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Reference In Udi Narrative Discourse

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REFERENCE IN UDI NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

by

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This thesis, submitted by Catherine MacLeod in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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This thesis meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines concepts of reference assignment as seen in a written collection of narrative texts from Udi, a Caucasian language from the Lezgian family. This study explores the linguistic factors that affect reference assignment in Udi narrative in terms of participants, props and time and locative phrases.

Reference assignment incorporates reference forms such as nouns, noun phrases, proper names and pronouns. All of these features aid in building the mental representation of the texts in the mind of the reader. Surface-level linguistic factors, such as cohesion, coherence, backgrounding, foregrounding and focus also interact with reference forms.

This paper incorporates the Givenness Hierarchy, as proposed by Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski (1993) and Relevance Theory (Wilson & Sperber 2004) to describe Udi linguistic reference forms. I will examine these forms according to Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski's hierarchy as a method of the introduction and tracking of participants, especially, in the narrative texts of the language. In terms of Relevance Theory, I will weigh whether these devices are used to signal to the reader that the referents they introduce are worth the effort of creating an enriched encyclopedic entry, since they can indicate the most relevant characters and objects throughout the narratives. These forms appear to motivate the reader to create space in those entries for the many facets of a participant's role or characteristics.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 This study

This thesis focuses on a set of five narrative discourse texts from the Udi language of Azerbaijan. I describe the reference forms found in the narratives, and attempt to explain why the particular reference forms are selected, why they emerge in patterns and how our minds resolve reference assignment and recovery in discourse.

Several questions came to mind as I examined the Udi texts: How does the audience make the appropriate connections between reference forms and actual concepts related to characters and objects? How does the audience know which characters and objects are more significant than others? Why do some characters receive names while others are merely referenced, even throughout an entire story, by a noun describing their role, such as a hunter, king or merchant; their familial relationship, such as a mother or grandmother; or their type of being, such as a giant? Why is one character referenced by his name throughout the narrative, instead of by a pronoun?

The field of discourse analysis has many descriptions of referring phenomena. But these descriptions do not usually explain the selection of certain reference forms or the way our minds understand the process as a whole. For these explanations, linguists turn to the field of pragmatics.

Two types of models are represented in the literature in regard to reference in discourse. Structural models offer descriptions of reference forms as they appear on the

surface discourse structures. Cognitive models examine the purpose and effect of reference. In this paper, I use both types of models to describe the way in which reference forms are used structurally in Udi narrative discourse and explain the reasons behind that system. I borrow terminology from descriptive models, such as the Givenness Hierarchy, to describe reference in the narratives. I also borrow explanatory theories from cognitive models, such as Relevance Theory and the conceptual-procedural distinction, in an effort to understand what happens in our minds when we communicate or comprehend reference.

In the remainder of this chapter, I introduce the Udi people, their sociolinguistic situation and some literature of linguists who have studied the language. I also discuss the genre of narrative discourse and the terminology that will be used in the description of the language data in Chapter 4. In Chapter 2, I introduce the theoretical models I have used for my study and in Chapter 3 I introduce some aspects of reference as they apply to the Udi discourse data. Chapter 4 is a discussion of reference forms from the Udi texts and an application of the theories and topics presented in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 to the language data.

1.2 The Udi People

The Udi are a people group of Azerbaijan with a deep-rooted ethnic, linguistic and religious identity. A 1989 census reported nearly 8,000 Udi in the USSR (Clifton et al. 2005:3; Gerber 2007:10) with three-quarters of those living in Azerbaijan (Gerber 2007:9). Christianity has been their traditional religion for generations, believed to have stemmed from the "historic church of Old Albania" (Clifton et al. 2005:3; Gerber 2007:10).

The majority of Udi in Azerbaijan are centered in and around the village of Nic (also Nij or Nidzh) in the Qəbələ (also Gabala or Qabala) district of the country. Historically many also lived in Oğuz (also Oghuz or Vartashen), in the district bearing the same name (Schulze 2002a). These districts are located in north-central Azerbaijan. A considerable number of Udis have relocated in the last century into Georgia, primarily those from Oğuz. Some from Nic have more recently relocated to Russia (Clifton et al. 2005:3; Gerber 2007:10).

Figure 1: Qəbələ and Oğuz Districts of Azerbaijan (Dedering 2010)[1]

[1] This map was made available via Wikimedia Commons and was copied and modified by permission under the GNU Free Documentation License (Version 1.2) by the Free Software Foundation.

1.3 The Udi Language

Udi is spoken in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Russia and is part of the Lezgic branch of the North Caucasian language family (Schulze 1994:449). Two distinct dialects have been identified, linked to the geographic locations of speakers in Nic, Azerbaijan, and Oğuz, Azerbaijan (Schulze 1994:449). Udi speakers in Azerbaijan use a Roman script for their orthography. The texts in this study are written in this writing system.

1.3.1 Literature about the language

Udi language data has appeared in descriptive linguistics for decades. In recent years, two linguists have written extensively on the language. Wolfgang Schulze, of the Ludwig-Maximilians University in Munich, wrote a grammar of Udi as a contribution to the book *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus: The North East Caucasian Languages* (Schulze 1994). He has also made an expanded version of his grammar available online (Schulze 2002b). Alice Harris, of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, studied Udi and published a book, *Endoclitics and the Origins of Udi Morphosyntax* (Harris 2002), describing one of the unique qualities of the language. A research team from SIL International has also published a study of their findings on the sociolinguistic situation of the language in use by the Udi people (Clifton et al. 2005). Each of these contributions served as a helpful resource in this study.

1.4 The Narrative Texts

In 1999, some 4,200 Udis were reported living in the village of Nic (Gerber 2007:10). This study focuses on a set of five narrative texts written in the Udi dialect of that village. They are original writings based on folktales from Udi and Russian

traditions. The author, Venera Antonova, is an educator who originally wrote the texts to use for literacy purposes in her first language[2].

The narratives range in length from a few lines of text to seven single-spaced pages of material in paragraph form. The shortest both recount humorous incidents. *Oro qonşiyox* 'Two Neighbors' tells the story of neighbors who fight over a nut tree and don't speak for years. One day, one of them experiences car trouble and asks the other if they can set aside their fight long enough to get the engine started together, after which they can resume their angry silence. *Elemaxun amdar* 'Person from a Donkey' introduces a villager who visits a city and is duped into believing his donkey can be converted into a person simply by proximity to a university.

Slightly longer, *Tülkü q'a orozi* 'The Fox and the Pheasant' contains a dialogue between the two animals represented in the title. The fox attempts to outsmart the pheasant by informing him of a new world order in which the animals can live together in peace. In the new order, foxes don't eat pheasants, so the pheasant need not be afraid of him. The pheasant applies that logic to an approaching pack of wild dogs and exposes the fox's lie, while watching the fox run away in fear.

The narrative *C'irtt'an* 'Chirtan' centers on a young boy who accompanies a group of other children into the forest to gather wood, though he does not really want to work for himself. He transforms from a lazy companion into a hero when he saves the rest of the children from being eaten by a giant they encounter in the forest.

The longest narrative, *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan' is the story of a boy who traps a beautiful bird and sells its unique eggs for his livelihood. He interacts with a

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[2] Data originally collected under IRB Proposal # IRB-200602-264; John Clifton, principal investigator. Permission was given under that IRB to use the author's name.

greedy merchant and a stupid king, who make high demands of him. Their demands force the boy, Misak, on a journey on which he meets a girl who helps him overthrow the power of the merchant and the king.

1.4.1 Genre and Scope

The five texts are considered narrative discourse due to their reliance on contingent succession and agent orientation (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:8), meaning that they are structured around an event or series of events occurring in order of time and "controlled by an agent" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:8). Because of the narrative nature of all of the texts used in this study, none of the descriptions or conclusions of this paper are claimed to apply to reference patterns of other genres of discourse in the Udi language.

1.4.2 The framework of terminology

The terms in the descriptions used in Chapter 4 are taken from the book *Analyzing Discourse* by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001). I introduce them here since they will also be incorporated into the discussion in the following chapters. Dooley and Levinsohn use the terms participants and props to refer to prototypical characters and objects, respectively, in narrative discourse. They also promote a method of text preparation for study of narrative discourse, which I present here.

1.4.2.1 Participants

Dooley and Levinsohn identify two different types of participants, major and minor ones. Participants, in general, play an active role in the narrative and "are usually persons or personifications" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:40). While minor participants may only be active for a short amount of time or through one thematic section, major participants "are active for a large part of the narrative and play leading roles" (Dooley

& Levinsohn 2001:119). They also introduce the concept of a VIP (VERY IMPORTANT PARTICIPANT) (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:119), to whom they apply Grimes' specification of a referent "distinguished from the rest" in the narrative by a "special set of terms" (Grimes 1978:viii). So a VIP is a major participant who rises above others in terms of pragmatic significance and linguistic distinction.

Udi employs reference forms for participants that set them apart from other entities in the narratives. These reference forms follow distinct patterns, depending on the differing levels of significance, as in minor, major or VIP. Both the forms and patterns will be discussed with examples from the texts in section 4.1.

1.4.2.2 Props

Props "have only a passive role in the story" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:39-40), since these are objects, animals or other people that are acted upon by participants. Props generally have reference forms different from those for participants due to their different roles and levels of importance.

While there are some restrictions on the types of reference forms that can be used for props in Udi, the patterns of reference for props follow those for participants in the narratives. Included in these patterns are some of the linguistic signals of importance or salience that indicate the difference between major and minor participants. Examples of this from the texts will be presented in section 4.2.

1.4.3 The method of text preparation

The five texts were glossed and free translations in English were provided by first-language speakers of Udi. I charted the texts[3] according to a method suggested by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:44-47) for further investigation of phrase structure and word order, since this method allowed me to view the "text in such a way as to make features of interest apparent…" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:43). The text charts are included in the appendices for reference. Examples listed throughout Chapter 4 include citations of texts by their English names and the lines, split by clauses, in which they can be found in that text's chart.

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[3] Analysis was carried out under IRB Project # IRB-201108-021; Catherine MacLeod, principal investigator.

CHAPTER 2

REFERENCE AND CURRENT THEORIES

2.1 Introduction

This discussion focuses on reference forms in narrative discourse, specifically on the *purpose* and *patterns* of referring expressions. Relevance Theory (RT) provides insight into the process of communication as a whole, but bears implications for reference forms in particular. RT distinguishes between conceptual and procedural indications in reference and this distinction will be useful. For insight into the patterning of reference forms, the Givenness Hierarchy provides a description of universals of reference patterns found in discourse. The Animacy Hierarchy also provides some explanation for various reference form choices in the Udi texts. These theories will be discussed here and applied to language data in the following chapters.

2.2 Relevance Theory

At the heart of the discussion of reference in discourse is the ability to use reference forms as communicative tools in order to convey their full, intended meaning to the audience. In written narrative discourse, where there is a delay between communication and interpretation, the patterned use of reference forms ensures that the writer's meaning is accurately understood with as little effort as possible by the audience. But

this pattern is just a surface-level construction of the deeper comprehension process that is taking place.

Relevance Theory offers insight into the cognitive process of both communicators and addressees. In terms of reference, it offers an explanation of the selection of reference forms by communicators. It also describes the comprehension procedure of those to whom reference is addressed.

2.2.1 An introduction to the theory

Relevance Theory (RT) is a theory of the processes involved in communication and comprehension as described by Deirdre Wilson and Dan Sperber (1986, 1995). It is based on the idea that human cognition is geared toward relevance. Their explanatory theory began as a derivation of a claim by Grice "that an essential feature of most human communication, both verbal and non-verbal, is the expression and recognition of intentions" (Wilson and Sperber 2004:607). They based their theory on two principles of relevance: the cognitive principle of relevance and the communicative principle of relevance.

The cognitive principle of relevance states that our "cognition tends to be geared to the maximization of relevance" (Wilson & Sperber 2004:610). In other words, we tend to pay more attention to things that have direct relevance to our lives and expend more processing effort for those that are more worthwhile. We pick and choose from the stimuli around us, those which are most relevant to us.

Relevance of an input to an individual is a starting concept of the theory and depends on two sides of communicative input: cognitive effects and processing effort. Cognitive effects are the conclusions drawn from both the input and the background information available to the addressee. Processing effort is the amount of energy an

addressee invests in the comprehension procedure. The relevance of an input will be higher as the positive cognitive effects yielded by the input are greater, but lower if the processing effort is greater (Wilson & Sperber 2004:609).

There are three types of cognitive effects: contextual implications, strengthened assumptions and weakened assumptions. Contextual implications are new information that can be drawn from an utterance. Existing assumptions can be strengthened by an utterance. Conversely, existing assumptions can also be weakened or eliminated entirely.

A central notion of RT is that of ostensive-inferential communication, which is built from two layers of intention. The first layer is the informative intention: speakers want to inform their audience of something. The second is the communicative intention: speakers intend to inform the audience of their informative intention. Understanding happens when the audience recognizes the informative intention (Wilson & Sperber 2004:611). It is termed ostensive-inferential because the speaker makes their intention to inform the audience overt to the audience and the audience must infer their meaning.

The second principle of relevance is derived from the idea of ostensive-inferential communication. The communicative principle of relevance states that "every ostensive stimulus conveys a presumption of its own optimal relevance" (Wilson & Sperber 2004:612). We speak when we believe that what we have to say will be relevant to those who are listening. An audience is justified in assuming the relevance of an utterance, owing simply to the fact that it was spoken to them. The presumption of optimal relevance, derived from the communicative principle of relevance, develops this idea by stating that optimal relevance is achieved by an ostensive stimulus if, and only if, two criteria are met. The first is that the stimulus is "relevant enough to be worth the audience's processing effort". The second requires the stimulus to be "the

most relevant one compatible with the communicator's abilities and preferences" (Wilson & Sperber 2004:612).

Wilson and Sperber state the RT comprehension procedure: an addressee will expend the least amount of processing effort to obtain a cognitive effect. By testing hypotheses in order of their accessibility, the addressee will "stop when [his] expectations of relevance are satisfied" (Wilson & Sperber 2004:614). To these tasks in comprehension three sub-tasks are added regarding the hypothesis used in the procedure. The first concerns explicatures that are decoded, disambiguated, resolved in reference or undergo other pragmatic enrichment. The second sub-task integrates intended contextual assumptions into comprehension while the third incorporates the intended contextual implications (Wilson & Sperber 2004:616).

Explicatures are derived from underdetermined semantic representations. These must be enriched and reference assignment is one part of the enrichment process. The enrichment process leads to a mental representation in which the referent can be established or recovered. The reference forms used correlate to the accessibility of the referent. This mental representation is a full propositional form and, as such, is truth evaluable. It can yield intended cognitive benefits directly or by leading the addressee to an implicature.

So Relevance Theory negotiates an understanding of communication from start to finish. It starts with a stimulus, such as an utterance or some non-verbal stimulus, used as evidence that the communicator believes will be relevant to her audience. The stimulus provokes a presumption of its own worth. In the end, the information is comprehended and the addressee, with the assumptions and implications he has at hand, reaps the cognitive benefits.

Relevance Theory has many implications for pragmatics. This study focuses on implications for reference in discourse. I will discuss the effects of the theory on

reference selection, the function of reference forms (concepts or procedural indicators), enrichment of explicature and the role of meaning in reference – from intention to comprehension.

2.2.2 The conceptual-procedural distinction

Wilson and Sperber (1993:1-25) relate the idea of relevance to the processes of decoding and inferring, and delineate a conceptual and procedural distinction. The cognitive distinction between conceptual and procedural information is that conceptual information presents information about mental representations, while procedural information indicates how to manipulate mental representations. Conceptual meaning provides information about a state of affairs while procedural meaning provides information indicating the various speech acts the conceptual forms are intended to perform (Wilson and Sperber 1993). Conceptual representations of an utterance have "logical …[and] truth-conditional properties" (Wilson and Sperber 1993:11). Procedural "expressions contribute to relevance by guiding the hearer towards the intended contextual effect, hence reducing the overall effort required" (Wilson and Sperber 1993:12).

Reference forms are categorized into two types, conceptual and procedural. In general, conceptual forms present us with an idea or concept, while procedural forms tell us what to do with that idea, how to manipulate it and constrain our understanding of it (Fraser 2006:24). In relevance-theoretic terms, "conceptual representations can be brought to consciousness", while "procedures cannot" (Wilson & Sperber 1993:17). Wilson and Sperber explain the conceptual-procedural distinction as a flow of information. Conceptually and procedurally encoded information stem from linguistically communicated information, which is an offshoot of ostensively

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communicated information, or "information conveyed by an utterance" (Wilson & Sperber 1993:3,27).

Conceptual information denotes objects that are stored in our minds under a conceptual address. Each concept has three types of entries (Blass 2011). The first entry is logical, having inference rules, such as entailments, about the concept. The second entry is encyclopedic, storing information that enriches our understanding of the concept. The third entry is lexical, having the linguistic data about the concept, such as its part of speech. Conceptual forms include common nouns, noun phrases, and proper names. Nominal conceptual forms plant a concept or specific referent in the audience's mind, carried by explicatures employed by the communicator. These beg the audience to create an encyclopedic entry for the referent for which there can only be one possible interpretation.

Procedural information is not stored at conceptual addresses. It merely serves a processing function in the manipulation and recovery of a conceptual form. Procedural forms may have conceptual qualities, however, that match the qualities of the conceptual entry they reflect. These qualities can include person, number and gender, as displayed by pronouns in some languages. Procedural forms are less complex than conceptual ones and include pronouns and pronominal demonstratives. These procedural references can have lower encoding due to the prior establishment of a concept in short term memory. Procedural forms, like pronouns, guide the addressee to the intended concept. Fretheim (2011:133) summarizes the relevance-theoretic perspective on such procedural indications as pronouns in the following way. "A pronoun…offers procedural information that enables the addressee to identify its referent, but even a pronoun does not contribute a truth condition directly to an

explicitly communicated proposition, it just constrains the addressee's pragmatic search for the referent."

In pragmatic terms, conceptual indications relate to complex reference forms, or a mixture of procedural and conceptual forms, such as noun phrases that include demonstratives, since demonstratives are procedural. Less or minimally complex forms, on the other hand, are described as procedural indications. In narrative discourse, conceptually encoded forms contribute new ideas or referents, while procedurally encoded forms serve to constrain our identification and understanding of that referent (Wilson and Sperber 1993:27).

2.2.3 Reference in narrative discourse

Reference assignment is applicable to people, places, things, time, ideas and memories. According to Relevance Theory, the referents of narrative discourse will raise an expectation of their own importance and relevance in the text by their reference alone. The format used, then, to conceptually introduce and procedurally maintain a referent "guides the audience toward the writer's meaning" (Wilson and Sperber 2004:607). It would seem untruthful, in Gricean terms, or like a relevance dead-end, to build the expectation of importance and not lead to procedural reference forms or focus features.

Scott (2011:202) argues that, according to RT, referring expressions and the form selected can serve as "a guide to the hearer in reference resolution, and different forms may yield different inferential effects". She explains this in relevance-theoretic terms through intended cognitive effects and the derivation of implicatures. A communicator may select different referring expressions for the cognitive effects they may produce and

the audience may arrive at certain implicatures when presented with particular reference forms. Examples of both of these will be seen in the Udi texts in Chapter 4.

Referents that will not have major significance in a text are not likely to receive procedural indications as their reference continues in the text. Conceptual indications, such as NPs, are established and used throughout the narrative as a reference form for these referents of lesser significance. The referential concept is either not well enough established for the communicator to be able to assume the audience will follow the matching process required with a procedural form, or there is no need to convey an idea of pragmatic salience.

Highly relevant referents are treated with procedural indications early and often in a discourse. Procedural forms work when conceptual forms have been set up to gear our expectations of relevance toward the proper referent. Highly relevant referents are well established in this sense.

> "…our perceptual mechanisms tend automatically to pick out potentially relevant stimuli, our memory retrieval mechanisms tend automatically to activate potentially relevant assumptions, and our inferential mechanisms tend spontaneously to process them in the most productive way." (Wilson and Sperber 2004:610)

So, when presented with a procedural morpheme, like a pronoun, our minds search for a concept to which we can attach it. We will attach a procedural form to the most relevant conceptual referent at our disposal, keeping the hunt as short as possible. We can move away from full NPs, and even names, where applicable, because we are holding an expectation of relevance of certain participants in the interpretation of narrative discourse. This expectation is caused by reference forms and the process they follow, as is discussed in the next section.

One interesting exception in the Udi narratives is the use of proper names. These conceptual forms are retained as reference forms for the most prominent participants of some narratives, in textual circumstances when procedural forms would do. This apparent violation of reference patterning will be discussed in further detail in section 3.1.2 and examined in examples from the texts in section 4.1.2.1. This does not violate the relevance-theoretic idea, however, that greater positive cognitive effects lead to greater relevance, while greater processing effort leads to lower relevance (Wilson and Sperber 2004:609). It merely contradicts our expectation of encoding, as we will see in the following section.

2.3 The Givenness Hierarchy

The Givenness Hierarchy, proposed by Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski (1993), serves as a useful descriptive tool in the tracking of participants and props in narrative discourse. Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski identify six statuses that they claim represent the cognitive level an item holds according to the reference form employed for that item. These six statuses are listed with their English examples in the figure below (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993:275).

