

## Text 7. Saidpati

Saidpati

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This text is about how one of the speakers, Saidpati, was left in the mountains overnight alone and saw devils.

- (1) S:     un            la-q<sup>ʃ</sup>-di-j<ɾ>u                    ba<sup>ʃ</sup>be     jas:a  
          2SG.ABS     our-INTER-DI-<II.SG>EMPH     talk.IMP     then  
          You speak our language then.
- (2)       hanžugur   han                    bo-šaw   was       sini-t:u-t            hekl'ena       be  
          how            what(IV)[SG.ABS]     say-PART   2.SG.DAT   know-ATTR-IV.SG   thing(IV)[SG.ABS]   say.IMP  
          hara:ši     edi-t:u-t                    haq'-li-q<sup>ʃ</sup>  
          long.ago     [IV.SG]be.PAST.-ATTR-IV.SG     about  
          How what say, say the thing you know, about how it was in the old times.
- (3) S-P:   he<ɾ>q<sup>ʃ</sup>u-li       oq<sup>ʃ</sup>a-t:u-t...  
          <II.SG>walk-CVB     [IV.SG]leave-ATTR-IV.SG  
          Walking...
- (4)       jella   χabar                    a<b>t:i-t:u-t                    baran   b-oq'i            hani  
          now   story(III)[SG.ABS]     <III.SG>let.go.IPFV-ATTR-IV.SG     like     III.SG-give.IMP     what  
          Now, tell as the stories are supposed to be told.
- (5) S:     hu    hu    os    jarχ<sup>ʃ</sup>i-t:a-k            k<sup>w</sup>a<ɾ>šu-t:u-b                    χabar            b-ate  
          yes   yes   one   pass(IV)-SUP-ELAT     happen<II.SG>PVF-ATTR-III.SG     story(III)[SG.ABS]     III.SG-let.go.IMP  
          Yes, yes , tell us the story how you happen to come from the mountain pass.

(6) S-P: wa-buwa                      wa-dija                      ik'-mi-s                      e(b)ku-t'o:-na  
 PART-mother(II)[SG.ABS]              PART-father(I)[SG.ABS]              heart(IV)-OBL.SG-DAT              <III.SG>.fall-NEG.FUT-CVB  
 Oh dear, that was not what I remembered (what I meant to tell you about).

(7) iši-š              šumaj              oɾqʰa              qara-nuRaj-li-r-š-er-ši              aɾk'u-li              šumaj  
 here-ELAT              downstream              <II.SG>go.PFV              kara-nugaj-OBL.SG-QUOT-CVB              <II.SG>SEND.PFV-EVID              downstream  
 From here I went downstream to Kara-Nugaj (river), I was sent there.

(8) jamu-t              oɾqʰa-t:u-t                      saʃat-li-t                      č'abe-ɬ:u                      baram-mul  
 this-IV.SG              <II.SG>go.PFV-ATTR-IV.SG                      time(IV)-SG.OBL-SUPESS                      sheep(III).PL.OBL-COMIT                      sheep(rus)-PL.ABS  
 oci-r              ati-li                      χit:a              deqʰu                      d-immeɾχ:u  
 alone-II.SG              let.go.III/iv.PL.PFV-CVB                      then              road(IV).SG.LOC                      II.SG-remain<II.SG>.PFV  
 At that time they left me alone with the sheep on the road.

(9) S: duχij              d-aqʰa-t:u-r?  
 upstream              II.SG-come.PFV-ATTR-II.SG  
 When you were coming back?

(10) S-P: duχij              d-aqʰa-t:u-r  
 upstream              II.SG-come.PFV-ATTR-II.SG  
 When I was coming back

(11) S: lat'u-m-a-ši                      χʰereqʰa-ši?  
 1PL.EXCL.GEN<II.SG>-GEN.IN-ALL                      village(IV)IN-ALL  
 To our village?

(12) S-P: χʰereqʰa-ši              d-aqʰa-t:u-r                      eš:i              ak:on                      caχa-s  
 village(IV)IN-ALL              II.SG-come.PFV-ATTR-II.SG                      to.here              light(IV)[SG.ABS]                      IV.SG.throw-FIN  
 To the village, to here, went at dawn (when the light strikes).

(13) mač'a              et:e-li

be.dark [IV.SG]become.PFV-EVID  
It got dark.

- (14) **adam lo i-t'u eχ:u-t'aw**  
 person(IV)[SG.ABS] child(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]be.PRS-NEG [SG.IV]remain.PFV-CONC  
**obši χalq'i-bu oʔbʔq'a-li ra-raqʕ-li-t**  
 all people(III)[SG.ABS]-and <III.SG>.leave.PFV-EVID RDP-side(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP  
 No man, no child left, each of them had gone to their own side.

- (15) **zon d-immeχ:u ak:u-kellekan**  
 1SG.ABS II.SG-remain<II.SG>.PFV [SG.IV]see.PFV-UNTIL  
 I stayed there till morning.

