer in the meadow
<b>Svan Poetry 1939 p.102</b>	
<i>k'šš-ə+ə k'vicrə-š de+ə š-ə-cvr-un+i</i>	He will not leave a female tur <sup>1</sup> on the rock
<i>čxək<sup>2</sup>-š p'iver-i+ə de+ə š-cvr-un+i</i>	He will leave no speck in the forest
<b>Svan Poetry p.160</b>	

<sup>1</sup>In Shanidze's G translation *šw-š* which the Academy Dictionary gives as 'female tur', though in Palmaitis & Gudjedjani the word is glossed as 'male roe deer'.

In our text and the first three forms we seem to have the Sup Ver (as in G), which has become Rel[ative] Pass Ver -a- in the Imperfective Fut[ure] fourth example, but is this actually a pass form, even in Lower Bal's Laxamulan sub-dialect? The Subj Ver (or is it the Abs[olute] Pass Ver?) is in the final example; here and in M, where the positive V is *რეაბ-უღ-ენ-ა* the Dat cannot be Ind Ob and must have oblique locative force.

[7] has S & G agreeing on the citation form being used for the temporal expression, whilst M puts the phrase in the Dat. The nominalised Past Part[iciple] in *ნა-* has in S the attenuated Gen[itive] ending *-ქი* preceded by an oblique marker. The adjective 'full' is construed everywhere with the Instr[umental] case (S *-ჯი* M & G *-ჩი*; for a discussion of the construction with 'full' see my 'Some Caucasian ways of «being full»'. *Georgica 11*, 1989. (Georgian version = *სადაც ვიპოვის გამურავს რანდენიმი კავკასიურ ანაწი* In the collection dedicated to the 100th birthday of A G Shanidze, Tbilisi 1993 pp.119-127 of *პირველი საერთაშორისო კართველოლოგიური სიმპოზიუმის მასალები*). Citation form for 'meat' in S is *ბეწა*.

[8] begins with 'other-DAT-too' followed by the adjective 'all' in the Dat, as Ind Ob of the verb 'feed' in the Pres -- does the S root *-მე-* contain a remnant of the causative in the second nasal? NB the first three persons of the Pres & Aor[ist] conjugation of this verb (viz. 'I(etc.) feed/fed X to Y':

PRESENT	AORIST
<i>მი ს-მ-მე-ე აწა-ს აწა-ს</i>	<i>მი ს-მ-მინ აწა აწა-ს</i>
<i>სი ს-მ-მე-ე აწა-ს აწა-ს</i>	<i>სი ს-მ-მინ აწა აწა-ს</i>
<i>აწა ს-მ-მე-ე აწა-ს აწა-ს</i>	<i>აწ-მ-ამ ს-მ-მე-ე აწა აწა-ს</i>

Masdars are S *მ-მე-ე*, M *მ-ამ-ე*, G *მ-მე-ე-ა*. For the M root cf. *მე-მ-ამ-ა* 'give', and an alternative expression here would be *ა-მ-მ-ამ-ა-ს ა-რ-ე-ე-ს* 'X gives food to Y'. S & G are exactly parallel in the next clause: 'house-to if guest-as anyone comes-to-him'. In M *ნა* has coalesced with postposition *-სა* M uses the V *კატ-ა-ა/კატ-ა-ა* 'find oneself among' (cf. *ა-ა-კატ-ა-ა* = G *ა-ა-რ-ე-ე-ა-ა* 'I am among X'). In the third clause G & S agree on 'I self-for-too plentifully he-has-it [sc. food]', whereas M uses *ბევრ* 'much' as Dir Ob of its V. S & M use the combination Gen & Adv[erbial] as equivalent to G *-ის* 'for', as in Old G *სა-ის-სა* 'for the man'. For the S verb cf. *გატ-მ-ა* 'X comes' vs *ა-ა-გატ-ე-ა* 'X comes/will come to Y' (cf. *გატ-ა* 'X will bring Y').