Status:	in focus	> activated	> familiar	> uniquely identifiable	> referential	> type identifiable
		this				
English		*that*			*Indefinite*	
Form:	*It*	*this N*	*that N*	*the N*	*this N*	*a N*

Figure 2: The Givenness Hierarchy

According to Gundel (2011:207), "the linguistic forms that encode these statuses provide procedural information…about how to access (a mental representation of) the referent." The procedural information conveyed by TYPE IDENTIFIABLE status indicates the referent should be associated with a type representation. For REFERENTIAL STATUS, the

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referent is associated with a unique representation. In UNIQUELY IDENTIFIABLE status, the referent is associated with a unique representation with a NP. FAMILIAR status associates the referent with a representation in memory. ACTIVATED status associates the referent with a representation in working memory and IN FOCUS status with a representation in the focus of attention (Gundel 2011:208).

According to Relevance Theory, the audience will stop searching for a relevant referent once it has found the one that best fits the concepts available at hand and that promises cognitive effects. For procedural references, like the ones at the higher end of the Givenness Hierarchy scale in ACTIVATED or IN FOCUS status, using demonstratives and pronouns as solo reference forms requires a confidence that the audience will understand which conceptual referent is intended as the object of reference. The Givenness Hierarchy provides a description of the process natural discourse follows to enable "the addressee to restrict the set of possible referents" among other referents in discourse (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993:275). There are many participants in a story, but only one who has been introduced and maintained in short term memory through a particular reference process will be the understood referent for an IN FOCUS phrase (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993:279), with minimal encoding, as described by Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski.

Scott (2011:202) argues that pragmatics alone can account for the selection and use of procedural indicators in utterances, since "the form of the expression is a guide to the hearer in reference resolution." However, the usefulness of Givenness as part of the conversation of the selection of reference forms, in my view, is that it accurately describes cross-linguistic patterns. Adherence to and deviations from this pattern also help to indicate different levels of significance of referents in narrative discourse. The Givenness Hierarchy, then, will be used as a descriptive tool in this study, a means of linking the reference form choices in the Udi texts to patterns observed in other

languages. Udi exhibits this hierarchy through the use of quantifiers, demonstratives, a person marking (PM) endoclitic (Harris 2002) and independent pronouns (Harris 2002:179). Examples of this will be discussed in Chapter 4.

2.4 The Animacy Hierarchy

With the animacy hierarchy, Comrie (1989:185) proposed that languages follow linguistic patterns for noun phrases based on the order of human > animal > inanimate. Dahl and Fraurud (1996) apply this concept to discourse. They examined several factors, including the tendency of languages to disallow less animate referents in the subject position than those in the object position in transitive structures, the propensity for the possessor to be more animate than the possessed in possessive constructions and the higher percentage of animate referents in cases of pronominalization (Dahl & Fraurud 1996:54). They stress "that there is a strong connection between the animacy of a referent and the choice between different ways of referring to it" (Dahl & Fraurud 1996:56).

The effects of animacy in Udi are best seen in the syntactic relationships of major participants to non-human animate and inanimate props, such as birds and pipes. One text also gives us insight into the role of non-human, animate participants. The unique position of animals as participants, instead of props, will be discussed in examples from the narrative *Tülkü q'a orozi* 'The Fox and the Pheasant'.

Dahl and Fraurud claim that linguistic distinctions for animacy in discourse may be owing to the perspective of the human communicators generating it.

> "We tend to think of the world as organized around animate beings
> which perceive and act upon their inanimate environment.
> Correspondingly, the world as depicted or narrated in a discourse

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tends to be seen from the *point of view* of animates." (Dahl &

Fraurud 1996:60)

In the Udi narratives, this is reflected by the rich variety of reference forms used for

human participants and even ogre-like giants in two of the texts. Interestingly,

personified animals do not stand on the same referential footing, even though they are

able to "perceive and act upon their environment." Animals and personification,

however, fall in a "fuzzy" area in the animacy hierarchy (Dahl & Fraurud 1996:62), so

reference in this case is examined in detail in 4.1.4.1.

2.5 Discourse Models

Since the reference forms examined in this study are drawn from a set of narratives,

some contributions from the field of discourse analysis are presented here as aids in the

descriptions to follow.

2.5.1 Humnick's examination of reference forms in narrative discourse

Humnick (2002:105) argues that "...the system of references linked to each agent or

participant plays a vital role in textual cohesion." She presents several categories of

participant reference in narrative discourse from the Kumyk language in which

reference forms serve functions across the texts. This functional view of reference forms

presents conceptual and procedural forms in a structural model which differs from the

cognitive model presented in a relevance-theoretic description of the conceptual-

procedural distinction. These two views of conceptual and procedural indications

complement each other as they present both the perceptual form and the dynamic

function of reference forms. The discourse analysis approach to reference forms takes

into account the narrative as a whole, a trajectory of information that binds concepts and events until they take shape in a story.

Humnick concludes her article with an emphasis on the direct link between the type of a referential expression and the function of selected reference forms in narrative discourse. Generally, the more complex a form (e.g. a noun phrase with an adjective), the more dynamic the function. So conceptual forms can be used to introduce a participant, or establish or remove their prominence. Conversely, the least complex forms (e.g. pronouns) are used in the function of maintenance. Procedural forms, then, serve a role of continuity for referents in narrative discourse due to their activation and retention in short-term memory. "The intention of this paper is to present evidence that the chain of references to any given participant in a text is not arbitrary, but is systematically related to the structure of the text" (Humnick 2002:120).

2.5.2 Dooley and Levinsohn's contributions to discourse analysis

Dooley and Levinsohn have each written extensively on their field, including papers and books on such topics as switch-reference, participant reference and tracking, discourse features in translation issues, coherence and discontinuities, and the relationships between discourse and typology and word order. Their collaborative work (2001) provides a methodical approach to discourse analysis that fits with a structural model of reference forms. It gives an overview of the effects of multiple discourse features, including reference forms, as they contribute to the structure of a text as a whole.

This descriptive methodology provides tools useful for the analysis of discourse, particularly narrative discourse, and assigns terminology to commonly recurring features found in narrative texts. By charting the texts according to their methods, I was

able to examine the structure of the Udi narratives on the clausal level. This aids the identification of narrative discourse features, such as referents and thematic section breaks.

2.6 Conclusions

Both cognitive and structural analytic models of reference have been discussed in this chapter. Reference forms are part of the enrichment process of utterances and, as such, belong to the explicit part of the proposition expressed. However, in a search for their roots in the process of cognition a discourse analyst has to start with empirical work with recorded discourses. I have chosen to present both theoretical and empirical material in order to use both models in a description of the data of reference forms as they occur in Udi narrative discourse.

Relevance Theory describes the process of communication, from a speaker's intention to an addressee's comprehension. It describes what communicators and audiences do and why they do it, matching research from cognitive science to real language data. It carries implications for the choices of the elements of an utterance, such as reference forms, and the way they are perceived by the addressee. Cognitive models give us insight into communicators' intentions, their goals, even their reasoning behind the selection of reference forms. They also provide an understanding of our comprehension of these things.

The conceptual-procedural distinction between different types of referential indications, such as noun phrases or pronouns, aids our understanding of the way in which language guides our minds to connections between ideas and reference forms chosen to represent them. A relevance-theoretic understanding of conceptual and procedural meaning allows us to see that conceptual forms can establish some discourse

referents as more or less salient to a text, allowing procedural forms to carry on reference by constraining our perception of the referents.

Structural models of reference forms, such as the Givenness and Animacy Hierarchies as well as other contributions from the field of narrative discourse analysis, provide descriptions of patterns found cross-linguistically. These models present surface-level phenomena with terminology developed for different discourse types, such as narrative discourse. These descriptions can help us make predictions regarding reference form patterns in languages which have not received prior analysis. They provide a descriptive structure to which cognitive explanations can be applied.

CHAPTER 3

REFERENCE IN UDI

This chapter introduces the reference form types found in the Udi narrative texts as well as some of the structural elements of narrative discourse that interact with reference. To introduce the various reference forms possible in Udi, the noun phrase is presented, followed by an examination of some of its constituents. Names are presented as a special reference form in the language. Structural features of narrative discourse, such as cohesion, coherence, foregrounding, backgrounding and focus are discussed later in the chapter. Examples of reference forms from the narrative texts are presented in Chapter 4 and the terminology from the discourse elements from section 3.2 will be included in the discussion of those examples.

3.1 Reference Forms

3.1.1 The Udi Noun Phrase

According to Shulze (2002b:ExcursusII), noun phrases in Udi follow the word order:

(1)   NP→ {Quantifier (or QP)} {Demonstrative Adjective} {Attributive/Genitive} Noun

The head noun is the only obligatory member and may also be possessed by a genitive marker suffixed to the noun (Schulze 2002b:ExcursusII).

Schulze does not allow for both an attributive and a genitive in the same clause. This is possible, as shown in example (3) below from the narrative data. The phrase structure rule outlined in (1) above needs modification, then, to separate the attributive and generative. To Schulze's analysis, I would further separate the attributive and genitive constituents in the following order.

(2)   NP → {Quantifier (or QP)} {Demonstrative Adjective} {Genitive} {Attributive} Noun

This is due to the following example from the texts.

(3)   *bavay*   *q'əşənq*   *fark'ala*   *t'ütt'əyə*
       father's   nice   musical.instrument   pipe

    'father's beautiful musical pipe'

Here the genitive *bavay* 'father's' comes before the attributive *q'əşənq* 'nice' with the compound head noun *fark'ala t'ütt'əyə* 'musical pipe' at the end of the phrase.

In terms of reference assignment, the noun plays a crucial pragmatic role in establishing the referent in the mind of the addressee. Noun phrases occur as the first mention of all new participants and props in the Udi narratives. Nouns are also used for time and locative phrases that are used to establish context in the narratives.

> "On a cognitive approach, reference assignment is not simply the
> identification of an appropriate object or event but, rather, involves
> accessing (that is, retrieving or constructing) a mental
> representation which uniquely identifies the intended referent. This
> representation is then incorporated into the proposition expressed
> by the utterance" (Blakemore 1992:68-69).

Nouns, including proper nouns, and noun phrases are the keys that provide access to these mental representations.

3.1.1.1   Quantifiers

The first ordered constituent in the Udi noun phrase, the quantifier, deserves some attention as a syntactic, semantic and pragmatic element.

3.1.1.1.1   The quantifier *sa* 'one'

The most frequently occurring quantifier in this collection of Udi narratives is *sa* 'one'. It often occurs in phrases of time or location that are used at the beginning of thematic sections of the texts. It also appears in some introductory passages of the texts during which participants or props are first presented to the audience. These participants and props later prove to be textually significant, carrying an important, in some cases central, role in the action of the narrative. Harris (2002:247) identified this quantifier as a marker of "pragmatic salience."

In this introductory capacity, the quantifier serves as a portent of the significance of the head of its noun phrase. Most of the statuses of the Givenness Hierarchy present a referent in a manner that is accessible from the perspective of the addressee. REFERENTIAL status, however, gives the addressee insight into the communicator's intention. This builds an expectation of relevance to be fulfilled by the referent's involvement later in a particular discourse. This can include leading a referent to a position of focus. The English example of REFERENTIAL status given by Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski (1993:277) contains the English demonstrative 'this', as in:

(4)   I couldn't sleep last night. This dog (next door) kept me awake.

This use of the proximal demonstrative to introduce a new idea "is appropriate only if the speaker intends to say something about a particular dog" (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993:277). Similarly, the use of the quantifier *sa* 'one' in Udi noun phrases indicates that the writer immediately intends to elaborate on some quality of this

character or item. It also indicates that the head of the noun phrase will persist actively in that thematic section of the narrative or throughout the text.

As stated at the beginning of this section, the quantifier *sa* 'one' also occurs in locative and temporal phrases. The quantifier often appears in locative phrases that help to set a scene in a specific place, especially as a means of backgrounding information for a narrative. In temporal phrases, the quantifier is usually included at the beginning of thematic segments that bring the audience into the main action of the story. Examples of both of these roles will be presented in 4.3.

3.1.1.1.2 Additional quantifiers

Two other quantifiers, or quantifier phrases, appear in the texts. The quantifier *bitov* 'all' is often used in procedural indications in the *C'ïrtt'an* 'Chirtan' narrative to distinguish between participants. In this narrative a group of children serve jointly as a participant, while the global VIP Chirtan is also a child. The quantifier helps to clarify instances of action involving or excluding the VIP from the action of the other children.

The quantifier phrase *sa dənə* 'any' or 'a certain' (depending on context; lit. 'one two') occurs in referring expressions, as well. Its appearance in conceptual indications, such as an introductory noun phrase or a locative phrase, helps present a participant or a geographic setting in the narratives (see Misak Part 1: line 11.1a and Person from a Donkey: line 1.2). It also appears in a noun phrase that distinguishes the behavior of a participant from what would be expected of someone in his occupation (see Misak Part 1: line1.3b).

3.1.1.2 Demonstratives

Two Udi demonstratives appear throughout this collection of narratives, the proximal demonstrative *me* 'this' and the distal demonstrative *t'e* 'that'. Diessel (1999) addresses two major functions of demonstratives. The first function, that of

demonstratives as deictic expressions (Diessel 1999:2), links linguistic forms to spatial references. According to the summary of Ariel's claims made in a study by Botley and McEnery (2001:216), these deictic expressions are reflections of the relation of the referent to the location of the speaker. In their second function, demonstratives can also reflect accessibility, focusing more on the cognitive status of a referent than its spatial relation to a speaker (Botley & McEnery 2001:216). In this sense, the proximal and distal distinctions are more metaphorical than tangible.

As reflections of accessibility, demonstratives occasionally hold anaphoric roles cross-linguistically. In the Udi narratives, these demonstrative pronouns generally serve in a sentence or clause that provides more information about a referent that has just been introduced (see (25) in section 4.1.3.2). Demonstratives also serve as adjectives in reference to props or participants whose significance will build throughout the narrative. In this way, the demonstrative acts as a harbinger of textual salience (see section 4.1.2.3), similar to the *sa* 'one' quantifier, and appears as a modifier in a noun phrase.

3.1.1.3 Pronouns

Udi also has a large system of pronouns "which cover all aspects of standard pronominal reference including personality, deixis, reflexivity, questioned referents, indefiniteness, relative subordinators etc." (Schulze 2002b:Section3.2.2). Pronouns are inflected for the person and number of the referent, but not its gender.

Pronouns are used in reference to major participants in the narrative texts (see 4.1.4). As procedural forms, they are reserved for these more significant actors in the events of the narratives. This procedural function contributes to the overall effect of the utterances in which they are used by guiding the addressee to the intended referent, as indicated in 2.2.2.

3.1.2 Names

Names play a vital role in two of the Udi narratives, *C'irtt'an* 'Chirtan' and *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan'. In both texts, the use of proper names distinguishes participants by their significance to the action of the narrative. Although Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski do not account for names in their initial proposition of the Givenness Hierarchy, Mulkern (1996) approaches an explanation of the use of proper names through an application and extension of the hierarchy. She does this by examining two types of names, full names (first and last name together) and single names (first name or last name alone or nicknames), and by providing discourse evidences for the cognitive status of each.

According to Mulkern, the use of full names indicates at least UNIQUELY IDENTIFIABLE cognitive status (1996:239), in which the "addressee can identify the speaker's intended referent on the basis of the nominal alone" (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993:277). The use of single names, on the other hand, requires at least FAMILIAR cognitive status (Mulkern 1996:241) in which the "addressee is able to uniquely identify the intended referent because he already has a representation of it in memory" (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993:278).

Since each status of the Givenness Hierarchy entails the statuses below it (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993:275) and reference forms found in one can be used further in statuses along in the hierarchy, the use of single names for participants in ACTIVATED or IN FOCUS cognitive status does not violate givenness. This partially satisfies an issue that arises from the use of proper names in Udi, since they would appear to violate our expectations of procedural forms by appearing in textual instances in which less complex procedural indications, such as pronouns, would be expected.

The use of proper names in the Udi texts follows the pattern outlined by Mulkern for single names or "the shorter version of a proper name expression used in society" (Mulkern 1996:240). Names are used as reference forms in Udi for highly prominent participants, referred to later as global VIPs (see section 4.1.2). These reference forms are introduced during the introductory or backgrounded portion of the story in which the global VIP is presented to the audience. Mulkern likens the use of single names to FAMILIAR status and the examples in Udi support this description of the cognitive status (see section 4.1.2.1). Single names may be unique identifiers for referents in Udi, if full names are a recent cultural phenomenon. Yet bare nominals are used for UNIQUELY IDENTIFIABLE status in the narratives, while names are presented in FAMILIAR status.

While this application of givenness allows for the use of proper names throughout narratives in Udi, it doesn't account for the sustained selection of these names as reference forms. As stated earlier, names occur as the preferred reference form for global VIPs throughout two of the narratives. Insight on this use may be gained from Blakemore's assertion that "…both names and definite descriptions can be used anaphorically" (Blakemore 1992:67). For example, noun phrases that follow proper names as reference forms can refer back to the preceding name. She presents an illustration from Ariel (1988):

(5) Ronald Reagan flew to Japan. The president is scheduled to meet with Japanese feminists.

The definite noun phrase *the president* in second sentence, if taken in isolation, could be referring to another president of the U.S. or the president of another country. Yet, when interpreted within the context of (5), *the president* is an anaphoric reference to the conceptual address *Ronald Reagan*

The conceptual-procedural distinction was worked out in more detail after this publication, but the relationships between different reference forms apply to Udi. It is

possible that the Udi use of proper names, like the definite noun phrase above, are in some instances actually serving a procedural function. They are presented as conceptual forms, but after a referent has been introduced and established in short-term memory. This is in keeping with both Mulkern's analysis of cognitive status and Blakemore's description of anaphoric descriptions.

Cognitively, proper names require the audience to access a mental representation of a referent, add to their understanding of it and further incorporate it into the discourse. Proper names require access to conceptual addresses, but additionally require the referent to be accessible in the discourse. This accessibility is established in their introduction. In terms of RT, the use of names in the Udi texts produces certain cognitive effects. Specifically, the use of names for a restricted set of referents allows the addressee to draw contextual implications regarding the significance of the referents. The author of the discourse could introduce participants to the audience by way of their proper name and could proceed from that conceptual form to a more standard procedural one, such as a pronoun.

Owing to the communicative principle of relevance, the contextual implications derived from the use of names in both introductory and sustained reference are viewed in light of one of the criteria of optimal relevance – that the referent be relevant enough to make the extra processing effort of the repeated use of the name worthwhile. Natural reference leads to proforms once a referent has been established. Names that are used repeatedly require extra processing energy by violating this natural progression. In Udi narrative, the conclusions that can be drawn from this restrictive use of a reference form lead the audience to a better understanding of the referent. As a sub-task in the comprehension procedure, the addressee will construct hypotheses about the intended contextual implications (Wilson & Sperber 2004:617). The implicated conclusions in the

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narratives lead to an idea of greater prominence for the referent to whom the name is assigned as a reference form.

3.2 Reference in Discourse

There are many descriptive terms used in the field of discourse analysis that are helpful in presenting data from narratives. These include cohesion, coherence, background, foreground and focus. They have bearing on reference and are discussed here.

3.2.1 Cohesion, coherence and relevance

Relevance can account for the understanding of utterances, including those formed into discourse. It does so through the criterion of consistency with the principle of relevance (Blass 1990:72). The criterion states:

> "An utterance, on a given interpretation, is consistent with the
> communicative principle of relevance if and only if the speaker
> might reasonably have expected it to be optimally relevant to the
> hearer on that interpretation." (Wilson & Sperber 2012:178)

Within the context of narrative discourse, reference forms can be expected to be optimally relevant throughout a text. They contribute to the audience's overall comprehension of the text and the connections within the text.

While relevance accounts for our comprehension of utterances in discourse, cohesion and coherence are useful as descriptive devices in narrative discourse. There are organizational patterns involving cohesion and coherence that are associated with different types of discourse. These patterns help us identify which type is being

communicated, such as the relationship between contingent succession and narrative discourse.

3.2.1.1 Reference as a cohesive device

The reference patterns of narrative discourse in Udi contribute to the cohesion within sections of the texts, in agreement with Humnick's (2002:105) discourse analytic assertions.

> "Textual cohesion is realized by many devices, one of which is the chain of references to a common referent in a text. In a narrative text, which is primarily characterized by a set of agents and the chronology of events in which they participate, the system of references linked to each agent or participant plays a vital role in textual cohesion."

In keeping with this perspective, the Givenness Hierarchy describes a structure in which reference forms progress from one status to the next in a cohesive pattern that can be traced throughout a section of text. Likewise, in a cognitive model, conceptual forms are introduced, then referents are transitioned to procedural forms, while the referents themselves are serving as the ties that link textual elements together.

In Udi, cohesion is achieved through strings of references to participants and props that draw on preceding references. As an example, reference to the grandmother in the *C'irtt'an* 'Chirtan' narrative provides a cohesive building block on which the introduction of both the action of the text and a major participant, her grandson, are built. The narrative is introduced slightly from her perspective, with insight into her thoughts about her grandson, then transitioned in the next thematic section into the main action of the narrative. Her grandson, the global VIP of the text, is introduced gradually following her presentational introduction. His existence and name are linked to her as a

participant, though her significance does not expand much past this. The cohesive links that lead from her to the introduction of the action and main participant of the narrative are described in greater detail in section 4.1.5.