- (16) S: **danna eχ:u un?**  
 where remain<II.SG>.PFV 2.SG.ABS  
 [Shaxmar]: Where did you stay?

- (17) S-P: **Rutil-jarχʕi ja**  
 Rutil-pass(IV)SG.LOC ja  
 [Saidpati]: At the Rutil pass.

- (18) S: **jarχʕi duχij d-aqʕa-t:u-r s:ijχ:u eχ:u**  
 pass(IV)SG.LOC upstream II.SG-come.PFV-ATTR-II.SG alone<II.SG> remain<II.SG>.PFV  
 [Shaxmar]: At this pass going upstream you stayed on your own.

- (19) S-P: **hu, s:ijχ:u, adam<sup>1</sup> i-t'u dunil-li-t**  
 yes alone<II.SG> person(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]be.PRS-NEG world(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP  
**noc' b-i-t'u**  
 bird(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-be.PRS-NEG

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<sup>1</sup> Saidpati pronounced [addam] doubling the consonant for emphasis.

[Saidpati]: Yes, all alone, not a person in the world, not a bird.

- (20)  $\text{\textasciix}^w\text{i-t:u-t}$                        $\text{i\textasciix}$ ,                       $\text{jamu-t}$                        $\text{\textasciix}it:a$                        $\text{k\textasciix}^{\text{in}}\text{c}^{\text{at}}\text{'}i\text{-wu}$                        $i$   
evening-ATTR-IV.SG                      night(IV)[SG.ABS]                      that-IV.SG                      then                      be.afraid-AND                      [IVSG]be.PRS  
 $\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{a}^{\text{c}}$                        $\text{kunnu-t}$   
reasonably.big                      such-IV.SG  
Evening night (dark night?), it was quite scary there.
- (21)  $\text{jella}$                        $\text{os}$                        $\text{hek\textasciix}^{\text{e}}\text{na}$                        $\text{\textasciix}^{\text{i}}\text{i\textasciix}}$                        $\text{ko-mu\textasciix}ur$   
then                      one                      thing(IV)[SG.ABS]                      shout(IV)[SG.ABS]                      hear.PFV-WHEN  
 $\text{jella}$                        $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{s}$                        $\text{k\textasciix}^{\text{a}}\text{n}$                        $\text{zari}$                        $\text{ma}^{\text{m}}\text{mur\textasciix}it:i\text{-k}$                        $\text{zari}$   
then                      (IV)[SG.ABS]                      WANT???
- (22)  $\text{zon}$                        $\text{d-ak:u-lukku-t}$                        $\text{tij-me-s}$   
1.SG.ABS                      2.SG-see-PURP???
- (23)  $\text{jamu-m}$                        $\text{porma-li-t}$                        $\text{a\textasciix}r\text{\textasciix}u\text{-li}$                        $\text{e\textasciix}r\text{\textasciix}u$                        $\text{zon}$   
this-III.SG                      form(III)-SG.OBL-SUP                      lie.down<II.SG>.PFV-CVB                      remain<II.SG>.PFV                      1SG.ABS
- (24)  $\text{ak}^w\text{e:t:a-t}^{\text{u}}$  (3 times)                       $\text{d-o\textasciix}oli$                        $\text{sa\textasciix}rku$   
light.become.PFV.IVSG-NEG                      IISG-get.up.PFV-CVB                      look<II.SG>.PFV
- (25)  $\text{ha:}$                        $\text{teni-\textasciix}ut$                        $\text{te-b}$                        $\text{\textasciix}ijt^{\text{a}}\text{m-mul}$                        $\text{er\textasciix}i$                        $\text{i\textasciix}er\text{-t}^{\text{u}}\text{-ra}$   
ha                      there-TRANS                      these-I/II.PL                      devil(I)-PL.ABS                      ???                      be-NEG-QUEST
- (26)  $\text{qesbarti}$                        $\text{\textasciix}it:a$                        $\text{ob\textasciix}i$                        $\text{huq'}$ ,                       $\text{qurum}$

dance(III)[SG.ABS] then all smoke(IV)[SG.ABS] fire(IV)[SG.ABS]  
Dancing, then, all smoke, fire

(27) S: hara-χut eɬ:u?  
in.front-TRANS [IV.SG]lie.PFV  
Apparition?

(28) S-P: haraχut eɬ:u, jella osti-li  
in.front-TRANS [IV.SG]lie.PFV this.way [IV.SG]stand.PFV-CVB  
Apparition, standing like that

(29) S: was kɬ'inč'at'i-li?  
2SG.DAT be.afraid-MSD(IV)-SG.ERG  
(the apparition happened) to you because you were afraid

(30) S-P: kɬ'inč'at'i-li hu-ši χoqi χit:a ez ak:o-r-ši-ri was hani  
be.afraid-MSD(IV)-SG.ERG yes-CVB probably then [IV.SG]1SG.DAT [IV.SG]hear.IPFV-CVB-QUEST 2SG.DAT what  
Of course because I was afraid, what, do you think I heard them?