[9] M & G agree on saying 'P is such a-thing-to-behold' with the Fut Part complement (underlyingly M is \*mik'o-o-jin-al-i), whilst S has Gen of the noun for 'vision', given by Palmaitis/Gudjedjani as *ს-ა-ვი-ა* = 'P is of-such-a-vision'. S uses the Sup Ver with 'resemble', whilst G & M have no Ver vowel (cf. M *ბ-გ-ა-ა-ა* 'I resemble X', *გ-ა-ა-ა* 'you resemble X', *გ-ა-ა* 'X resembles Y'), though M



here uses its emphatic Prev *kw---* NB that in the Dat M sometimes keeps the *-i* of the citation-form, sometimes loses it. S has the literal sequence 'more better beauty', where the divisions in *kw+yz+er+e* are entirely speculative; *kw+u+e* is cognate with G *kw+u+e+es-i* 'elder, cleric'. NB the 3rd per prefix *h-* in the S past copula; M is formally an Imperfect. Since S has *šg-* 'place' & *šg+/-s* 'inside, at home', we must have some suff in *-ag+šm* *h-agm-e*, *gšm-rt-e/i* *gš-m-xt-er-i* are Past Parts of *h-gm-e*, *gšm-rt-šm(-ap)-e*, *gš-xt-š* 'make become' respectively. S *\*x-a-a+r-d* is the Imperfect of the V in [7], G has the Imperfect of its equivalent in [7], whilst M uses the Imperfect of its existential root *-p-* (cf. *nt'er-i m-a-p-u* 'I have X as an enemy', *na+tes+e g-a-p-u-k* 'you have me as a relative'). The Past of the stative 'X has hold of Y' is formally Imperfect in M, Aor in G, Pluperfect in *-šm* in S, which however serves as a simple Past to the formally Perfect Pres (= *x-rt-gšm-š* -- of course, the same could be said of G statives, *u-k'šv-t-š* 'X has hold of Y' being originally a Perfect: masdars are *h-gšm-e*, *k'-in-ab-e*, *š-k'šv-ab-š* S *x-ur-v-šm(-š)* 'X had inanimate Y' has a parallel relation to its (formally Perf) Pres (*x-ur-v-š*).

[10] illustrates a S colloquialism for 'want as' (viz. 'everyone[DAT] heart[NOM] it-was-to.him this woman-ADV wife-ADV' = 'everyone wanted this woman to wife'); M & G simply translate the sense literally -- in M 'everyone' is either *axw* or *h-k'w-x* literally 'each man', here in the Dat. In the second clause Oniani used the potential negative *švš-wš* 'no-one (could)', though S *š-š* is simply 'no-one', the potential negative pronoun being *švš'-š*: The only meaning I have found for *švš'* is 'other, separate', so that S seems to be saying 'no-one else(?) was daring to ask her to wife', whereas G & M have 'no-one could dare to...'. M has no potential series of negatives but employs special potential passive marked in Series I by the structure *h-RXOT-e* if monovalent, or *š-RXOT-e* if bivalent as here, the underlying form being *\*va-a-bed-e-d-u* (literally 'asking for her hand could not be dared by anyone'). S & G simply have transitive Imperfect Vs with the dependent nominal of the masdar Dat Dir Ob removed to become Ind Ob of the V 'dare'. Presumably the Prev[er]b *kw* goes with *h-šgšm-š* (cf. *kw m-a-šgšm-šm* 'X asked for my hand').

[11] that some suff has been fused with the root in *aw-g+š* 'X came' is shewn by the Aor Subjunctive *aw-g-v-e* = *\*an-[x]w-q-e* 'I may come', *aw-g-e* = *\*an-[x]-q-e* 'you may come', *aw-g-e-š* 'X may come'. All subjects for Series II M Vs are in the original Erg[ative] in *-š* before which the citation-form's *-i* is sometimes retained; today this case serves as a Series II Nom. Non-finite purpose-clauses are shewn in S by use of the postposition *-te* (= G *-k'šv*) 'towards' plus Supine in *š-*, whilst G uses the Adv of its Fut Part/Gerundive in *š-* *-e* and M uses the Directive in *-š* (= Gen plus *-š* of its Supine in *š-* *-u*). The Dat of S *š* 'hand' is *šw-n* S &

G use 'have' but M says 'X-holds-Y (= *u-l<sup>2</sup>-ab-u*) in-(his-)hand-DAT (= *xe-j*). Here S has the fuller *š' š-g<sup>2</sup>š'-i-g*, again with Instr in *-š'* for 'full' (= G Past Part *š-w<sup>2</sup>-ab-u-l*). In full the Prevs are \*sga a[d]-č+äd 'X entered' -- NB M uses *mšx*- 'in' in this instance. Whilst S has the literal greeting 'good day!', G & M have the expression that literally means 'victory!'. For 'sat down' the full S form is \*čū es-sgur-d+a, where despite the presence of the Imperfect *-d+g* the form is Aor because of the Prevs. One would expect this V in M to be *do-xadl-u* but this also means 'X fucked Y'. Therefore, adaptations tend to be made to the less vulgar V (e.g. *ko-jo-do-xadl-u*, *ko-do-xadl-u*).

[12]