3.2.1.2 Reference and coherence

Although a text is generally broken into smaller segments, especially in a long narrative discourse, we have an overall expectation of continuity when we approach narrative discourse. "A text is said to be coherent if, for a certain hearer on a certain hearing/reading, he or she is able to fit its different elements into a single overall mental representation" (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:22). While relevance accounts for the textuality of a discourse, coherence is the description used in narrative discourse analysis for the consistency of reference that emerges in a narrative.

Coherence in narrative discourse emerges through cohesive links, such those established through participant reference forms, and continuities of time and location that keep a consistent flow of information as it forms an overarching storyline. Unger (2006:72) notes that "one approach to global coherence assumes that the overall well-formedness of discourse depends on the way information is distributed over it in terms of varying importance or prominence." Although Unger does not accept this approach as a true explanation for well-formedness, it does serve as a description of recurring phenomena in narrative discourse. References to time and location consistently appear at the beginning of thematic sections, guiding our interpretation of the events that follow. Even when there are thematic disturbances, such as changes in action, place or time, marking a new thematic section, the sustained or renewed reference to participants, whose actions propel the text onward, contribute to continuity.

Of the five Udi narratives in this study, three are relatively short, with few thematic changes. These texts, *Elemaxun Amdar* 'Person from a Donkey', *Tülkü q'a Orozi* 'The Fox

and the Pheasant' and *Oro qonşiyox* 'Two Neighbors', are marked by a terse story line based on the actions or dialogue of a small number of participants. These referents participate from the outset of the narratives to the end. The narrative *Elemaxun Amdar* 'Person from a Donkey' is a comical scenario involving a naïve man. The text is kept short and humorous by restricting the number of referents to only those required for the purpose. The narrative *Tülkü q'a Orozi* 'The Fox and the Pheasant' consists almost entirely of a dialogue between the two participants. Unnecessary thematic material, such as introductions or changes in location are omitted to keep the focus of the text on the irony of the dialogue, in which the manipulative fox is outsmarted by the pheasant. The narrative *Oro qonşiyox* 'Two Neighbors' includes a brief introductory thematic section, which establishes a disagreement between the two participants, but moves quickly into the brief active thematic section of the text to which the interaction of the participants is key.

The longer two narratives, *C'irtt'an'* 'Chirtan' and *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan', involve multiple thematic changes of time, place and action. The unifying theme in both of these texts is sustained reference to one central participant throughout the narrative. Changes of time near the beginning of each narrative encompass the growth of this global VIP. Variations of location throughout the texts are due to the actions of the central participant, as the audience follows him from one place to another. Changes in action in the narratives are generally brought about by the global VIP's wishes, ingenuity or by demands made upon him by the authority of others. Reference to these participants forms a cohesive thread that fosters the overall coherence of the texts.

3.2.2 Grounding

Scott (2011:197) states that "the relevance-theoretic approach to communication stresses the importance of interpreting utterances in a context." In narrative discourse, this context is built through reference to participants, props, time and location. Specifically in reference to time and the effects it has on the context provided through narrative discourse, the terms background and foreground are helpful as descriptors of the segmentation patterns in a text. Use of these terms in this paper is not done to support of the theory of grounding, but as an adoption of tools that can assist a discussion of the way in which reference to time can indicate whether material that will follow is only necessary for context or if it will serve as the main action of the narrative.

Some of the definitions offered to distinguish between the concepts of foreground and background have been rejected as unsuitable for a cross-genre discussion since they are only supported by examples from narrative discourse (Unger 2006). However, since the scope of the present study only includes narrative discourse, these definitions may be useful. Hopper and Thompson's (1980) idea is that background sections contain information that builds context and leads to foreground information, which yields cognitive effects.

> "That part of a discourse which does not immediately and crucially
> contribute to the speaker's goal, but which merely assists, amplifies
> or comments on it, is referred to as BACKGROUND. By contrast, the
> material which supplies the main points of the discourse is known
> as FOREGROUND." (Hopper & Thompson 1980:280)

Other distinguishing marks of foreground material have been defined as temporally successive, pivotal to the development of the narrative or more unpredictable and unexpected than background material (Unger 2006:78-79).

Grounding in Udi narrative discourse is indicated by reference to both place and time. These establish foreground and background information in the texts are similar in syntactic structure to those used for participant reference, but differ in their pragmatic effects. Generally, these phrases are noun phrases that include quantifiers. They are often found at the beginning of a thematic section, marking new material.

3.2.3 Participant reference and focus

Focus can contribute to the selection and placement of reference forms in narrative discourse. Kiss (1998:245) identified two types of focus, identificational and informational. According to this distinction, identificational focus, or contrastive focus, "expresses exhaustive focus". Information focus, or presentational focus, "conveys nonpresupposed information" (Kiss 1998:245). One major distinction between these two types is their frequency. "An information focus is present in every sentence, but not every sentence contains an identificational focus" (Kiss 1998:246).

Udi exhibits identificational focus as a contributing factor to reference form selection. Focus in the texts can take several practical forms. Udi displays focus in narrative discourse through the strategic placement of a person-marking endoclitic, through some variations in word order and through the use of unique reference forms, such as proper names.

Harris (2002) provides a detailed description of a person-marking (PM) endoclitic in the Udi language and its remarkable morphological characteristics. She also identifies the role of the endoclitic in drawing focus to the word to which it is attached (Harris 2002:242). This is due to the pronominal origins of the endoclitic and its historical syntactic position associated with argument focus. Although they are often found inside a verb stem, they are still considered endoclitics, as opposed to infixes, due to their

ability to move to clausal constituents (Harris 2002:282). This fits with Kiss' (1998:246) characterizing identificational focus as able to undergo syntactic movement. In the Udi narrative texts, the endoclitic occasionally appears as a focus marker on a referent. The data from the texts fits Harris' analysis of the focus marking quality of the PM. Since focus is not my major area of study here, I will only address it in the data briefly.

In his online grammar, Schulze notes that variations in Udi word order stem from pragmatic influences. "The placement of localizing constituents in the final slot is comparatively rare with transitive structures. Yet, this slot is often used to signal (in parts contrastive) focus on constituents in S- or O-function…" (Schulz 2002:Section 4.2). There is a subtle restriction on the referents that are allowed into this position, however, based on their textual salience in the narratives.

In the texts of this study, the discourse role of the constituent moved into the post-verbal focus position (as per Schulze's description) is restricted to participants or props that hold major significance through a thematic section or through an entire narrative. This focus position is reserved for referents of higher prominence in and relevance to the text than others. There is one exception, however. A king from the narrative *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan' is introduced in a manner that generally indicates a minor participant in the case of other referents. Yet, this king is allowed in the post-verbal focus word order position. This may be due to his position in the society, instead of his prominence in the discourse, and will be dealt with in section 4.1.4.2.

Other focus markers reserved for very prominent referents are a small group of unique reference forms, which include proper names, pronouns and zero anaphora. Of these, pronouns are the most frequently used. They are employed for most major participants of both long and short narratives and are reserved for animate referents. Proper names are only assigned as reference forms to the global VIPs in the two longer narratives. These unique forms, presented in 3.1.2, draw focus to their referent. Zero

anaphora on the sentence level and implicit speech introducers occur for highly significant referents. During instances of reported speech in which these occur there is little chance of confusing the referent who has spoken, given the context of the dialogue.

   In terms of relevance, focus is not merely a reflection of new versus old information. Focus features in these narrative discourses, like Kiss' identificational focus, serves as linguistic markers used by the author to provoke positive cognitive effects. They strengthen the implicatures that can be derived from reference forms alone. The communicator uses focus marking procedures to ensure her audience will draw the right contextual implications. In this case, the contextual implications strengthened by focus are that the referents in focus positions will be more highly accessible throughout the text and will have a greater bearing on the action of the narrative.

CHAPTER 4

REFERENCE IN THE UDI NARRATIVES

In this chapter, I discuss the reference forms found in the Udi narrative texts. They are presented in the categories of participants, props, location and time. Each category reflects features of both the cognitive and structural models presented in the previous chapters.

4.1 Participants

The Udi narratives include participants with various levels of significance, in keeping with the discourse analytic concepts described by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001). Each participant portrays some aspect of the reference characteristics addressed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. The participants will be described here in decreasing order of their prominence in the texts.

4.1.1 Context

The participants I discuss below appear in the narratives *C'irtt'an* 'Chirtan' and *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan'. There are three instances of global VIPs in these narratives. Each VIP is different in either the reference forms that are used for them or in their introduction. Since the examples in the following sections are drawn from the texts and analysis is based on the reference forms in context, the two narratives are summarized here.

Chirtan is the VIP of the narrative *C'ïrtt'an* 'Chirtan'. He is a young boy who plays with local children. The children come by one day on their way to a forest to gather wood. Chirtan's grandmother gives them a snack of buttered bread and they leave for the forest. Chirtan joins them, but often ends up sitting and crying. Each time he cries, the children ask him what's wrong and he demands that they gather his wood, carry his wood and carry him. They comply, but get lost in the forest late in the day and encounter a lit house, where they seek rest. The house belongs to an ogre-like giant who waits for the children to go to sleep in order to eat them. Chirtan remains awake while the others sleep and realizes the giant's intentions. He persuades the giant to do certain tasks, like cooking food and bringing water, that he insists will help him sleep. While the giant is occupied with one of these tasks, Chirtan wakes the other children and they all flee from the house. They cross a river near the house and the giant sees them and asks how they got to the other side of the river. Chirtan tells him that they tied rocks to their necks in order to cross. The giant follows this advice and ends up drowning. The children and Chirtan leave the forest and return home, where the story ends.

Misak and Seran are VIPs in the narrative *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan'. Misak is another young boy who grows during the first quarter of his story into a fine young man of fifteen. His father is introduced at the beginning of the story as a unique hunter who traps the animals he hunts, instead of killing them. After the death of the father, his wife and child, Misak, are left very poor. Misak learns his father's trade of trapping birds with a net while luring them with a musical instrument. He sells eggs from one beautiful bird to a merchant in a nearby city. The merchant, in turn, sells the eggs to the king of the city at a higher rate. Misak discovers this and sells the eggs directly to the king, making the merchant jealous. The merchant persuades the king to force Misak to give him the bird. Misak returns to his trade and becomes successful by trapping birds and fulfilling orders from the people of the city. The merchant's jealousy grows, so

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he goes back to the king twice, persuading him first to demand another beautiful bird of Misak as a companion for the first bird. The second time he persuades the king to send Misak in search of a special flower that does not wilt. This flower, he is told, will revive the birds, who cannot live long without smelling it.

The king likes this idea and tells Misak that he has forty days to find the flower, which grows in a giant's garden, and bring it back. If he fails in this dangerous task, he will be killed. Misak seeks the advice of a wise old man, who gives him instructions on how to reach the giant's garden and safely succeed in his task. When Misak arrives at the giant's house, he finds Seran, a captive of the giant, rescues her and returns home with her, instead of the flower. Upon his return, the king's emissaries are sent to ask Misak if he has found the flower. Seran answers for him that he has, indeed, found the flower. After the representatives leave, she explains to Misak that a drop of her blood turns into the non-wilting flower and that the giant held her captive in order to attract the beautiful birds to his garden with her flowers. Misak brings a flower to the king, but the merchant is present and changes the demand from just a flower to a flower with a root. Misak decides, at this point, to use the king's stupidity and the merchant's greed to their downfall and explains that the flower grows with its root not in the giant's garden, but in a city of the dead. This city is the home of the fathers of both king and the merchant and can only be reached via an underwater road in a marshy lake near the city. The commerce is great in the city of the dead, according to Misak, and both of the fathers want their sons to come visit. He convinces the king and the merchant to dive into the lake with evidence of more flowers (from Seran) and some gold he stole from the giant's house. The king and merchant drown and the city of the living is spared from their abusive leadership. Misak and Seran live a happy life with a new garden they create, to which all the beautiful birds come to reside.

4.1.2 Global VIPs

As noted in 1.4.2, a VERY IMPORTANT PARTICIPANT (VIP) is a major participant who rises above others in terms of significance and linguistic distinction. Such participants appear in the two longer Udi narratives, *C'irtt'an* 'Chirtan' and *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan'. The rich variety of reference forms employed for these participants reflects the fact that they are more relevant to the events of the narrative than are other referents.

Dooley and Levinsohn describe two types of VIPs. Global VIPs are main participants that are minimally encoded after their introduction (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001121-122). A local VIP is generally only significant for one thematic section (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:122). They may only be active for that section or they may be active, but far less significant, in other portions of the narrative.

From their introduction until the end of the text, the linguistic treatment of global VIPs sets them apart from other participants. These referents generally receive a formal introduction, which "is linguistic material that instructs the hearer not only to activate the participant, but also to be prepared to organize a major part of the mental representation around him or her" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:119). This presentation serves to establish prominence for these participants. In the Udi texts, their activation is maintained from that point until the conclusion of the narrative and special reference forms are reserved throughout the texts for these participants.

The most significant participants in each narrative are expressed with the most linguistic complexity. The formal introductions, complex noun phrases and additional sentences of information used for these referents require more processing effort than is needed for other participants, since "linguistic complexity is one factor affecting processing effort" (Blass 1990:50). If these participants were not prominent in the

actions of the narratives, our expectations regarding their relevance would be violated and we would be disappointed with the extra effort expended. However, the overall textual effects of the participation of a VIP fulfill the high expectation of relevance built by individual references throughout the text that are unique to these participants. The ratio of cost to benefit in the amount of material that is communicated for these referents remains balanced with their level of significance.

4.1.2.1 A case of a blurred conceptual-procedural distinction

Chirtan, the global VIP in the text *C'ïrtt'an* 'Chirtan', presents an example of the movement in reference from conceptual forms to procedural ones. The pattern of reference forms that emerges follows the Givenness Hierarchy's description of reference forms as indications of cognitive status. The VIP is introduced as a grandchild of a grandmother who has already been presented at the start of the text. His introduction begins with a full noun phrase, *sa nəvəne* 'one grandchild' as shown in (6) below (Chirtan: line 1.1).

(6) *Me*   *kalnay*   *sa*   *nəvəne*   *baksa*
    this   grandmother's   one   grandchild   is

    'This grandmother had a grandchild.'

As mentioned in section 3.1.1.1.1, the inclusion of *sa* 'one' in this noun phrase ranks Chirtan in REFERENTIAL status, according to the Givenness Hierarchy. This distinguished, indefinite reference form indicates that the referent will have pragmatic significance in the narrative. "Thus, expressions which are referential…require the addressee to construct a new representation as determined by the content of the referential expression along with the rest of the sentence" (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993:277).

The next line of text slows down the presentation of Chirtan in the discourse by giving more information about this salient referent (Chirtan: line 1.3a).

(7) *Nəvə   gele   mis'ik'   baksuna   görə*
    grandchild   very   little   being   as

   'As the grandchild was very little,…'

The bare nominal used to refer to the grandchild reflects UNIQUELY IDENTIFIABLE status in terms of givenness. While Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski (1993:277) assert that this "status is a necessary condition for all definite reference," Udi grammars do not discuss a distinction between definite and indefinite subjects, apart from the presence or absence of the indefinite marker *sa* 'one'. There is a distinction between definite and indefinite direct objects in Udi through use of case marking (Harris 2002:244). However, ergative or absolutive markings are found on subjects and are determined by the transitivity of the clause or complexity of the verb (Harris 2002:252-255), not the definiteness of the subject itself.

   The references to the VIP in the main clause that follows example (7) is distinctive in two ways (Chirtan: line 1.3b).

(8) *kalnan   nəvəy   s'iya   lanexsa   C'irtt'an*
    grandmother   grandchild's   name   calls   Chirtan

   '…the grandmother called the grandchild's name Chirtan.'

First, the grandchild's name occurs in a marked, post-verbal position in the clause. As noted in 3.2.3, this word order position puts the referent in focus. Second, the name itself serves as a distinguishing reference form, since no other participants in this narrative are given a name. As part of the formal introduction (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:119), this presentation of the grandchild gives him the double honor of a proper name and word order focus.

   In terms of relevance, the slow development of Chirtan as a referent at the beginning of a rather fast-paced narrative requires some explanation, not just a description. According to the cognitive principle of relevance, we select the stimuli we

deem most relevant from those available to us to process. The fact that we have decided to read a narrative in the first place indicates that we believe it will have some relevance to our lives. The author's goal is to keep our attention, once she has it, and entertain us until the conclusion of the story. Her selection of reference forms and even their placement in a sentence helps us decide where to direct our attention and which referent should hold it longest. The author methodically develops the introduction of Chirtan with multiple reference patterns in order to give our minds a referent to latch onto for the remainder of the text. The formal introduction of Chirtan and successive progression through givenness to a high level of accessibility indicates that this referent, in the end, will lead to the most cognitive effects..

The name given to the grandchild continues to be used to refer to him throughout the text. The conceptual form of a grandchild was well established through Chirtan's introduction. The name is presented in a way that links it to the encyclopedic entry. It is used in the text in reference to the boy to differentiate between this VIP and other children who participate in the action of the text (singular and plural referents).

The Udi language has a third person singular pronoun that is often used in other narratives, but in this story the proper name is preferred as a reference form for the VIP Chirtan. This is allowed by the Givenness Hierarchy, as noted in 3.1.2, but is unusual. As mentioned above, minimum coding, such as a pronoun, is often preferred for global VIPs in narrative discourse. Such minimal encoding is used for the VIPs in the narrative *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan'. However, the VIPs in that narrative are distinguished conceptually as the only two young people in the narrative, a boy of fifteen and a girl.

I would argue that proper names in Udi narrative, especially in the narrative *C'irtt'an* 'Chirtan', are conceptual forms serving a procedural function. These reference forms continually lead the audience directly back to the conceptual address to which they are linked. In this text, the name serves to repeatedly set Chirtan apart from the

other children with whom he interacts. Unger discusses the use of procedural devices to produce effects for which there is no encoding device in a language. He calls this process "tangential procedural marking" (Unger 2011:112) and gives examples in which "linguistic expressions may be used to provide evidence for the communicator's intention not in virtue of the information they linguistically encode" (Unger 2011:115). In a similar way, I believe proper names, as conceptual forms, may be used as procedural indications to strengthen the implicature previously drawn from the more complex conceptual forms of indefinite and definite noun phrases patterned through his introduction.

One further notable procedural reference form is used for Chirtan late in the text. Zero anaphora occurs during a dialogue between Chirtan and a giant, who intends to eat all of the children who have entered his house. To this point in the narrative, Chirtan has been a somewhat annoying companion for the children, not willing to gather or carry any of his own wood, though he asked to accompany them into the woods for that purpose. He hasn't even wanted to walk and manipulates the children into carrying him on their backs. However, he is about to show his merit and outwit the giant, while the other children sleep (Chirtan: line 8.2a-8.3b). The giant enters where the children are sleeping, sees Chirtan awake, and talks to him.

(9) | *Xavare* | *haq'sa :* | *" Het'aynak'* | *ten* | *nep'axesa ? "* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| news | take | why | do.not | asleep |

'(He) asks, "Why you are not sleeping?"'

Chirtan answers the giant.

(10) | *"Bez* | *kalnan ,* | *zu* | *bask'amin* | *bĕş ,* | *za* | *küküne* | *bi* | *tast'a."* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| my | grandmother | 1s | go.to.bed | before | to.1s | fried.egg | make | give |

'"My grandmother, before I go to bed, gives me an omelet"'

Both cases of reported speech are presented without direct reference to their speakers. The giant is serving as a local VIP for this thematic grouping of the narrative.

According to the analysis of Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:123), a global VIP may step down in significance in the presence of a local VIP. This is often shown by different reference forms for the global VIP in the thematic sections focused on a local VIP than in other thematic sections of the narrative. However, there is an effort in the Udi narratives to keep the global VIP at the "center of attention" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:123) even when interacting with another highly significant participant. This is conveyed through the use of zero anaphora for the giant in (9) and an implicit speech introducer for Chirtan in (10) in this interaction. This struggle to keep the global VIP at the highest level of prominence in the texts may be due, in part, to a cultural value of wit, presence of mind or other character qualities, which are exemplified by the global VIPs here and in the narrative *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan'. Regardless of the cause, the implicit quotation of Chirtan in (10) strengthens the overall implicature that he is, indeed, of the highest importance.

4.1.2.2 Prominence among multiple referents

Misak is the first of two global VIPs in the narrative *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan'. As such, he serves as a contributing factor to the cohesiveness of a long, involved narrative. While many other participants serve as referents in the text, Misak alone is introduced early and actively maintained throughout the narrative. His actions also largely determine the outcome of the story. So the question arises as to what reference forms set Misak apart as a participant, supporting his significance in the text.

Like Chirtan, Misak is introduced as a family member to a previously presented participant. The hunter in the beginning of the narrative *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the

Orphan' has a wife and son who are introduced in the third thematic section of the text (Misak Part 1: line 3.1).

(11) *Ŏxǎlbali*   *çux*   *saal*   *sa*   *ğare*   *baksa*
      hunter's   wife   also   one   son   is

    'The hunter's wife also had a son.'

In a manner reflective of his pragmatic salience, Misak is introduced in REFERENTIAL status according to the Givenness Hierarchy through the use of the indefinite quantifier in the noun phrase *sa ğare* 'one son'. This stands in sharp contrast to his mother, who is referenced here merely through a statement of her existence and as a means of introducing her son.

    In terms of focus, Misak's introduction slows the narrative with a presentation of his name (Misak Part 1: line 3.2).

(12) *Ğare*   *s'iyal*   *Misak'e*   *baksa*
      son   name   Misak   is

    'The son's name was Misak.'

Although this name is not placed into a focused post-verbal position, unlike Chirtan's, it does constitute focus in that the participant is given a proper name and by means of a presentational sentence. "A presentational sentence is structured so that the new referent is focal, typically [with] a verb of existence" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:120).

    Misak is also treated with other focus reference forms in this narrative. The first appears in a new thematic section in which he has grown. Due to the death of his father, the hunter, the people of his village call him an orphan (Misak Part 1: line 4.3b).

(13) *şoto*   *amdarxon*   *yetim*   *Misak't'un*   *k'aley*
      those   people   orphan   Misak   call

    '…those people call him the orphan Misak.'

The person marker (PM) *t'un* is cliticized in this clause to Misak's name in the objective noun phrase *yetim Misak't'un* 'orphan Misak'. Following Udi grammatical restrictions, the PM agrees with the plural subject *şoto amdarxon* 'those people', but the placement of the PM on the noun *Misak'*, as opposed to possible placement on the verb, brings focus to him as a referent (Harris 2002:242).

Repeatedly in the narrative, Misak is referenced with a pronoun, as in (14) (Misak Part 1: line 5.1b).

(14) | *Şot'in* | *savaxt'inaxun* | *biyəsə* | *s'irik* | *iz* | *na* | *köməye* | *bsay* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3s | morning | evening | till | 3s.GEN | mother | help | doing |

'He helps his mother from morning till evening.'

Not only does Misak receive procedural indication, he is the referent of the possessive pronoun used in the possessor for the mother, as well. From the communicator's perspective, the introduction of participants at the beginning of narrative discourse is an opportunity to reduce the field of possible referents. The author could have introduced us to several significant people from the village all at once. But instead of beginning with a group, the author zeroes in on one child from the beginning of the narrative and establishes him in the narrative before moving on. This narrative includes several other significant participants, but this conceptual establishment of Misak allows the author to use pronouns to clearly refer back to him.

The audience's comprehension follows this selective establishment. As long as we find the narrative relevant to our goal of being entertained, we don't start thinking of other possible referents: other children or a child we knew in school, once the referent from the narrative moves into our mental representation and is referred back to. "The conceptual information encoded by a referring expression will rule out any potential referents that are not compatible with it" (Scott 2011:188). The Udi author is very careful to only use procedural devices, such as pronouns, for certain referents. These are

the ones for whom she would like her audience to keep an active connection to a conceptual address. The introductory process is carefully crafted to lead to these procedural forms. In this way, the use of proforms in reference in Udi narrative may be more restricted than the use of pronouns in daily, verbal communication, where they may be used more readily as reference forms for multiple referents.

As a factor in what fosters cohesion in the narrative, reference to Misak is maintained in short-term memory. According to RT, there can be "a variety of short-term memory stores, to which different types of proforms might direct the hearer's attention" (Blass 1990:59). Not all information received and processed during the course of a narrative is retained in short-term memory. Some participants are only active for one thematic section. Others need reactivation after lapses from participation in the action of the text. But there are referents like Misak who are active throughout the entirety of the narrative and our attention is repeatedly directed to such referents.

4.1.2.3 An unusual introduction

The second VIP from the narrative *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan' is Seran. Unlike Chirtan and Misak, she is not involved in the entirety of the narrative. However, she is active for several thematic sections, unlike the local VIPs of these longer texts. She is not given a traditional formal introduction, though, as Chirtan and Misak are. Instead, she is introduced by two unique methods. The first introductory method presents her as a girl held captive in a giant's house where Misak discovers her while searching for a flower. This is different from the introduction of most other major participants who are presented to the audience prior to their interaction with another participant. Second, Seran's name is presented in reported speech during a dialogue with Misak, unlike the normal presentational method. Both of these methods are discussed here in greater detail.

The first reference to the girl, Seran, as a participant, comes after Misak arrives at the giant's house. He hears the sound of a voice coming from under a door and opens the door to investigate (Misak Part 3: line 7.7a-7.7c).

(15)   *Çomo*   *qayene ,*   *bĕneǧsa*   *sa*   *xuyərə*   *iz*   *popaxun*   *suruk'p'et'un .*
            door   open   see   one   girl   3s.GEN   hair   to.hang

       'He opened the door and saw a girl, who was hanging by her hair.'

The REFERENTIAL use of the quantifier *sa* 'one' again signals the importance of the referent associated with it. Though this is not a presentational sentence, it is REFERENTIAL status. The prominent referent is allowed to make her own introduction (Misak Part 3: line 8.5a-8.5b).

(16)   *Xuyəren*   *pine :*   *" Bez*   *s'i*   *Serane . "*
            girl   said   my   name   Seran

      'The girl said, "My name is Seran…"'

Each stage of reference to this participant is unique within this limited corpus. Her introduction by way of discovery by another participant is unparalleled in the texts. All other participants are introduced by the narrator and highly significant ones, like Seran, are generally introduced in a presentational format. However, in (15) the audience is introduced to Seran when Misak discovers her. Her presentation of her own name in reported speech stands in contrast to the presentation of the other two VIPs. Each of these special features builds a context of mystery and prominence around this participant, designed to produce cognitive effects. As a referent, Seran's unique treatment helps to build a new level of complexity in the narrative that leads to the climax of the text. As a participant, Seran's involvement in the action of the narrative serves to bring its resolution. The contextual implications yielded from her exceptionality are that she will prove crucial to the actions of the narrative and these expectations are fulfilled.

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The unusual method of introduction makes sense in light of the unique role this referent will play in changing the outcome of the narrative. These reference methods help to build the narrative to its climax throughout the second half of the text, in which Seran's flower-making abilities are crucial to the resolution of the injustices suffered by Misak and others in the text. Although there are no clear examples of cataphora in the text, the introductory methods used in reference to Seran serve a similar purpose as what cataphora would in terms of building suspense in the narrative. It does so by withholding information from the audience and presenting referents in a way which delays full reference resolution until more information is known.

A parallel introduction that also contributes to the suspense of this narrative is reference to a prop, a special non-fading flower that is later revealed to be associated with drops of Seran's blood. The first reference to the flower occurs in reported speech in a dialogue between a merchant and a king, other participants in the text, prior to Misak's journey to the giant's house (Misak Part 2: line 4.2e).

(17) *zu   q'oja   amdarxoxun   ibakezu   ki ,   nu   şerebakala   č'oč'a   vardo*
     I   old   people   heard   that   not   fade   red   flower

  '…I have heard from the old people that there is a red rose, which doesn't fade…'

Although the noun phrase introducing the flower doesn't contain the quantifier *sa* 'one', this introductory clause is given in presentational format. As seen with the other global VIPs, this can also indicate pragmatic salience in the texts, in addition to an introduction in REFERENTIAL status.

The flower continues to be referenced in the next clause of the sentence (Misak Part 2: line 4.2g).

(18) *ke   q'uşurxon   gərə   usena   sa   kərəm   te   varda   adbiq'at'un*
    this   bird   need   year   one   time   that   flower   smell

  '…these birds need to smell that rose one time a year.'

The distal demonstrative *te* 'that' used with the noun is used frequently in reference to the flower from this point on in the text. Although this noun phrase structure corresponds to English examples used by the authors of the Givenness Hierarchy for FAMILIAR status (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993:278), I believe this actually marks ACTIVATED status in Udi. There are few examples of demonstratives being used pronominally in the texts; they are, more often, found co-occurring as modifiers in a phrase with the nominal referent.

In cognitive terms, the use of a demonstrative determiner in a noun phrase is a procedural marker that "affects the truth conditional content of the utterance" (Scott 2011:192). As such, it helps to indicate that the referent in this phrase is co-referential with the flower mentioned in the previous utterance. This prevents the audience from seeking a "generic interpretation" of the noun phrase in which it occurs (Scott 2011:192). The fact that this happens cross-linguistically in secondary reference, after a referent has been introduced with a noun phrase, and is described as an indication of FAMILIAR cognitive status in English, indicates that communicators in discourse often use demonstratives for this procedural purpose, whether they are aware of it or not. They may, however, be aware of their desire to convey the implicature noted by Unger (2011:114). He states that "complex demonstratives give rise to an implicature that that intended referent is nonunique in the discourse context and contrasts in some way with other entities of the same type". While this may be part of the role of the demonstrative construction, it is also still placing the referent in the discourse scene.

After the demonstrative drops out of use after a thematic break, the flower is reactivated by use of a full noun phrase containing the recurring adjective 'non-fading' seen in its introduction in (17).

(19)   *mas'i*   *deve*   *baxçinaxun*   *nu*   *şerebakala*   *çoça*   *vard*   *eça*
         white   giant   garden   not   fade   red   flower   bring

        '…bring the non-fading red rose from white giant's garden   …'

This is FAMILIAR status in Udi, where the nominal is used, along with its adjectival descriptor to reactivate a referent that "already has a representation…in memory (in long-term…or short-term memory)" (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993:278). Although the flower had lapsed from short term memory at the point of (19), the representation had previously been established.

     Misak consults a wise old man for advice on how to find the flower in a later thematic section. During his dialogue with this man, the flower is found in IN FOCUS status in a unique word order variant: pre-nuclear position in the clause. This is a highly marked position for an object (Misak Part 2: line 9.4a).

(20)   *T'e*   *varda*   *mas'i*   *deven*   *iz*   *bağçina*   *q'orişepsa*
         that   flower   white   giant   3s.GEN   garden   take.care

      '"The white giant will take care of those roses…"'

Although the noun phrase structure (with a modifier demonstrative) agrees with ACTIVATED cognitive status, the word order position displays IN FOCUS status. This type of focus, outside of the nucleus of the clause, is akin to the one found for the pipe elsewhere in the narrative (see (32)). Animacy restrictions on procedural forms allowed for props in the narratives to prevent them from being referenced by pronouns. Because of this, the prominence of this prop is conveyed through presentational phrases and word order variation. The interplay between reference forms and animacy in Udi will be discussed more in section 4.1.4.

     All of these references to the flower build an expectation of optimal relevance of this referent in the mind of the audience. Yet, when Misak finally arrives at a giant's

house in search of this flower, he meets and rescues a girl, and reference to the flower disappears for the rest of the thematic section.

So, why did the author build such a great expectation of relevance for the flower in the minds of the audience only to lead to reference to a girl? The girl could have been established through traditional introductory methods and her own prominence would have been understood. But the communicative goal appears to have been to create suspense and that is achieved by breaking our expectations of participant reference methods. We don't discover that Seran is the flower's source until late in the narrative. Up to that point, it appears that the VIP Misak has failed in his task. The flower had been introduced and Misak set off in search of it. He discusses it with Seran after he discovers her, but decides to give up his search in order to rescue her. When he returns home, his mother asks about the flower and Misak is ready to admit that he has failed in his task when Seran reveals her link to the flower.

Once the truth that the flower has been successfully recovered is revealed through the VIP Seran, the narrative rapidly moves toward a resolution of the action. In addition to building suspense, the revelation of the flower's source serves another function similar to cataphora: It makes the audience reevaluate the prior references to both the flower and Seran in light of new information. All of the additional effort required for processing multiple references to the flower prove beneficial when the flower is reactivated as a referent and serves as the means of resolution of the text.

4.1.3 Local VIPs

According to Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:122), a local VIP is a participant who gains prominence for a thematic section of a narrative. The longer Udi texts contain local VIPs who supply examples of interesting discourse phenomena. They are not given

names, as the global VIPs are, but they are treated with some of the same distinctions as the more prominent VIPs of their narratives.

4.1.3.1 A participant used to build context

The first participant introduced in the narrative *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan' is a hunter. He serves as the only participant throughout the first thematic section of the text. Like the VIPs, he is introduced in REFERENTIAL cognitive status (Misak Part 1: line 1.1).

(21) | *Baneksa* | *tenebaksa* | *sa* | *aize* | *sa* | *kəsib* | *ŏxǒlbale* | *baksa* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| it.is | it.is.not | one | village | one | poor | hunter | is |

    'Once upon a time there was a poor hunter in a village.'

Unlike the global VIPs, however, the conceptual form *sa kəsib ŏxǒlbale* 'one poor hunter' moves immediately toward a procedural reference form in the next line (line 1.2).

(22) | *Şo* | *t'esoğo* | *ŏxǒlbalxo* | *tene* | *oşq'arst'a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3s | other | hunters | it.not | look.like |

    'He was not like the other hunters.'

This rapid movement to the pronoun (a procedural indication), in contrast to the steady pace of reference form progression for the global VIPs, is a reflection of the fine balance of prominence for this participant. He is referenced with a pronoun, which is usually reserved for highly significant participants, but he is not given the full introduction afforded the global VIPs. This may help shed some light on the role of the Givenness Hierarchy in prominence in the text. The global VIPs, who are introduced through multiple utterances, reflecting successive cognitive statuses described by the hierarchy, prove to be the most salient members of the narratives. This process is not necessary for accessibility in Udi, as the hunter's reference forms prove, but it does serve to establish context for the global VIPs, from which the audience gleans that all the extra processing effort of digesting a long introduction will be worth their while.

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As a referent, the hunter helps to establish context for his narrative. The quality of his character is dwelt on in a way that indicates a reflection of some cultural value. He doesn't kill his prey, birds, but rather traps them and brings them home for enjoyment. He also sells them to earn his living and so that others can also enjoy their songs (Misak Part 1: lines 2.6a-2.7b). This practice is explained in detail through the actions of the hunter, then carried on later in the narrative by his son Misak, the global VIP. To the humane qualities of the father are added the qualities of perseverance in learning the family trade and loyalty in the cause of supporting his mother. In this long narrative, Misak's character traits stand in sharp contrast to the greed and stupidity of other participants and help to turn the tide of the events of the text.

The hunter is also used more directly as a cohesive link to the global VIP of the narrative. His hunting practices are repeated by his son after he grows. His possession and use of a musical pipe are later referenced as keys to Misak's success in earning a livelihood. Reference to the hunter also appears in the introduction of Misak (see (11)). Though he may not have significant relevance of his own, reference to the hunter through the first thematic sections of the narrative provide a foundation for the introduction of his son and contextualize Misak's actions and excellence of character.

4.1.3.2 A participant used to build suspense

Like the hunter, the giant from the narrative *C'irtt'an* 'Chirtan' is only active for a relatively small amount of thematic material. Unlike the hunter, however, he is used at a different point in the text and for a considerably different purpose. The giant appears at the climax of the narrative *C'irtt'an* 'Chirtan'. In fact, his bad intentions toward other particpants bring about the climax.

As a major participant, the giant receives an unusual introduction. His presence in the text is made known through the presentation of his house. In the thematic section

leading up to this introduction, a lost and exhausted group of children finds a light in the woods (Chirtan: lines 6.4a-6.4b).

(23) *Əyloğ*   *mŭqt'un* *baksa ,*   *tat'unsa*   *işiğ*   *eğala*   *tərəf*
      children happy   be   go   light   come   side

     'They become happy and they went in that direction, where the light came from.'

The word *tərəf* 'side', referring to the direction of the light, is post-verbal. This does not indicate focus for the location, since this word order is allowed in Udi for locative phrases.

     The light is given a source and the children head toward it to find a house (Chirtan: lines 6.5a-6.5b).

(24) *Hari*   *p'at'unbsa*   *t'e*   *k'oya ,*   *bat'unsa*   *bona*
      come   arrive   that   to.house   came   inside

     'They reached the house and entered into it.'

The author presumes the source of the light is a house. The house is presented here with the demonstrative *t'e* 'that', representing ACTIVATED cognitive status, in line with my analysis of the flower in (18). Since the house had not been explicitly mentioned prior to this, the light and the house are an example of bridging in reference in Udi. Although this phenomenon may not be accounted for in the Givenness Hierarchy, the relationship between these statements builds on the assumption that lights come from houses and the use of successive cognitive statuses indicates that the author intended for the audience to draw from this assumption in the acceptability of the phrase structures.

     The cognitive status of the house also paves the way for the following sentence to put the house in focus (Chirtan: line 6.6).

(25) *Moval*   *baneksa*   *deve*   *k'oj*
      this   was   giant   house

     'And this was a giant's house.'

Here we find the house in post-verbal position, a focus feature seen previously for other noun phrases. The sentence components are arranged in a word order modification of the presentational pattern of a NP, which can include a modifying quantifier or demonstrative, followed by a copula verb. This introductory syntactic format, seen in the introduction of Chirtan in (6), is used often in the texts for major participants or props, but is rarely seen for locations or objects that are not significant. The house is not referenced again; it exists as a referent in the text for two reasons. First, it indirectly creates an expectation of salience for its possessor, the giant. Second, references to the house serve to slow the pace of the narrative, leading to climactic thematic material. In this way, our expectation of relevance is satisfied, not for the presumption of optimal relevance for the house as a referent, but for the significance of its owner. The presentational structures for the house were also worth the processing effort since they establish a scene in our mental representation for the location of the climax of the narrative.

4.1.4 Other Major Participants

Dooley and Levinsohn note that, when compared to a global VIP, other major participants can be "referred to by a noun phrase throughout" a text (2001:122). This may contradict our expectation of the movement of conceptual forms to procedural ones, but it helps to distinguish major participants in a text from the most significant referents. In this way, the relevance of the participant puts a restriction of the reference devices used for that participant. In the Udi narratives, some major participants are referenced with procedural forms, such as pronouns, while others follow Dooley and Levinsohn's description of consistent noun phrase reference.

4.1.4.1 Animacy and reference selection

The narrative *Tülkü q'a orozi* 'The Fox and the Pheasant' has only two participants. Both participants are personified animals and the majority of the text is a dialogue between them. But these participants do not follow the introductory reference patterns of the participants of the other texts.

The first line of each of the five narratives presents a participant. This narrative, however, begins with an unusual participant presentation (The Fox and the Pheasant: line 1.1).

(26) *Sa   ği   orozi   xoda   ars'eney*
       one   day   pheasant   tree   sitting

   'One day the pheasant was sitting on the tree.'

While (26) includes contextualization of time and place, the sentence is not structured as a formal introduction. The verb is an active one, not a copula, and there is a marked absence of a quantifier from the noun phrase referring to the pheasant. The quantifier is also absent in the introduction of the fox, the other participant of this narrative, in the next line.

(27) *Tülkü   ěnesa   şotay   tŏğŏl   nexe*
       fox   come   3s.GEN   near   said

   'The fox came to him and said…'

A quantifier appears in the participant noun phrase at the beginning all of four of the other texts regardless of the level of significance of the initial referent. The linguistic difference for the pheasant and the fox does not stem from a lack of significance, then, but from their animate qualities: All of the participants who appear in the first line of the other narratives are human.

Although noun phrases are preferred as reference forms in the narrative, the animals are each referenced once with a procedural indication after the establishment

of their conceptual forms. The pheasant is referenced with a proform in the locative phrase *şotay tŏğŏl* 'to him' (lit. 'his near') (The Fox and the Pheasant: line 2.1a). The fox appears as a pronominal indirect object *şot'o* 'him' (line 3.1b). Procedural indications are also used for animal props in the *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan' narrative (Misak Part 2: line 4.3a-4.3b).

(28) | *T'e* | *varda* | *nu* | *adbiq'ayt'un* | *sorox* | *mundar* | *bakalt'un* |
      |-------|---------|------|----------------|--------|----------|------------|
      | that | flower | not | smell | 3p | bad | become |

'"If they do not smell that rose, they will die."'

Here the pronoun *sorox* refers to birds that have been purchased by a king. These procedural forms all reflect a high level of accessibility for animals as referents. However, this accessibility doesn't elevate them to the linguistic level of humans.

4.1.4.2 A referent and an assumption

A king appears as a participant in the narrative *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan', but is hard to classify in terms of significance. He doesn't receive a formal introduction. His name is not used in reference. But reference to him often appears in clause-final word order. He is even referenced through zero anaphora in a dialogue he initiates with Misak, the global VIP. He is active in several thematic sections of the narrative, so he does not qualify as a local VIP, as this minimal encoding might suggest. While he plays an influential role in the action of the narrative, due to his authority, his linguistic treatment is somewhat confusing.

Comments on the king's character are often made from the perspective of Misak, not from the narrator's viewpoint. His realizations and thoughts are expressed to the audience after his interactions with the king. This contrasts character comments that are inserted throughout the text regarding a merchant, another major participant. The merchant is a greedy swindler. Yet he is given a traditional introduction, since he is a

significant referent. The narrator presents the merchant's character flaws clearly to the audience during his introduction.

The king may receive some referential distinction according to his societal status. Yet, standing in sharp contrast to the honor indicated by focus and procedural forms, he is described as a 'dolt' (free translation of Misak Part 2: line 2.4c) and *ams'i bul padčağ* 'empty-headed king' (Part 1: line 18.4a). It appears that the king's confusing reference may be due to conflicting perspectives on the quality of his character in light of his prestige. This conflict is less likely to exist for a merchant. There may be a historically based, cultural constraint for focus on the reference assignment for a king in Udi narrative discourse or all of these linguistic indications may be a deeper reflection of the impact of his decisions leading to a climax of the narrative, despite his stupidity. Either way, the king is a manifestation of the author's creativity. As a referent, he is employed by the author to weaken any previously held assumptions in the minds of the audience that leaders should be respected solely due to their position.

4.1.5 A Minor Participant

Chirtan's grandmother, from the initial thematic sections of the *C'ırtt'an* text, provides an interesting case of textual cohesion. She is only active for a short amount of time. Her introduction leads immediately into the introduction of her grandson, the global VIP of the text, and any significance she holds as a participant is linked to him. Her presence at the beginning of the text allows the author to comment on the growth of the VIP. Her actions at the beginning of the second thematic section provide a source of manipulation for the VIP to use against the other children throughout the text.

Although she is not a major participant, the grandmother is the first referent of the narrative and, as such, is introduced formally (Chirtan: line 1.1).

(29)   *Baneksa ,   tenebaksa   sa   kalnane   baksa*
         it.is   it.is.not   one   grandmother   is

    'Once upon a time there lived a grandmother.'

The quantifier *sa* 'one' in the NP and the formal introduction are presumably due to her being the first human participant, as discussed in 4.1.4.1. Although this generally stands as an indicator of a participant's greater significance, the grandmother serves as a means of contextualizing the narrative's global VIP. As a referent, the grandmother plays a somewhat similar role as the hunter in section 4.1.3.1. The audience is presented with the grandmother first so that they can gain her perspective on her grandchild before moving into his active participation in the narrative.

The driving force behind the formal structures of this section of the narrative is the grandchild, presented in REFERENTIAL cognitive status (see (6)). The grandmother is only kept active through the first thematic section and into the beginning of the next, and her reference and reported speech revolve around her grandchild Chirtan. She even provides his name (see (8)) in a clause which references her while retaining focus on the more significant participant of the text, Chirtan.

Like the hunter from *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan', the grandmother helps to provide context for her narrative. On the other hand, her reference does not give us insight into any significant aspect of her character or actions as the hunter's does. As a minor participant, she is "activated briefly and lapses into deactivation" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:119), however, she functions as a building block, as noted in 3.2.1.1. Reference to the grandmother adds a layer of variety to the introductory section of the text, while providing a cohesive reference point upon which the remainder of the text is built.

Reference to the grandmother also fits within our expectations of relevance. The author does not present superfluous information about the grandmother, telling us

where she lives or about her personality. Unlike the hunter from the narrative *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan', additional information about the grandmother's life is irrelevant to the text. By tying all reference to the grandmother back to her grandson, the author ensures that her audience will build greater relevance expectations around Chirtan. The author must choose carefully the additional information that is presented in the narrative, since she is relying solely on her content to convey her meaning. The grandmother is chosen well to suit the purpose of establishing our logical entry for her grandson. Once that purpose is fulfilled, she fades from reference as a participant. She reemerges as a referent, however, in Chirtan's conversations with the children and a giant later in the story. This reference is discussed in section 4.2.2.

4.2 Props

As stated in 1.4.2.2, props are objects, animals or even people who are referenced in a narrative discourse, but remain passive in the text and are tied to the action of a participant. Many of the reference forms used for participants appear for props, as well, with some exceptions. Two props are presented here due to their unique referential usage.

4.2.1 Reference as a reflection of intrinsic value

A musical pipe and a net in the narrative *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan' both serve as a useful tools. They provide a means of livelihood for both the hunter and Misak, his son. This livelihood, in turn, introduces another prop, beautiful birds, which become the driving force behind the greedy actions of the other major participants of the text.

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In terms of reference, these three props – the pipe, the net and the birds – are not all treated equally. The variety in reference forms and patterns seen amongst them distinguishes between props that are merely mentioned in the text and props that play significantly into the action of the narrative.

The pipe and the net are presented as hunting tools in *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan'. These unusual weapons are reflections of the humane nature of their owner. Yet, even though these objects serve the same purpose, a distinction appears as to their importance. The initial reference to the pipe is a formal introduction and places it in REFERENTIAL status with a full NP that includes a quantifier: *sa fark'ala t'ütt'əye* 'one musical pipe' (Misak Part 1: line 1.4). The next line reflects the referent's accessibility with the proximal demonstrative *me* 'this' and gives the audience more insight into the qualities of the pipe.

(30) *Me*   *t'ütt'əyen*   *cürbə-cür*   *səse*   *c'evkes*   *baksa*
       this   pipe   different   sound   take.out   is

       'This pipe can make different sounds.'

While the net is also presented through a formal introduction, it appears in TYPE IDENTIFIABLE status (Misak Part 1: line 1.6).

(31) *Saal*   *ŏxə̆lbali*   *tələne*   *baksa*
       also   hunter's   net   is

       'Also, there is a hunter's net.'

No more information is given about this tool, however, before the action of the narrative resumes. It almost appears to be an afterthought to the introduction of the pipe.

The pipe and net both appear next in a passage of Misak's reported speech. He is asking his mother to fetch the items that were crucial to his father's success (Misak Part 1: 5.3a).

(32) *Eça p'ap'ay fark'ala   t'ütt'əyə saal   təlinə*
      bring father's musical.instrument pipe   also   net

      'Bring father's musical pipe and net…'

As a direct object the props are placed in a post-verbal position, an indication of focus. This is the only form of focus used for inanimate objects and, as reference forms, the only way to reach the highest cognitive status. Yet they do achieve this distinction of high prominence and accessibility, which is rare in the texts. Given the referential distinction between the two props in their introductions, this appearance in IN FOCUS cognitive status may be due to reference to the pipe, with the net tagging along again.

So, why make a distinction between two inanimate objects? Their actions cannot change the course of the narrative. They have no bearing on the action at all, unless they are utilized by a participant. In terms of usefulness, both are necessary tools in the family hunting business. But the author has gone to extra effort in presenting a variety of references for the pipe.

The answer is twofold. First, the net is a relatively normal device for trapping animals. A musical pipe is not. This pipe has magical qualities that lure animals to its sound. The audience's existing assumptions about music and hunting are weakened.

The second part of the answer lies in the additional information given about the pipe in (30). The net is a normal and relatively intuitive tool for Misak to use when he starts hunting. However, the pipe is a musical instrument that needs to be practiced. To acquire the skill required to use this instrument successfully takes patience and perseverance. Through Misak's interaction with it, the author is able to enrich the audience's perception of the global VIP, causing them to add information to the corresponding encyclopedic entry.

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4.2.2 Reference as a behavioral device

The narrative *C'ïrtt'an* 'Chirtan' provides an interesting example of a prop that is an adaptation of an earlier referent. At the onset of the active portion of the narrative, Chirtan's grandmother gives each of his friends a buttered piece of bread (Chirtan: lines 2.3a-2.3b).

(33) | *Kalnan* | *c'əynen* | *p'at'ar* | *bi* | *bitov* | *əyloğo* | *payebi* |
| grandmother | butter | piece | make | all | with.children | distributed |

    'Grandmother made buttered pieces (of bread) and distributed them to all the

      children.'

Reference to the grandmother's action throughout the remainder of the narrative is used by Chirtan as a manipulative tool to persuade the children to do his work and to carry him (Chirtan: lines 3.5c, 4.5 and 5.5).

(34) | *bez* | *kalnan* | *vǎx* | *c'əyin* | *p'at'ar* | *tene* | *tade ?* |
| my | grandmother | to.you | butter | piece | not | give |

    '"…didn't my grandmother give you a buttered piece (of bread)?"'

In each instance, the noun phrase that refers to the grandmother appears in reported speech, containing a possessive pronoun referring to Chirtan. This reinforces the idea that she does not hold any significance apart from her relation to her grandson and only serves as a referent here to further his aims.

Chirtan also references his grandmother as a trick to distract the giant (see (10)). The giant intends to eat Chirtan and the other children and Chirtan does his best to outwit him. Through two references to his grandmother, Chirtan distracts the dim-witted giant and is able to save the children.

In this way, the grandmother is transformed over the course of the narrative from a participant to a prop. She moves from an active role early in the narrative to a passive

role in the later references in reported speech. The change in Chirtan's references to her, from manipulative appeals to clever distractions, reflects a change in his behavior. Subsequently, his level of significance grows. Conceptually, the establishment of the grandmother at the beginning of the text promotes two ends. References to her in the first thematic section contextualize the narrative, but her concept is kept accessible through reference made by a more significant participant later in the text.

The introduction of the grandmother and her buttered piece of bread is also an interesting example of extra processing effort with delayed contextual effects. Blass (1990:49) states that "Sperber and Wilson see the search for relevance as a 'cost-benefit' system." The author could have skipped the reference to the grandmother in (33) and started the active portion of the narrative with the children's trip to the woods. However, since she first includes this incident, we must assume she has done so for additional cognitive effects. The audience may not immediately understand the significance of the distribution of buttered bread at this point in the narrative. When they encounter references to the incident being used later for manipulative purposes by Chirtan, they gain a better understanding not of the grandmother's generosity, but of her grandson's wit and intentions. As with the relevance of minor participants, props are primarily passive in the text in order to advance our understanding of the more significant referents.

Reference to the grandmother's actions also clues the audience in to the mutual cognitive environment of the participants, the children and Chirtan, who were all given bread to enjoy. The cost of processing information regarding an incident about a snack benefits our comprehension of references expressed later in reported speech by the VIP. Clearly, the children could all answer yes to Chirtan's question in (34); they were indeed given a piece of bread. But Chirtan has a goal in referring to this incident. The children understand his intentions when he repeatedly reminds them of his

grandmother's generosity and respond to his demands by agreeing to gather wood for him, to carry it for him and, eventually, even to carry him.

4.3 Reference in Grounding

In Udi narrative, reference to time and location functions differently from reference to participants and props. Locative and temporal phrases appear at the beginning of thematic sections and slow the pace of the narrative. They indicate background and foreground in the thematic sections of the narrative in the realms of space (4.3.1) and time (4.3.2).

4.3.1 Locative Phrases

Locative phrases may establish the physical position of a narrative as a whole or may ground one thematic section, particularly a section containing the climax of a narrative. Locative references often include nouns that indicate a physical location, but they are normally not expressed by procedural indications, such as 'in that place' or 'there'. As a contextual device, sustained reference to location is not needed in the Udi narratives.

Locative phrases appear at the beginning of three of the five narratives. These contextualize the respective narrative as a whole. *Tülkü q'a orozi* 'The Fox and the Pheasant' and *Elemaxun amdar* 'Person from a Donkey' are both shorter narratives and the references to location in the first line of these texts is done through a noun phrase in nuclear or post-nuclear word order position. The location *xoda* 'tree' in example (26), for instance, occurs just before the verb in the sentence.

At the beginning of the narrative *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan', however, the locative phrase *sa aize* 'one village' is pre-nuclear (Misak Part 1: line 1.1). Reference to

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location at the onset of this text is crucial, since the narrative incorporates several additional locations, including a mountain, a city and the far-away home of a giant.

(35) | *Baneksa* | *tenebaksa* | *sa* | *aize* | *sa* | *kəsib* | *ŏxəlbale* | *baksa*
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| it.is | it.is.not | one | village | one | poor | hunter | is |

     'Once upon a time there was a poor hunter in a village.'

As displayed in the case of the giant and his house in *C'irtt'an* 'Chirtan' in section 4.1.3.2, locations can also serve to introduce a participant. Other locations are incorporated into the action of the narrative, such as *buruğone* 'mountain', from the narrative *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan'. The hunter from the beginning of the story goes to the mountain every day to hunt and his son Misak does the same when he later learns the trade. As with other referents, once the mountain has been established in conceptual form, it can be referred to with a demonstrative NP that reflects its accessibility (Misak Part 1: line 6.4a).

(36) | *Biyəbakamin* | *t'e* | *buruğmoğoy* | *c'ələyxo* | *taranne*
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| all.day | that | mountain | forests | walk |

     'Till night he (Misak) walked in that mountain's forests…'

The mountain is a cohesive device, a physical link between the father and son, whose actions are distanced by time in the story.

4.3.2 Temporal Phrases

Temporal phrases are pre-nuclear in Udi and generally introduce new thematic sections. Texts containing a backgrounded, opening thematic section that establishes a setting and participants before moving into the action of narrative are introduced with the traditional Udi phrase, *Baneksa, tenebaksa* 'it is, it is not'. This introductory format is found at the beginning of *C'irtt'an* 'Chirtan', *Oro qonşiyox* 'Two Neighbors' and *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan'. The English correlate '*Once upon a time…*' (John Clifton,

personal communication) evokes recollections of such folktales as *Little Red Riding Hood*, *Hansel and Gretel* and *Rapunzel,* indicating to the audience that an intricate narrative will follow. Similarly, the Udi phrase tends to occur at the beginning of narratives containing multiple participants and scenes. The narrative *Oro qonşiyox* 'Two Neighbors' is an exception to this level of complexity, but includes backgrounded material and is discussed at the end of this section.

The short narrative *Tülkü q'a orozi* 'The Fox and the Pheasant' is introduced with a terse temporal phrase. *Sa ği* 'one day' (see (26)) brings the narrative directly into active thematic material and opens the way for the dialogue that follows. As in the introduction of *Yetim Misak* 'Misak the Orphan', where the locative phrase appeared before the nucleus of the clause, this phrase is also used as a means of anchoring a narrative in time just prior to the presentation of one of the major participants, the pheasant. This contrasts with the normal word order of temporal phrases of manner, such as *hər ği* 'every day' in the example below, which are included in the nucleus of a clause (Misak Part 1: line 2.1a).

(37) | *Şo* | *hər* | *ği* | *buruğone* | *taysa* |
      |------|-------|------|-----------|---------|
      | 3s | every | day | mountain | goes |

     'He goes to the mountain every day…'

This occurs within the active material of a thematic section, not in the introductory sentence of the thematic section.

The introductory phrase in the narrative *Elemaxun Amdar* 'Person from a Donkey' indicates the compact nature of the story that follows (Person from a Donkey: line 1.1).

(38) | *Ğimxoy* | *sa* | *ğinesta ,* | *sa* | *aizlu* | *iz* | *elemaxun* | *tanesa* | *şəhəre* |
      |----------|------|-----------|------|---------|------|-----------|----------|---------|
      | day.3s.GEN | one | day | one | villager | 3s.GEN | donkey | go | city |

     'Once, one villager went to the city on his donkey.'

Although the phrase *Ğimxoy sa ğinesta* 'day's one day' is not as abrupt as *sa ği* 'one day', it still serves to propel the narrative directly into active material. Both phrases are followed by compact texts in which we find a comical conclusion. These temporal phrases in the narratives *Tülkü q'a orozi* 'The Fox and the Pheasant' and *Elemaxun Amdar* 'Person from a Donkey', then, serve as the introduction to Udi stories that follow the tradition of fables, with animals serving as participants, or as in parables, in which humans participate.

Both temporal phrases *Ğimxoy sa ğinesta* 'day's one day' and *sa ği* 'one day' are incorporated into longer narratives, in addition to short ones, to introduce thematic sections marked by a change in action and time. *Ğimxoy sa ğinesta* 'day's one day' appears in the narrative *Oro qonşiyox* 'Two Neighbors', after the introductory presentation of the neighbors, the narrative's only participants (Two Neighbors: line 2.1).

(39) | *Ğimxoy* | *sa* | *ğinast'a* | *şot'oğon* | *ereq'i* | *topin* | *dərden* | *pis* | *davat'unbsa* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| days.3s.GEN | one | day | 3p | nut | tree | about | bad | fight |

'One day they quarreled about a nut tree.'

Here the audience is introduced to the premise of this short story. The temporal phrase is used to present an old fight between the two participants. Although this story is short and simple, relative to the lengths and complexities of *C'irtt'an* 'Chirtan' and *Yetim Misak'* 'Misak the Orphan', it requires some background information, for which this phrase is used. In keeping with this slightly elevated level of complexity and backgrounding, the narrative as a whole begins with the traditional phrase, *Baneksa, tenebaksa* 'it is, it is not'.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Reference models

Both cognitive and structural models of discourse analysis are useful in the discussion of phenomena in narrative discourse. Structural models provide terminology for the discussion and practical methodology for the examination of reference in discourse. They also describe cross-linguistic trends and patterns as they emerge in discourse. They help organize and describe empirical data.

Cognitive models, on the other hand, assist in providing explanations for the emergence of patterns that structural models describe. Reference forms help a communicator reach her communicative goals. In this case, the folktales serve to entertain and, in some areas, inform, with the narrator occasionally inserting comments on the character of some of the participants. The patterns of reference assist the audience in drawing the right contextual implications, including significance or contextualization, about the referent in order to yield positive cognitive effects.

Consistent patterns are especially helpful for the communicative process in written narrative discourse. Most ostensive communication incorporates both content and manner of delivery. However, the manner of delivery in written discourse must be conveyed through enrichment, such as reference assignment, since the direct communication is not face-to-face. Slowing the pace of a narrative, following a pattern

of increased prominence through cognitive status or focusing on a particular referent help to guide the audience toward the author's communicative intention. Authors of narrative discourse must present their material in a way that is accessible to a wide audience. Although a narrator may assume a mutual cognitive environment, many of the cross-linguistic features of narrative discourse help audiences across cultures to enjoy each other's stories.

5.2 Reference in Udi

Reference in narrative discourse in Udi aligns with descriptive analyses of reference in other languages. Proper names present an interesting distinction, however. In the literature names are generally described as conceptual indications, used to establish a referent at or recover a referent from a conceptual address. In Udi, however, names can be retained as preferred reference forms, once established in a narrative, though they do not surrender their conceptual character.

5.3 Further Research

The Udi language has been distinguished in linguistic literature with grammatical descriptions and a discussion of its morphology. However, there is very little discussion of other discourse types, beyond narrative discourse, in the language. Reference in these discourse types – behavioral, procedural and expository (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:8) – could be discussed and a comparison could be made to the types of reference forms that appear in narrative discourse. Within Udi narrative discourse, there are also discourse features beyond reference that should be analyzed, such as discourse markers or thematic break indicators.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CHIRTAN

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
1.1	*Baneksa tenebaksa* it.is it.is.not	*sa kalnane* one grandmother						*baksa* is	
1.2		*Me kalnay* this grandmother				*sa nəvəne* one grandchild		*baksa* is	
1.3a		*Nəvə* grandchild				*gele mis'ik'* very little		*baksuna* being	*görə* as
1.3b		*kalnan* grandmother				*nəvəy s'iya* grandchild's name		*lanexsa* calls	*C'irtt'an* Chirtan
1.4a		*C'irtt'an* Chirtan	*yavaş-yavaş* little.by.little	*əyloğo* with.children				*gərbay* join	
1.4b								*c'enesa* go.out	
1.4c								*əçibsa* play	
1.5a		*Kalnanal* and. grandmother						*ak'i* saw	
1.5b						*gele mŭqe* very happy		*baksa* is	
1.5c			*iz ük'e boş* its heart inside					*nexe* said	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
1.5d		*Bez nəvə* my grandchild						*kalane baksa* grow.up is	
1.5e			*ene* more			*bez fikir* my thought		*butene* not.have	
1.1	Free Translation: Once upon a time there lived a grandmother.								
1.2	Free Translation: This grandmother had a grandchild.								
1.3	Free Translation: As the grandchild was very little, the grandmother called the grandchild's name Chirtan.								
1.4	Free Translation: Little by little, joining the children, Chirtan went out to play.								
1.5	Free Translation: And grandmother was very happy seeing this, and said in her heart, "My grandson is growing, I don't have any more cares."								
2.1a	*Ğimxoy sa ğinest'a* days' one day	*əyloğ* children						*gires'i* many.gathered	
2.1b								*hari* come	
2.1c								*k'alt'unne* call	*C'irtt'ana* Chirtan
2.2		*C'irtt'ani kalnanal* Chirtan and.grandmother				*buyk'ale* butter.churn		*Buyey* churn	
2.3a		*Kalnan* grandmother				*c'əynen p'at'ar* butter piece		*bi* make	
2.3b				*bitov əyloğo* all with.children				*payebi* distributed	
2.4a		*Əyloğon*				*p'at'ara*		*ukit'uxun*	*oşa*

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	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		children				piece		eat	after
2.4b								*çurt'uns'i tağat'un* wanted go	
2.4c						*uš* wood		*girbsa* gather	
2.5a		*C'irtt'anen* Chirtan						*pine* said	*ki* that
2.5b		*Zuval* 1s		*vɜxun* with.you				*tazsa* go	
2.1	Free Translation: One day the children came together and called Chirtan.								
2.2	Free Translation: Chirtan's grandmother was churning butter.								
2.3	Free Translation: Grandmother made buttered pieces (of bread) and distributed it to all the children.								
2.4	Free Translation: After eating the pieces (of bread), the children wanted to go gather wood.								
2.5	Free Translation: Chirtan said, "I'm going with you."								
3.1a		*C'irtt'an* Chirtan		*əyloğoxun* with.children				*gərbay* join	
3.1b								*tat'unsa* go	
3.1c						*uš* wood		*girbsa* gather	
3.2		*Morox* 3p		*ušeynak'* for.wood				*tat'unsa* go	*çöle* to.forest
3.3a		*Əyloğon hər t'in* children every person		*içeynak'* for.it.REFL		*uše* wood		*girbsa* gather	
3.3b	*amma* but							*bĕt'unğsa* saw	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
3.3c		*C'irtt'an* Chirtan						*ars'ene* sit	
3.3d								*ĕnene* cry	
3.4a						*Xavart'un* news		*haq'sa* take	
3.4b	*Ay C'irtt'an* hey Chirtan		*k'yalun* why					*ĕnene* cry	
3.4c			*k'alten* why			*uš* wood		*girbsa* gather	
3.5a		*C'irtt'anen* Chirtan		*şot'oğo* to.them				*nexe* said	
3.5b		*Zu* I				*uš* wood		*girbes batezksa* gather cannot	
3.5c		*bez kalnan* my grandmother		*vǒx* to.you		*c'əyin p'at'ar* butter piece		*tene tade* not give	
3.6				*Zaynak'al* for.me		*uš* wood		*girbanan* gather	
3.7a		*Əyloğon* children				*hik'k'al* nothing		*tet'un nexe* not said	
3.7b				*C'irtt'aneynak'al* for.Chirtan		*sa šalak' ušt'un* one bundle wood		*girbsa* gather	
3.1	Free Translation: Joining with the children, Chirtan went to gather wood.								
3.2	Free Translation: They went for wood to the forest.								
3.3	Free Translation: Each of the children gathered wood for himself, but they saw Chirtan sitting, crying.								
3.4	Free Translation: They said, "Hey Chirtan, why are you crying, why aren't you gathering wood?"								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
3.5	Free Translation: Chirtan said to them, "I cannot gather wood, didn't my grandmother give you a buttered piece (of bread)?								
3.6	Free Translation: Gather wood for me."								
3.7	Free Translation: The children didn't say anything, they gathered a bundle of wood for Chirtan.								
4.1a						*Uša girbi* wood gather		*çark'it'uxun* finish	*oşa* after
4.1b		*əyloğon hər t'in* children every person				*iz šalak'a* its bundle		*axapi* put	
4.1c								*çurt'unsa* want	
4.1d					*k'oya* to.house			*eğat'un* come	
4.2a								*Bĕtunğsa* see	
4.2b		*C'irtt'an* Chirtan	*p'urum* again					*ars'ene* sit	
4.2c								*ĕnene* cry	
4.3a						*Xavart'un* news		*haq'sa* take	
4.3b	*Ay C'irtt'an* hey Chirtan		*isə* now				*het'aynak'en* why	*ĕnene* cry	
4.4a		*C'irtt'anen* Chirtan						*ĕnek'a* cry	
4.4b								*nexe* said	
4.4c		*Zu* I				*uša* wood		*axapi* put	
4.4d								*taşes tez baksa*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
								carry not is	
4.5		*Bez kalnan* my grandmother		*vᵊx* to.you		*c'ᵊyin p'at'ar* butter piece		*tene tade* not give	
4.6a						*Bez ušal* my wood		*axapanan* put.on.back	
4.6b								*taşanan* carry	
4.7a		*Ǝyloğon* children	*p'urum* again			*hik'k'al* nothing		*tet'un pi* not said	
4.7b						*C'irtt'ani ušal* Chirtan's wood		*axapi* put.on.back	
4.7c								*burt'unqi* started	
4.7d					*yaq'* road			*taysa* goes	
4.1	Free Translation: After finishing gathering the wood, each of the children took her wood and wanted to go home.								
4.2	Free Translation: They see that Chirtan was sitting and crying again.								
4.3	Free Translation: They said, "Hey Chirtan, now why are you crying?"								
4.4	Free Translation: Crying, Chirtan says, "I can't carry the wood on my back.								
4.5	Free Translation: Didn't my grandmother give you a buttered piece (of bread)?								
4.6	Free Translation: Put my wood on your backs and carry it."								
4.7	Free Translation: The children again didn't say anything, and they started to put Chirtan's wood on their backs and went on the road.								
5.1a			*Gelet'un* more					*tas'i* go	
5.1b			*malt'un* a.little					*tas'i* go	
5.1c								*bĕt'unği*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
								see	
5.1d		*C'irtt'an* Chirtan						*ars'ene* sit	
5.1e			*p'urum* again					*ĕnene* cry	
5.2a						*Xavart'un* news		*haq'i* take	
5.2b	*Ay C'irtt'an* hey Chirtan		*isǝ* now				*k'yalun* why	*ĕnene* cry	
5.3a		*C'irtt'anen* Chirtan						*pine* said	
5.3b		*Zu* I	*ene* more					*tayes batezksa* go cannot	
5.4a						*Zaal* me		*axapi* put.on.back	
5.4b								*taşanan* carry	
5.5		*Bez kalnan* my grandmother		*vǎx* to.you		*c'ǝyin p'at'ar* butter piece		*tene tade* not give	
5.6		*Əyloğon* children	*p'urum* again			*hik'k'al* nothing		*tet'un pi* not said	
5.7a						*C'irtt'ana* Chirtan	*içoğoy bač'ane* 3p.GEN in.the. shoulder	*axapi* put.on.back	
5.7b								*burt'unqi* started	
5.7c								*taysa* go	
5.1	Free Translation: After some time they see that Chirtan is sat and crying again.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
5.2	Free Translation: They asked, "Hey Chirtan, now why are you crying?"								
5.3	Free Translation: Chirtan answered, "I can't go anymore.								
5.4	Free Translation: Carry me on your back.								
5.5	Free Translation: Didn't my grandmother give you a buttered piece (of bread)?"								
5.6	Free Translation: Again the children didn't say anything.								
5.7	Free Translation: They put Chirtan on someone's back and started to go.								
6.1a		*Əyloğon* children			*içoğoy k'oya* 3p.GEN to.house			*eğala* come	
6.1b						*yaq'a* way.road		*açest'unbi* lost	
6.1c								*baft'undi* fall	*baynq'a* into.the.dark
6.2a								*Tet'un avabaki* not knew	
6.2b					*mani yaq'en* which road			*tağat'un* go	
6.3a					*Sa xeylək yaq'* one some road			*harit'uxun* come	*oşa* after
6.3b								*bĕt'unğsa* look	
6.3c						*işiğe* light		*ak'esa* see	
6.4a		*Əyloğ* children						*mŭqt'un baksa* happy be	
6.4b								*tat'unsa* go	*işiğ eğala tərəf* light come side

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
6.5a								*Hari p'at'unbsa* come arrive	*t'e k'oya* that to.house
6.5b								*bat'unsa* came	*bona* inside
6.6		*Moval* this						*baneksa* was	*deve k'oj* giant house
6.1	Free Translation: They lost their way home and it became dark.								
6.2	Free Translation: And they didn't know by which way they needed to go.								
6.3	Free Translation: After a long time they saw a light.								
6.4	Free Translation: They become happy and went in that direction, where the light came from.								
6.5	Free Translation: They reached the house and entered into house.								
6.6	Free Translation: And this was a giant's house.								
7.1a		*Əyloğ* children						*baski* go.to.bed	
7.1b								*nep'axt'unsa* asleep	
7.1c		*sa C'irtt'anaxun* one Chirtan						*başq'a* except	
7.2a		*Devenal* giant						*yaq'e beğsa* way want	*ki* that
7.2b		*əyloğ* children						*nep'axeğale* will.asleep	
7.2c		*içinal* 3s				*əyloğo* children		*ukale* eat	
7.1	Free Translation: The children were asleep; only Chirtan was awake.								
7.2	Free Translation: The giant wanted the children to sleep, and he would eat the children.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
8.1a		*Dev* giant						*enesa* it.comes	
8.1b								*běneğsa* see	
8.1c		*bitov* all						*nepaxe* asleep	
8.1d		*sa C'irtt'an* one Chirtan						*muğure* awake	
8.2a						*Xavare* news		*haq'sa* take	
8.2b			*Het'aynak'* why					*ten nep'axesa* do.not asleep	
8.3a		*Bez kalnan* my grandmother	*Zu bask'amin běş* 1s go.to.bed before	*za* to.1s		*küküne* fried.egg		*bi* make	
8.3b								*tast'a* give	
8.4a		*Deven* giant				*kükübi* fried.egg		*eçeri* bring	
8.4b								tanest'a give	C'irtt'ana Chirtan
8.5		*C'irtt'anenal* Chirtan						*uneksa* eat	
8.1	Free Translation: The giant came and saw everyone was asleep, only Chirtan was awake.								
8.2	Free Translation: He asked, "Why you are not sleeping?"								
8.3	Free Translation: "My grandmother, before I go to bed, gives me omelet."								
8.4	Free Translation: The giant made an omelet and gives it to Chirtan.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
8.5	Free Translation: Chirtan ate it.								
9.1a		*Dev* giant	*p'urum* again					*enesa* it.comes	
9.1b								*bĕneğsa* see	
9.1c		*bitov* all						*nep'axe* asleep	
9.1d		*sa C'irtt'an* one Chirtan						*muğure* awake	
9.2a						*Xavare* news		*haq'sa* take	
9.2b			*K'yalu* why					*ten nep'axesa* not asleep	
9.3			*İsə* now			*k'ən* what		*çuresa* want	
9.4a		*C'irtt'anen* Chirtan						*nexe* said	
9.4b		*Bez kalnan* my grandmother	*Zu baskamin bĕş* 1s to.go.to.bed before	*za* to.1s	*çəylağaxun* from.the.river	*gulen xe* sieve water		*eçeri* bring	
9.4c						*xene* water		*tast'a* give	
9.4d	*oşa* after	*zu* 1s						*nep'axezsa* asleep	
9.5a		*Dev* giant						*tanesa* go	
9.5b						*gulen xe* sieve water		*eşt'a* bring	
9.1	Free Translation: The giant came again and he saw that only Chirtan was not asleep.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
9.2	Free Translation: He asked, "Why are you not sleeping?								
9.3	Free Translation: What do you want now?"								
9.4	Free Translation: Chirtan said, "My grandmother, before I go to bed, brings water in sieve for me and then I fall asleep."								
9.5	Free Translation: The giant went to bring water in sieve.								
10.1a		*C'irtt'anen* Chirtan						*q'amişe baksa* understand is	*ki* that
10.1b		*Deven* giant				*içoğo* them		*uksune çuresa* eat want	
10.1c						*iz nep'axesuni* 3s.GEN asleep		*yaq'ane bĕğsa* way want	
10.2a		*C'irtt'anen* Chirtan	*usum* quickly			*əyloğo* children		*k'alpi* call	
10.2b								*muğurebsa* wake.up	
10.3a				*Əyloğo* children				*nexe* said	
10.3b			*Usum* quickly					*bakanan* be	
10.3c		*Dev* giant						*eğamincə* will.come	
10.3d								*t'it'en* run.away	*meyin* from.here
10.4a		*Morox* 3p						*c'eri t'it'unst'a* go.out run	
10.4b								*c'et'unsa* cross	*çəyləği t'esoğo tərəf* river other side

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
10.1	Free Translation: Chirtan understood that the giant wanted to eat them and he was waiting for him to fall asleep.								
10.2	Free Translation: Chirtan quickly called and awoke the children.								
10.3	Free Translation: And he said to them, "Be quick before the giant comes, let's run."								
10.4	Free Translation: They ran away and crossed the river.								
11.1a		*Deven* giant						*aneksa* saw	*ki* that
11.1b		*əylox* children			*çəyləği t'esoğo tərəf* river other side			*c'ert'ın* cross	
11.1c						*xavare* news		*haq'sa* take	
11.1d			*Hetərnan* how		*çəyləğaxun* from.the.river			*c'eriyo* cross	
11.2a		*C'ırtt'anen* Chirtan						*nexe* said	
11.2b					*Vi ozane* 2s.GEN neck	*sa kala ǰe* one big stone		*ğaçp'a* tie	
11.2c			*oşa* after					*c'ey* cross	
11.2d		*yan* 1p	*kəryan* by.this.way/ thus					*c'eriyo* cross	
11.3a		*Devenal* giant			*iz ozane* his neck	*ǰena* stone		*ğaçp'i* tie	
11.3b								*banesa* enter	*xene boş* water into
11.3c					*hat'ıyal* there			*bateksa* go.down	
11.1	Free Translation: The giant saw that the children were on the other side of the river; he asked, "How did you cross the river?"								

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
				Nucleus					
11.2	Free Translation: Chirtan said, "Tie a stone on your neck and then cross, we crossed like that."								
11.3	Free Translation: Devil tied a stone on his neck and entered into the water and there he goes down.								
12.1		*Əyloğal* children		*C'irtt'anaxun* Chirtan				*tat'unsa* go	*içoğoy k'ojurxo* their houses
12.2	*Meynal* from.here	*nağıl* story						*çareksa* finished	
12.1	Free Translation: The children, together with Chirtan, went to their homes.								
12.2	Free Translation: And from here the story is finished.								
13.1a				*Göynuxun p'ӡ* from heaven		*dənə ĕşe* two apple		*bist'a* fall	
13.1b		*soğo* one		*nağıl ukalt'ay* story teller				---	
13.1c		*Soğoval* one		*ŭmŭxlaxalt'ay* for.listener				---	
13.1	Free Translation: There two apples fall down from heaven, one for the story teller and the other one for listener.								

APPENDIX B

MISAK PART 1

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
1.1	*Baneksa tenebaksa* it.is it.is.not	*sa kəsib ŏxə̆lbale*						*baksa*	
	sa aize one village	one poor hunter						is	
1.2		*Şo* 3s				*t'esoğo ŏxə̆lbalxo* other hunters		*tene oşq'arst'a* it.not look.like	
1.3a		*Şot'in* it	*saal* also			*sa* one		---	
1.3b			*vədine* never			*sa dənə heyvan sa dənə q'uş* one two animal one two bird		*tene bespsa* it.not kill	
1.4		*Me ŏxə̆lbali sa fark'ala t'ütt'əye* this hunter's one musical. instrument pipe						*baksa* is	
1.5				*Me t'ütt'əyen* this pipe		*cürbə-cür səse* different sound		*c'evkes baksa* take.out is	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
1.6	*Saal*	*ŏxɔ̆lbali tələne*						*baksa*	
	also	hunter's net						is	
1.1	Free Translation: Once upon a time there was a poor hunter in a village.								
1.2	Free Translation: He was not like the other hunters.								
1.3	Free Translation: He never killed any animal or bird.								
1.4	Free Translation: He had a pipe.								
1.5	Free Translation: This pipe could make different sounds.								
1.6	Free Translation: Also there was a hunter's net.								
2.1a		*Şo*	*hər ği*		*buruğone*			*taysa*	
		3s	every day		mountain			goes	
2.1b						*təlinə*		*lanexsa*	
						net		it.puts	
2.1c						*içal*	*sa dömbine*	*ars'i*	
						3s.refl	one side	sat	
2.1d				*t'ütt'əyen*				*farene*	
				pipe				it.plays	
2.2a	*T'e t'ütt'əyi səsə*	*q'uşurxo bitüm*						*hari gires'i*	
	that pipe's sound	birds all						come many. are.gathered	
2.2b					*hərrəminə*			*art'unst'a*	
					around			sit	
2.3a		*Ŏxɔ̆lbalen*						*yaq'e bĕğsa*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		hunter						wait	
2.3b	*birdən* suddenly	*soğo* one						*hari* come	
2.3c					*təlin boş* net inside			*bağat'an* enter	
2.3d						*vijə* rope		*zap'ene* it.pull	
2.4a						*Q'uşa* to.bird		*bineq'sa* it.catches	
2.4b								*eneşt'a* it.bring	*k'oya* to.house
2.5					*İz k'oyal* 3s.GEN house	*cürbə-cür q'əşəng q'uşurxone* different wonderful its.birds		*buy* full	
2.6a		*Şot'in* 3s				*t'e q'uşurxo* that birds		*běneğsay* it.taking.care	
2.6b						*şot'oğoy mǎğurxoxun* 3p.GEN songs		*həze haq'say* pleasure taking	
2.7a	*Bəz vədine* some never					*t'e q'uşurxoxun mǎğ* that birds song		*ŭmǔxlaxsun çureğalt'u* it.want	
2.7b								*toyest'ay* selling	
2.8a	*Ketərəl* that.how	*t'e ŏxǎlbalen* that hunter				*iz hər ğiyn şuma* 3s.GEN every day's bread		*q'azainşi* earn	
2.8b						*iz ailinə* 3s.GEN family		*enefsa* it.keeps	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
2.1	Free Translation: He went to the mountain every day; he put the net down and sat aside and then sang on the pipe.								
2.2	Free Translation: When the birds heard the sound of the pipe, they gathered around and sat.								
2.3	Free Translation: The hunter waited and when one suddenly came into the net he pulled the rope.								
2.4	Free Translation: He caught and brought it home.								
2.5	Free Translation: His house was full of different, wonderful birds.								
2.6	Free Translation: He was taking care of those birds and taking pleasure from their songs.								
2.7	Free Translation: Sometimes he was selling those birds to those who wanted to listen to their songs.								
2.8	Free Translation: That is how that hunter earned his daily bread to keep his family.								
3.1		*Ŏxǝlbali çux saal sa ğare* hunter's wife also one son	*saal* Also			*sa ğare* one son		*baksa* is	
3.2		*Ğare s'iyal* son name				*Misak'e* Misak		*baksa* is	
3.3	*Ğimxoy sa ğinast'a* days' one day	*ŏxǝlbal* hunter	*pis* bad					*azarinşebaki* get.sick	
3.4	*Sa şamat'a xun oşa* one week after	*işq'ar* husband						*pure* die	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
3.5		*Ğar* son	*hələ* still					*mis'ikey* small	
3.6				*İz nana* 3s.GEN mother		*kömǝybes* help		*tene baksay* it.not being	
3.7		*Şorox* they				*lap kǝsibt'un* more poor		*baksa* is	
3.8						*İcoğoy şumal* their bread		*bǎǧǎbes tet'un baksay* find no being	
3.9a		*Ğimxo xaşurxo usenxo* days months year						*hari* come	
3.9b			*yavaş-yavaş* little.by.little					*c'ovaneksa* pass	
3.10a			*Heq'ǝdǝr kǝsibluğ* how poor					*alk'ayt'un*	
3.10b						*bavay q'ǝşǝnq fark'ala t'iitt'ǝyǝ saal tǝlinǝ* father's nice music. instrument pipe also net		*tet'un toyest'a* NEG sell	
3.1	Free Translation: The hunter's wife also had a son.								
3.2	Free Translation: The son's name was Misak.								
3.3	Free Translation: One day the hunter became very sick.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
3.4	Free Translation: After one week the husband died.								
3.5	Free Translation: The son was small.								
3.6	Free Translation: He couldn't help his mother.								
3.7	Free Translation: They became very poor.								
3.8	Free Translation: They couldn't find their bread.								
3.9	Free Translation: Days, months, years come and slowly pass.								
3.10	Free Translation: Though they lived very poorly, they didn't sell father's beautiful musical pipe and net.								
4.1a		*Vaxt* time						*hari c'ovaneksa* come pass	
4.1b		*əyelal* child						*kalanebaksa* grows.up	
4.2		*Şo* 3s				*gele q'əşənq haq'ullu dirbaş sa ğare* very clever brave one boy		*baksa* is	
4.3a						*Şot'ay bava* its father		*nubaksuna* 	*görə* as
4.3b		*şoto amdarxon* that person				*yetim Misak't'un* orphan Misak.3p		*k'aley* Call	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
4.4		*Şot'in*	*savaxt'inaxun biyəsə s'irik*			*iz na*		*kömǝye bsay*	
		3s	morning evening till			3s.GEN mother		help doing	
4.1	Free Translation: Time came and passed, and the child grew up.								
4.2	Free Translation: He was a very nice, clever, brave boy.								
4.3	Free Translation: Since he had no father, those people called him the orphan Misak.								
4.4	Free Translation: He helped his mother from morning till evening.								
5.1a		*Misak'i qośs'e yəş*						*bakat'an*	
		Misak's fifteen age						is	
5.1b		*şot'in*		*iz na*				*nexe*	
		3s		3s.GEN mother				say	
5.1c		*Zu*	*ene mis'ik*					*tezu*	
		I	more small					not	
5.1d		*bez p'ap'a*						*purit'uxun*	*oşa*
		my father						dead	after
5.1e		*hun*		*za*		*koruğ*		*ak'i*	
		2s		to.me		difficult		see	
5.1f								*běği kalambe*	
								raise	
5.1g	*isə*	*zu*		*va*				*beğoz*	
	now	I		to.you				care.for	
5.2a								*Eça*	*p'ap'ay fark'ala t'ütt'əyə saal təlinə*

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	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
								bring	father's musical. instrument pipe also net
5.2b		*zu*	*əic'ə*			*ŏxǎlə*		*tağoz*	
		I	tomorrow			hunting		go	
5.3a		*Nanan*						*avaney*	*ki*
		mother						know	that
5.3b		*iz ğar*				*gele dirbaş ğare*		---	
		3s.GEN son				very brave boy			
5.3c		*şot'in*				*buruğmoğoy hər sa dönbinə*		*çalexsa*	
		3s				mountain every one corner		know	
5.3d	*şoto görəl*							*eçeri*	*bavay fark'ala t'ütt'əyə saal təlinə*
	that why							bring	father's musical pipe also net
5.3e								*tanest'a*	*ğara*
								give	to.son
5.1	Free Translation: When Misak was fifteen years old, he said to his mother, "I am not small anymore, after my father's death you saw difficulties raising me, now I will care for you.								
5.2	Free Translation: Bring father's musical pipe and net; tomorrow I will go hunting.								
5.3	Free Translation: Mother knew that her son was a very brave boy; he knew all the coners of the mountains; that's why she brought father's musical pipe and net and gave them to her son.								
6.1a	*Əyc'indəri*	*Misak'*	*savaxt'an üşenen*				*usum*	*hayzeri*	
	next.day	Misak	morning early				quickly	get.up	
6.1b								*tanesa*	*çöle*
								go	to.forest
6.2		*Şot'in*				*t'e ganxo*	*gele şaate*	*çalxsay*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		3s				that places	very well	know	
6.3aʃ	*Maya* where	*mani xoda* which tree						*kalabaksa* grows	
6.3b	*Maya* where	*hecürə ləmbəne* what.kind bush						*bu* do	
6.3c		*mani oq* which canal			*maya* where			*taysa* goes	
6.3d						*bitümə* all		*avaney* know	
6.3e				*aşt'unaxunal* get.lost				*q'itenepsay* not.afraid	
6.4a	*Biyəbakamin* all.day					*t'e buruğmoğoy c'ələyxo* that mountain forests		*taranne* walk	
6.4b						*bavay t'ütt'əyen* father's pipe		*farene* it.plays	
6.4c					*təlinə* net			*lanexsa* call	
6.4d	*amma* but	*sədənə çoval* one sparrow			*įşa* near			*etenesa* not.come	
6.1	Free Translation: The next day Misak quickly got up early in the morning and went to the forest.								
6.2	Free Translation: He knew those places very well.								
6.3	Free Translation: Where which tree grows, where what kind of bush is, which canal goes where - he knows all this and is not afraid of getting lost.								
6.4	Free Translation: Till night he walked in that mountain's forests, played on father's pipe and put down the net, but not one bird came close.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
7.1a	*Biyəsin* evening							*biyəbay-t'uxun* get.dark	*oşa* after
7.1b		*Misak'* Misak				*mandak'* tired		---	
7.1c				*kul ams'i* hand empty	*qoş* behind			*qaibay* return	
7.1d								enesa it.comes	k'oya to.house
7.2a		*Nanan* mother						*avaney* know	*ki* that
7.2b		*Misak'* Misak		*iz kul ams'i* 3s.GEN hand empty				*eğale* will.come	
7.2c	*çunki* because	*ŏxǎlbsun* hunting				*hasand əş* easy work		*tene* it.not	
7.2d		*şot'o* 3s	*sa ğiyin* one day					*zombaksun* learn	*çətine* difficult
7.3a		*Şot'in* 3s						*avaney* it.know	*ki* that
7.3b		*Misak'eynak'* Misak	*hələ* still			*gele əş* very work		*zombaksun lazǐme* learn need	
7.4a						*T'üt'əyə fark'at'an* pipe sing	*t'et'ər* such	*fark'an* sing	*ki* that
7.4b		*q'uşurxo bitüm* birds all				*t'e səsə* that sound		*gireğane* gather	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
7.5a	*Şoto ğörəl* that why	*nanan* mother	*ǯxilǯxun* far.away			*Misak'a* to.Misak'		*ak'i* see	
7.5b					*şot'ay bĕşĕ* 3s			*c'eysa* come.out	
7.5c								*eneşt'a* it.bring	*Misak'a k'oya* to.Misak to.house
7.5d								*ukesest'a* give.food	
7.5e	*oşa* after							*nexe* said	
7.5f	*Ay bez bala* hey my child					*fikir* thought		*maba* do.not	
7.5g		*vi baval* your father	*sift'ə-sift'ə* first			*ams'ine* it.empty		*qaibake* return	
7.5h						*təzə ŏxǯlə* new hunting		*tağat'an* go	
7.5i			*t'et'ər vaxt'e* such time					*bake* cannot	*ki* that
7.5j			*xaşurxon* month			*çoval* sparrow		*tə* no	
7.5k						*pampalukal* butterfly		*biq'es tene bake* catch it.not cannot	
7.1	Free Translation: In the evening when it got dark, Misak, tired and empty-handed, returned home.								
7.2	Free Translation: Mother knew that Misak would come empty-handed, because hunting is not easy work; it is difficult to learn in one day.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
7.3	Free Translation: She knew that Misak still needed to learn much about work.								
7.4	Free Translation: The pipe should be played so that the sound will gather all the birds.								
7.5	Free Translation: That's why mother went to meet Misak when she saw him far away, bringing Misak home; after giving him food, she said: "Hey, my child, don't worry, at first your father returned with empty hands; when he hunted at the beginning there were months that he could not catch a sparrow or butterfly.								
8.1a	*Amma* but		*oşa yavaş-yavaş* after little.by.little			*tetər ği* day		*tene bake* it.not cannot	*ki* that
8.1b		*şo* 3s	*ams'i* empty					*eğane*	
8.2		*Nanay əiten* mother's word		*Misak'a ük'e* to.Misak heart				*tast'a* give	
8.3a		*Şot'in* 3s				*q'amişe* understand		*baksa* is	
8.3b	*əgər* if	*amdaren* person				*əşlə* work		*burqenesa* start	
8.3c								*gərə* need	
8.3d			*ost'ar* strong		*iz əiti loxol* 3s.GEN word on			*çurk'ane* it.stay	
8.4a								*Gərə çalişakane* need try	*ki* that
8.4b			*çət'inluğxoxun* with.difficulties					*c'ovakane* pass	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
8.4c		*iz çureğaloval* 3s.GEN wish						*bakane* can	
8.5a		*Çət'inluğxon* difficulties						*q'ibala* afraid	
8.5b		*amdarane* person						*q'idest'a* scare	
8.6a		*Amdar* person	*çət'inluğxoxun* with.difficulties					*c'ovakine buq'o* pass	*ki* that
8.6b								*ost'ahar-bakane* strong	
8.1	Free Translation: But later, little by little, there wasn't a day that he returned empty.								
8.2	Free Translation: Mother's words gave Misak heart.								
8.3	Free Translation: He understood that if a person starts a work, he needs to stand firmly on his word.								
8.4	Free Translation: One needs to try passing the difficulties, so his wishes are realized.								
8.5	Free Translation: Difficulties scare the person who is afraid.								
8.6	Free Translation: The person needs to pass through difficulties and become strong.								
9.1	*Hari* come	*ğimxo şamat'xo xaşurxo* days weeks months						*c'ovaneksa* pass	
9.2a		*Misak'en*						*bureqsa*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		Misak						start	
9.2b				*t'üttʼəyi loxol* pipe's on			*q'əşəng* wonderful	*farpsa* sing	
9.2c		*əsil t'üttʼəyçin* real piper						*larik'* like	
9.3	*Sa ği* one day		*p'urum* again					*tanesa ŏxă̆lă̆* go hunting	
9.4a						*Təlinə* net		*lanexsa* it.puts	
9.4b								*exest'a* takes	*t'üttʼəyə iz kiyel* pipe its hand
9.4c								*bureqsa farpsa* starts sing	
9.4d					*dömbine* corner			*çurpi* stand	
9.4e	*sift'in dömüş* first time							*bafest'a* catch	*sa gele q'əşəng q'uş* one very wonderful bird
9.5		*İz q'ənətxonal* its wings				*cürə-bə-cürə irəngxone* different colours		*tast'ay* give	
9.6a		*Misak'* Misak	*gele* very					*mŭqe baksa* is.happy	
9.6b						*q'uşa* to.bird		*eneşta* bring	*k'oya* to.house
9.6c								*lanexsa* it.puts	*q'əfəsə* cage
9.1	Free Translation: Days, weeks and months passed.								

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	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
9.2	Free Translation: Misak began to pipe on the pipe very well, like a real piper.								
9.3	Free Translation: One day he went hunting again.								
9.4	Free Translation: He put out the net, took the pipe in his hand, started to sing standing in the corner, and for the first time caught one very beautiful bird.								
9.5	Free Translation: Its wings gave off different colours.								
9.6	Free Translation: Misak was very glad, and brought the bird home and put it in a cage.								
10.1a		*Sa üşü* one night						*hari* come	
10.1b								*c'ovaneksa* pass	
10.2a	*Savaxt'an* morning							*hayzeri* get.up	
10.2b								*bet'unğsa* sees	*ki* that
10.2c		*t'e q'uşen* that bird				*šampi qoq'lane* colourful it.egg		*laxe* put	
10.3a		*Misak'en* Misak				*qoq'lina* egg		*exti* take	
10.3b								*c'enesa* go.out	*şəhəre* city
10.1	Free Translation: One night came and passed.								
10.2	Free Translation: Misak began to pipe on the pipe very well, like a real piper.								
10.3	Free Translation: Misak took the egg and went to the city.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
11.1a	*T'e şəhəreyal* that city	*sa dənə q'ĭrçi* one two greedy						---	
11.1b		*amdar* person				*ferett'ala alverçinoy* cheater merchant		---	
11.2a		*Şot'in* 3s				*amdarxo* people		*feret'est'ay* cheat	
11.2b						*sa manatluğ şeya* one manat thing	*q'o manatale* five manat	*toyst'ay* sell	
11.2c						*q'o manatluğ şeya* five manat thing	*sa manatale* one manat	*haq'say* taking	
11.3a		*Şot'in* 3s			*Misak'i kiyel* Misak's hand	*šampi qoq'lina* colourful egg		*ak'i* see	
11.3b								*k'alene* it.calls	*şoto iz tŏğŏl* that 3s near
11.4	*Ayə ay yetim* hey hey orphan					*Ke qoq'lina* this egg	*het'ulen* how.much	*tado* sell	
11.5						*Ke qoq'lina* this egg	*za* to.me	*toyda* sell	
11.6a		*Misak'en* Misak						*avaney* it.know	*ki* that
11.6b		*alverçi* merchant				*gele pis amdare* very bad to.person		---	
11.7	*Şoto görəl* that why	*şotay* 3s		*q'əsten şot'in* against 3s		*gele toyexe* very expensive		*nexe* said	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
11.8a		*Alverçinen* merchant	*ene* more			*xavar* news		*haq'inut* buy	
11.8b						*tənginə* money		*c'evki* take.out	
11.8c								*bŏq'əlpi* count	
11.8d								*tadi* give	
11.8e						*qoq'lina* egg		*exest'a* takes	
11.9a		*Misak'enal* Misak		*t'e tənginen* that money	*bazarexun lazĭm-bakala* market need.where	*şeyurxo* things		*haq'i* take	
11.9b								*enesa* it.comes	*k'oya* to.house
11.1	Free Translation: In that city was a greedy and lying merchant.								
11.2	Free Translation: He cheated the people, selling a one-manat thing for five manats, and buying a five-manat thing for one manat.								
11.3	Free Translation: Seeing the the colourful egg in Misak's hand, he called him near,								
11.4	Free Translation: "Hey, hey orphan! How much will you sell this egg for?								
11.5	Free Translation: Sell it to me."								
11.6	Free Translation: Misak knew that merchant was a very bad person.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
11.7	Free Translation: That's why he said a very high price.								
11.8	Free Translation: The merchant didn't say more, took out money, counted it, gave it to him, and took the egg.								
11.9	Free Translation: Misak, with that money at the market, bought the necessary things and came home.								
12.1a	*Savaxt'an* morning							*hayt'unst'a* gets.up	
12.1b								*bet'unğsa* sees	
12.1c		*t'e q'uşen* that bird	*purumal* again			*hat'et'ər sa šampi qoq'lane* same one colourful it.egg		*laxe* put	
12.2a		*Misak'en* Misak				*qoq'lina* egg	*purumal* again	*taşeri* bring	
12.2b				*hat'e alverçinə* same merchant				*toyest'a* sells	
12.3	*Hər ği* every day	*q'uşen* bird				*sa qoq'lane* one it.egg		*laxsa* put	
12.4a		*Misak'enal* Misak						*taşeri* bring	
12.4b				*alverçina* merchant				*toyest'a* sells	
12.4c	*haketərəl* in.this.way	*şorox* they						*yəşəinş-t'unbsa* live	
12.1	Free Translation: Getting up in the morning, he saw that bird had laid the same colourful egg again.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
12.2	Free Translation: Misak again took the egg and sold it to the same merchant.								
12.3	Free Translation: The bird had laid one egg every day.								
12.4	Free Translation: And Misak brought it to the merchant and sold it, in this way they lived.								
13.1a		*Şotoval* that						*uk'enki* say	
13.1b		*Misak'* Misak				*gele haq'ullu ğarey* very clever boy		---	
13.2a		*Şot'in* 3s						*q'amişakene* understand	*ki* that
13.2b	*əgər* if	*alverçinen* merchant		*qoq'lina-xun* egg		*gele q'azainş* very income		*nubiyniy* if.do.not	
13.2c		*şot'in* 3s				*t'ər toyex qoq'lina* such expensive egg		*hateneq'oy* will.not.buy	
13.3a		*Misak'en* Misak						*bureqsa* starts	
13.3b					*alverçin baçanexun* merchant after			*izləinşbsa* follow	
13.3c								*běněğsa* sees	*ki* that
13.3d		*ferett'ala alverçinen* cheater merchant	*hər ği* every day	*içuxun* himself				*haqala* buy	*qoq'lina* egg
13.3e								*taşeri* bring	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
13.3f			*vis' kərə toyex* ten expensive	*padčağa* to.king				*toyest'a* sells	
13.1	Free Translation: We should say that Misak was a very clever boy.								
13.2	Free Translation: He understood that if the merchant did not earn a good income from the egg, he wouldn't buy such an expensive egg.								
13.3	Free Translation: Misak started to follow the merchant, and saw that every day the cheating merchant brought the egg he bought from him and sold it to the king for ten times more.								
14.1	*T'e ğinaxun* that day	*Misak'en* Misak		*alverçina* merchant		*qoq'la* egg		*toytenest'a* it.not.sells	
14.2a								*Taşeri* bring	
14.2b			*Düz*	*Padčağane* king				*toyst'a* sell	
14.3		*Alverçinen* merchant						*avane baksa* it.know is	
14.4a		*Şot'ay əcuğon* 3s angry						*bineq'sa* it.catches	
14.4b	*çunki* because					*hasand q'azainş* easy income	*iz kiyexun* 3s.GEN hand	*c'enesa* it.go.out	
14.5a	*Misak'i q'əst'en* Misak's against	*şot'in* 3s						*tas'i* go	
14.5b				*padčağa* to.king				*nexe* said	
14.5c	*Ay padčağ* hey king	*hun* you	*hetaynak'en* why			*kər gele təngə* such very money		*tadi* give	
14.5d			*ğinnen*			*qoq'lan*		*haq'sa*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
			daily			egg		take	
14.6a		*Yetim Misak'i* orphan Misak's			*k'oya* to.house	*q'əşəng q'uşe* wonderful bird		*bu* do	
14.6b		*t'e q'uşene* that bird				*qoq'lina* egg		*laxsa* put	
14.7a				*Misak'-axun* Misak		*t'e q'uşa* that to.bird		*çurey ext'a* ask take	
14.7b		*q'uşal iz qoq'lal* bird its egg				*viq'an*		*bay* be	
14.1	Free Translation: From that day, Misak didn't sell the egg to the merchant.								
14.2	Free Translation: He brought it right to the king and sold it.								
14.3	Free Translation: The merchant knew it.								
14.4	Free Translation: He was angry, because the easy money went out from his hand.								
14.5	Free Translation: Against Misak, he went to the king and said: "Hey king, why do you pay such a great amount of money to buy the egg every day?								
14.6	Free Translation: The orphan Misak has a beautiful bird in his house, that bird lays an egg.								
14.7	Free Translation: Ask Misak and take that bird, then the bird and its egg will be yours.								
15.1		*Me exlət* this talk				*padčaği gele xoşele* king's very like		*eysa* comes	
15.2		*Şot'in* 3s						*nexe* said	
15.3			*Həgigiyal*			*düzəxen*		*nexe*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
			indeed			right		said	
15.4a		*Zu* I						---	*ki padčağzu* that I.king
15.4b		*Misak'* Misak	*isə* now			*yetime* orphan		---	
15.5	*Het'aynak'* why	*t'et'ər q'əşəng q'uş* such wonderful bird				*bez* my		*nu bakane* not can	
15.6a		*Padčağen* king		*Misak'a* to.Misak	*iz tŏğŏl* 3s.GEN near			*k'alpi nexe* call said	
15.6b								Tay go	vi k'oya bakala your to.house where
15.6c						*q'əşəng q'uşa* wonderful to.bird		*eça tada* bring go	*za* to.me
15.7a		*Misak'en* Misak	*hat'iya* at.that.place					*q'amişe-baksa* understands	*ki* that
15.7b		*mo* this				*t'e mundar alverçin əşe* that bad merchant work		---	
15.8a	*Çunki* because	*padčağ* king	*t'et'ər* such			*haq'ullu* clever		*tene* it.not	*ki* that
15.8b				*için* himself				*q'amişakane* it.understand	
15.9a	*Amma* but					*çara* choice		*buteney* do.not	
15.9b						*q'uşa* to.bird		*tast'un lazĭme* give need	
15.9c	*çunki*	*şo*				*padčağe*		---	

| | Pre-nuclear | Nucleus | | | | | | | Post-nuclear |
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
	because	3s				king			
15.9d						*kə* what		*çureğain bone* want	
15.10a		*Misak'* Misak						*tanesa* go	*k'oya* to.house
15.10b								*eneşt'a* it.bring	*q'uşa* bird
15.10c								tanest'a give	padčağa to.king
15.11		*Alverçinen* merchant				*iz qureğalt'u* 3s.GEN want		*bine* do	
15.12				*Misak'a* to.Misak			*purum şumsuz-t'un* again bread	*barti* left	
15.13a	*Amma* but		*şumsuz* without.bread			*t'e amdare* that to.person		*mando*	*ki* that
15.13b		*mat'in* which				*hik'k'al* nothing		*bacar tenebsa* cannot not.do	
15.1	Free Translation: The king really liked this advice.								
15.2	Free Translation: He said,								
15.3	Free Translation: "You say correctly.								

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	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
15.4	Free Translation: I am king, and Misak is now an orphan.								
15.5	Free Translation: Why is such a wonderful bird not mine."								
15.6	Free Translation: The king called Misak to him and said: "Go to your house where the wonderful bird is and bring it to me!"								
15.7	Free Translation: Misak understood then, that this was the work of that bad merchant.								
15.8	Free Translation: Because the king was not clever enough to understand himself.								
15.9	Free Translation: But there was no other choice, he needed to give the bird, because the king could do what he wanted.								
15.10	Free Translation: Misak went home, brought the bird and gave it to the king.								
15.11	Free Translation: The merchant got what he wanted.								
15.12	Free Translation: Misak was left without bread again.								
15.13	Free Translation: But without bread that person is left not able to do anything.								
16.1a	*Təzdən*	*Misak'en*						*exest'a*	*iz t'ütt'əyə saal təlinə*
	again	Misak						takes	its pipe also net
16.1b								*tanesa ŏxǝlə*	
								it.goes hunting	
16.2a	*İsə*	*şot'in*	*lap gele q'əşəng*	*t'ütt'əyi loxol*				*farene*	
	now	3s	more very wonderful	pipe's on				it.plays	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
16.2b			*t'et'əre* such					*fare* played	*ki* that
16.2c		*bitïm çovalxo* all sparrows						---	
16.2d		*çolin q'uşurxo* wild birds						*gires'i* many.are.gathered	
16.2e					*iz tŏğŏlt'un* 3s.GEN near by			*eysa* comes	
16.3a	*Sa ği* one day					*ördəye* to.duck		*biq'say* caught	
16.3b	*sa ği* one day					*orozine* pheasant		*biq'say* caught	
16.3c			*ams'i* empty		*k'oya* to.house			*etenesay* return	
16.3d						*şotoğo* them		*toydi* sold	
16.3e	*satəren*					*me bula t'e bel* this to.head that head		*p'ap'estun-bsay*	
16.4	*Ketərəl* that.how	*nana bala* mother child						*yəşəinşt'un-bsay*	
16.5a	*Misak'a* to.Misak	*bitïm amdarxon* all person						*çalt'unxsay* they.knowing	
16.5b	*çunki* because	*hər amdaren* every person				*mani q'uşa* which to.bird		*çuresay* wanting	
16.5c				*şot'aynak'* 3s.GEN.for		*t'e q'uşa* that to.bird	*şot'in* 3s	*biq'i* caught	
16.5d								*eneşt'ay* bring	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
16.1	Free Translation: Again Misak took his pipe and the net, and he went hunting.								
16.2	Free Translation: Now he played on the pipe much better, he played such that all the sparrows, the wild birds gathered and came near to him.								
16.3	Free Translation: One day he cought a duck, one day he cought a pheasant; he wasn't returning empty; they sold them, with difficulties making both ends meet.								
16.4	Free Translation: By this way mother and child were living.								
16.5	Free Translation: All the people knew Misak, because whatever bird every person wanted, he caught and brought that bird.								
17.1a		*Alverçinen* merchant						*çuresay* wanting	*Misak'axɯn* Misak
17.1b			*təzdən* again			*dost'* friend		*bakane* can	
17.1c				*şot'oxɯn* from.him		*ucuz q'uşurxo* cheap birds		*haq'ane* it.buy	
17.1d			*toyexal* expensive					*toydane* sell	
17.2a	*Amma* but							*tene bacarbsa* it.not manage	
17.2b	*çunki* because	*Misak'i* Misak				*alverçina* merchant		*ak'ala* see	
17.2c				*pul* eye				*tenoy*	
17.3a		*Alverçiyox* merchant				*gele pis tayfoxtɯniy* very bad sort		---	
17.3b				*təngin dərden* about		*kə ukain* what		*bot'uniy*	

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
17.3c				*amdari loxol* person on		*əş* work		*laçuvki*	
17.3d						*amdari kojal* person		*s'artunkoniy*	
17.1	Free Translation: The merchant wanted to be a friend with Misak, to buy birds from him cheaply and sell them expensively.								
17.2	Free Translation: But he couldn't, because Misak didn't want to see the merchant.								
17.3	Free Translation: Merchants are a very bad sort, what they do is about money, they were able to inform things that didn't happen and destroy the person's family.								
18.1a	*Ğimxoy sa ğinest'a* days' one day	*alverçi* merchant						*enesa* it.comes	*padčaği tŏğŏl* king's near
18.1b								*nexe* said	
18.2a	*Padčağ* king							*mŭqq'anbay* be.happy	
18.2b		*ke q'uş* this bird				*təke* alone		*t'arıxmışe baksa*	
18.3a				*Misak'a* to.Misak				*k'alpa* call	
18.3b								*yaq'aba* send	
18.3c								*tas'i* go	
18.3d				*kot'aynak'* for.him		*dost'q'an* friend		*eçeri* bring	
18.4a		*Ams'i bul padčağ*				*gele mŭqe*		*baksa*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		empty head king				very happy		is	
18.4b		*alverçin əitə* merchant word						*görə* as	
18.5a								*K'alene* it.calls	*iz tŏğŏl Misak'a* its near to.Misak
18.5b								*nexe* it.says	
18.6a								*Tay* go	
18.6b				*me q'uşeynak'* this bird		*içu larik' sa q'uş* him like one bird		*eça* bring	*ki* that
18.6c						*tək* alone		*maq'an baki* not be	
18.1	Free Translation: One day, the merchant came to the king's vicinity and said:								
18.2	Free Translation: "May the king be happy, this bird is lonely and pining.								
18.3	Free Translation: Call Misak and send him to go and bring for him a friend."								
18.4	Free Translation: The empty-headed king was very happy, because of the merchant's word.								
18.5	Free Translation: He called Misak to his vicinity and said,								
18.6	Free Translation: "Go and bring a bird similar to this bird, that he will not be alone."								

APPENDIX C

MISAK PART 2

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
1.1		Misak'eynak' Misak				t'e q'uşa larik' q'uş that to.bird like bird		bǎğǎbsun find	gele çǝtiney very difficult
1.2a		Misak'en Misak	heq'ǝdǝr how					çalışebaksa try.is	
1.2b		padc'ağa king						irǝzi bes tene baksa agree it.not is	
1.3a		Padc'ağen king		şot'o 3s		q'ırx ği vaxte forty day time		tast'a give	
1.3b				içuval 3s				nexe said	
1.3c						Hiq'q'al nothing		avatezu know.1s	
1.3d	q'ırx ğiyin boş forty day					q'uşa to.bird		bǎğǎbi nu eçain find not bring	
1.3e						vi bula your to.head		bot'oz cut	
1.4		Misak' Misak			qoşqaibay back			tanesa go	k'oya to.house
1.5a		Şot'in				nanay ük'ǝ		nu kač'st'uni	dǝrdǝn

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
		3s				mother's heart		not	
1.5b				*nana* mother		*əit* word		*tene nexe* it.not said	
1.5c						*üşimoğo ğimxo* nights days		*bŏq'əlene* count	
1.1	Free Translation: It was very difficult for Misak to find that kind of bird.								
1.2	Free Translation: Misak tried a lot to make the king agree, but he was not able to.								
1.3	Free Translation: The king gave him forty days and said to him, "I don't know; if you are not able to bring me the bird, I shall cut your head."								
1.4	Free Translation: Misak went back home.								
1.5	Free Translation: He didn't say anything to his mother, because he didn't want to put pain in his mother's heart; he counted nights and days.								
2.1a	*Axri* at.last		*hat'etər* in.that.way			*sa q'uş* one bird		*biq'i* caught	
2.1b								*eceri* bring	
2.1c								*tanest'a* give	*padc'ağa* king
2.2	*Ama* but	*padc'ağen* king		*t'e boyda koruğa görə* that difficulty as	*sal* also	*dirist'bakal* thank		*tene nexe* it.not said	
2.3a		*Misak'en* Misak	*t'e vədinaxun* that					*avaney* know	
2.3b		*alverçi* merchant				*gele pis amdare* very bad person		---	
2.3c		*padc'ağ*	*isə*	*şot'oxunal*		*pise*		---	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	**Manner (or L)**	**Indirect Object**	**Location (or M)**	**Object**	**L, M or IO**	**Verb**	
		king	now	from.3s		bad			
2.4a		*İçoğoy arane* 3p.GEN between				*tafot*		*t'iyaney*	*ki*
2.4b		*soğo amdar* one person				*feret'ale* cheat		---	
2.4c		*te sogo* that one	*isə* now			*belxun zaye* mad		---	
2.1	Free Translation: At last he caught the bird like that and handed it to the king.								
2.2	Free Translation: But the king didn't even say thanks for those great difficulties.								
2.3	Free Translation: Misak knew from that time that the seller was a very bad person, but the king was worse.								
2.4	Free Translation: The differences between them are: one person is a swindler, but the other is a dolt.								
3.1a		*Misak'en* Misak		*padc'ağey-nak'* king		*q'uş* bird		*bǎğǝbi* find	
3.1b								*eneşt'a* it.bring	
3.1c		*şo* 3s				*şipe* quiet		*baksa* is	
3.2		*Alverçi* merchant	*isə* now			*arxain*		*tene baksa* it.not is	
3.3		*Şot'in* 3s		*Misak'axun* Misak				*q'ĭnepsa* afraid	
3.4a	*Çunki* because	*Misak'* Misak				*gele haq'ullu* very clever		---	
3.4b						*dirbaş* brave		---	*sa ğarey* one boy
3.5a	*Şoto görəl*	*alverçinen*						*çuresa*	

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
	that why	merchant						want	
3.5b				*Misak'a* to.Misak			*hetəre-hetərtene aranexun*	*ext'ane* to.do.away	
3.6a		*Şot'in* 3s						*fikirbeney* thought	*ki* that
3.6b		*Misak'en* Misak				*q'uşa* to.bird		*biq'es* catch	
3.6c								*tene bakal* it.not can	
3.6d		*padc'ağenal* king				*şot'ay bula* 3s to.head		*bot'ale* cut	
3.7	*Amma* but	*şot'ay çureğala* 3s wish	*kinək'* as					*tene baki* it.not	
3.8a		*Misak'en* Misak				*q'uşa* to.bird		*bğğğbi* find	
3.8b								*eneçeri* bring	

3.1	Free Translation: Misak had found and brought the bird for the king and he became quiet.
3.2	Free Translation: But the seller did not settle down.
3.3	Free Translation: He was afraid of Misak.
3.4	Free Translation: Because Misak was a very clever and brave fellow.
3.5	Free Translation: And that's why the seller wanted to put him out of the way, as possible.
3.6	Free Translation: He thought that Misak would not be able to catch the bird and the king would cut his head.

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
3.7	Free Translation: But it didn't happen.								
3.8	Free Translation: Misak had found the bird and brought it.								
4.1		*Alverçin* merchant			*ük'e* heart		*p'urumal qǐ* again day	*bafest'a* catch	
4.2a		*Şo* 3s	*p'urum* again					*tanesa* go	*padc'aği tǒğǒl* king near
4.2b				*padc'ağa* king				*nexe* said	
4.2c	*Padčax* king	*vi padc'ağluğ* your kingdom						*avuzq'anbay* rise	
4.2d		*zu* I			*q'oja amda xoxun* old people			*ibakezu* heard	*ki* that
4.2e		*nu şerebakala č'oč'a vardo* not fade red flower						---	
4.2f		*ke q'uşurxon* this bird						*gərə* need	
4.2g			*usena sa kərəm* year one time			*te varda* that flower		*adbiq'at'un* smell	
4.3a						*T'e varda* that flower		*nu adbiq'ayt'un* not smell	
4.3b		*sorox* 3p	*mundar* bad					*bakalt'un* become	
4.4		*T'e nu şerebakala vard*	*isə*		*deve bağçin boşe*			*kalabaksa*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		that not fade flower	now		giant garden inside			grows	
4.5a		*Padc'ağenal* king		*şot'oxun* from.him		*xavare* news		*haq'sa* take	
4.5b	*De şat de p'oy* ok good ok		*isə* now					---	
4.5c		*yan* we				*t'e varda* that flower	*mayin* where	*bžǧžben* find	
4.6			*Hetər* how					*eçen* bring	
4.7a		*Alverçinen* merchant				*şoto coğabe* that answer		*tast'a* give	
4.7b					*T'e deve bağçaluğa* that giant garden			*baysuna*	
4.7c						*t'ein varda* that flower		*ext'i* take	
4.7d								*eşt'una* bring	
4.7e		*sa Misak'ene* one Misak						*bacarbo* manage	
4.8a				*Şot'o* 3s				*yaq'aba* send	
4.8b								*tas'i eçereq'an* go bring	
4.1	Free Translation: The terrible thing came into the seller's heart.								
4.2	Free Translation: He went to the king again and said: "The king, your kingdom will rise, I have heard from the old people that there is a red rose, which doesn't fade; these birds need to take a smell once a year from that rose.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
4.3	Free Translation: If they do not take a smell from that rose, they will die.								
4.4	Free Translation: The non-fading rose grows in the giant's garden.								
4.5	Free Translation: The king asked him: "All right, but how can we find that rose now?								
4.6	Free Translation: How to bring?								
4.7	Free Translation: The seller answered him: "The enter to that giant's garden, and bring the rose from there, only Misak can do.								
4.8	Free Translation: Send him, to bring it.								
5.1a		*Padc'axen* king		*Misak'a* to.Misak				*k'alene* it.calls	*iz tŏğŏl* 3s.GEN near
5.1b	*oşal* then			*şot'o* 3s				*nexe* said	
5.1c								*Taki* go	
5.1d					*mas'i deve baxçinaxun* white giant garden	*nu şerebakala çoça vard* not fade red flower		*eça* bring	
5.1e	*tenesa* if.not	*bez q'uşurxo* my birds				*mundar* bad		*bakale* be	
5.2a		*Misak'en* Misak	*qoşqaibaki* back	*padc'ağa* king				*nexe* said	
5.2b		*Padc'aği ömür* king life						*avuzq'anbaki* rise	
5.3a						*Bez biq'i q'uşa* my caught to.bird		*çurnans'i* want	
5.3b								*eçeri*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
								bring	
5.3c								*tazdi* give	
5.3d	*oşa t'e* after that					*q'uşeynak' dost'nan* bird friend		*çures'i* want	
5.3e						*şoval*		*biq'i* caught	
5.3f								*eçeri* bring	
5.3g								*tazdi* give	
5.4a								*K'əven* what.to.do	*ki* that
5.4b		*hun* you				*padc'ağnu* king		---	
5.5a		*Amdarast'a* person				*gorox* pitiful		*eysune buq'o* come	
5.5b						*sa k'it'imal* one little		*bakain* can	
5.6a		*Zu* I	*hetər* how					*avabakaz* know	
5.6b		*t'e mas'i dev* that white giant			*maya* where			*baksa* is	
5.1	Free Translation: The king called Misak and said: "Go, and bring the non-fading red rose from the white giant's garden, if you do not, my birds will die.								
5.2	Free Translation: Misak answered the king: "The king's life will be long.								
5.3	Free Translation: You wanted the bird which I caught; I gave it to you. Then you wanted a friend for the bird, I caught that and handed it.								

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	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
5.4	Free Translation: It doesn't matter what you do, you're a king.								
5.5	Free Translation: The person need to have regret, even only a little.								
5.6	Free Translation: How can I know, where that white giant lives.								
6.1a		*Padc'ağen* king		*şot'o* 3s				*nexe* said	
6.1b								*Băğănbo* find	
6.2a								*Ten băğăbosa* do.not	
6.2b				*alverçinaxun* merchant		*xavar* news		*haq'a* ask	
6.2c		*şot'in* 3s	*şaat* good					*avane* it.know	
6.3a		*Misak'en* Misak		*padc'axa* king				*nexe* said	
6.3b	*Əgər* if	*alverçinen* merchant						*avanesa* know	*iz ganu* 3s.GEN place
6.3c						*şot'o* 3s		*yaq'aba* send	
6.3d								*tas'i* go	
6.3e								*eçereq'an* bring	
6.4a		*Padc'ağen* king						*nexe* said	
6.4b	*Tə* now	*alverçinen* merchant						*nexe* said	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
6.4c	*t'iya* there	*sa hunen* one 2s						*tayes bako* go can	
6.5a		*Misak'en* Misak	*padc'ağa* king					*nexe* said	
6.5b		*Zu* I	*hələ* still			*gele cavanzu* very young		---	
6.5c						*zorba* strong		*tezu* not	
6.5d						*bacaraxlu* brave		*tezu* not	
6.6		*Bez əş* my work						*oxˇǝlbsune* hunt	
6.7a	*Za* to.me	*deven* giant						*ak'ala* see	*kinə* as
6.7b					*hat'iya* at.that.place			*besp'ale* kill	
6.8a		*Padc'ağen* king		*Misak'a* to.Misak		*coğabe* answer		*tast'a* give	
6.8b								*Besp'ale* kill	
6.8c								*besp'alene* kill	
6.8d								*k'yavaz*	*ki* that
6.8e	*p'oy*	*bez q'uşurxo* my birds						*mundar-bakeqat'ın*	*vi dərden* 2s.GEN about
6.1	Free Translation: The king said to him, "You will find it!								
6.2	Free Translation: If you will not, ask from the seller, he knows better.								

| | Pre-nuclear | Nucleus | | | | | | | Post-nuclear |
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
6.3	Free Translation: Misak said to the king, "If the seller knows it's place, send him to bring it."								
6.4	Free Translation: The king said, "The seller says that only you can go there."								
6.5	Free Translation: Misak said to the king, "I am still very young, I am not strong and not brave.								
6.6	Free Translation: My work is to hunt.								
6.7	Free Translation: As giant will see me, he will kill me there.								
6.8	Free Translation: The king answered to Misak: "If he will kill, he will kill you. What can I do. (It doesn't matter) But my birds will die because of you.								
7.1a	*Hələ* still	*Misak'en* Misak				*iz əiten* 3s.GEN word		---	
7.1b						*iz jomo* 3s.GEN mouth		*ǯmbaley* open	
7.1c		*padşaǧi* king				*əcoğon*		*biq'i* caught	
7.1d								*nexe* said	
7.1e								*Tez ava* NEG know	
7.1f				*va* to.you		*q'ɨrx ǧi vaxt'ez* forty day time		*tast'a* give	
7.1g	*əgər* if					*t'e varda* that flower		*nu bǯgǯbi eçain* not bring	
7.1h						*vi bula* your to.head		*bot'oz* cut	
7.2a		*Misak'en* Misak						*nexe* said	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
7.2b	*P'oy* but	*mas'i deven* white giant				*za* to.me		*besp'ain* kill	
7.2c								k'yavalnu	
7.3a		*Padc'ağen* king						*nexe* said	
7.3b				*Zaynak'* 1s		*tafot*		*teno* NEG	
7.4a	*Əgər* if	*mas'i deven* white giant				*va* to.you		*besp'ain* kill	
7.4b		*hunal* 2s				*varda* flower		*nu eçain* not bring	
7.4c			*p'urum* again			*vi bula* your to.head		*bot'oz* cut	
7.4d	*əgər* if		*həisə* now			*sa əital* one word		*ukain*	
7.4e					*hamya* here	*vi bula* your to.head		*bot'oz* cut	
7.5a		*Misak'en* Misak						*beneğsa* see	*ki* that
7.5b		*me padc'ağ* this king	*həgigiyal belxun* indeed			*lap zaye* more mad		---	
7.6		*Zayaxunal* mad				*hikə uk'ain* what		*c'eneğo*	
7.7a						*Ene qaq* more		*tenne* NEG	
7.7b								*c'eri* go.out	
7.7c								*enesa* it.comes	*k'oya* to.house

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
7.1	Free Translation: Misak wanted to open his mouth and say something; the king became very angry and said: "I don't know, I'll give you forty days, if you do not bring me that flower I shall cut off your head."								
7.2	Free Translation: Misak said, "If the white giant will kill me, what will you do."								
7.3	Free Translation: The king said, "For me it doesn't matter.								
7.4	Free Translation: If the white giant kills you and if you do not bring the flower, I shall cut off your head again, if you will say one more words I shall cut off your head here.								
7.5	Free Translation: Misak understood, that this king was stupid for real.								
7.6	Free Translation: The stupid can do anything.								
7.7	Free Translation: He didn't say anything and came home.								
8.1a			*Gelene* much					*fikirbsa* think	
8.1b			*male* little					*fikirbsa* think	
8.1c								*fikirebsa* think	
8.1d								*tağane* go	*gele q'oja* very old
8.1e						*dünyə*		*ak'i* see	
8.1f				*amdarxoxun* people		*xavar* news		*haq'ane* it.buy	
8.2	*T'e şəhəre* that city	*sa gele q'oja amdare* one very old person						*yəşəinşbsay* live	
8.3a		*Şo*			*gele ganune*			*bayo*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		3s			very place			was	
8.3b						gele amdarxone		ak'iyo	
						very people		see	
8.4a	Kot'oxunal cöy	şo				gele haq'ullu		---	
	separately	3s				very clever			
8.4b						bitüm amdarxo		q'amişakal	
						all people		understand	
8.4c						bitüm amdarxo		kömǝyebaley	
						all people		help	
8.5a		Misak'						tanesa	t'e işq'ari tŏğŏl
		Misak						go	that man near
8.5b		bitüm			iz bel			hari	
		all			3s.GEN head			come	
8.5c						ǝşurxo		exlǝt'ebsa	
						thing		tell	
8.6a		T'e q'oja işq'aren		şot'o			yönbǝri	ŭmŭxelaxsa	
		that old man		3s				listen	
8.6b	oşa							nexe	
	after							said	
8.6c	Bala	korox				bitüm alverçin q'ondarmoxe		---	
	son	3p				all merchant			
8.6d		hun		şot'o		qoq'la		toydi tenu	
		you		3s		egg		sold NEG	
8.6e		şot'in				tǝngǝ		q'azainşez tene bake	
		3s				money		earn it.not can	
8.7a		Şot'o				görǝl		---	
		3s				why			
8.7b		şot'in		vi bel		ke ǝşurxone		eşt'a	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		3s		your head		this thing		bring	
8.8a		*Misak'en* Misak						*nexe* said	
8.8b		*Zu* I				*ko* this		*avazu* know	
8.9a				*Za* to.me				*upa* tell	
8.9b								*běyin* see	
8.9c		*t'ər sa vard* such one flower						*bune* exist	*ki* that
8.9d		*t'e q'uşurxo* that birds		*t'e vardsuz* that flower				*yəşəinşez tet'un baksa* live not is	
8.1	Free Translation: He thought a lot; at last he came to the decision to go to an old person, who had seen the world and ask from them.								
8.2	Free Translation: There was one very old man living in that city.								
8.3	Free Translation: He was in many places and had seen a lot of people.								
8.4	Free Translation: And besides that, he was very clever (wise), understood all the people and he helped all the people.								
8.5	Free Translation: Misak went to that man, and told him all the story, which happened to him.								
8.6	Free Translation: That old man listened to him attentively, then he said: "My dear, these are all the seller's job. You didn't sell him the egg, and he couldn't earn money.								
8.7	Free Translation: ýThat's why he is doing all this to you.								
8.8	Free Translation: Misak said, "I know this.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	**Manner (or L)**	**Indirect Object**	**Location (or M)**	**Object**	**L, M or IO**	**Verb**	
8.9	Free Translation: Tell me, please, is there such a rose, that the birds can't live without them?"								
9.1a		*Koja işq'ar* old man				*fikirəne* think		*taysa* goes	
9.1b			*oşa* after					*nexe* said	
9.1c		*Zu* I						*ibakezu* heard	*ki* that
9.1d		*kər sa vard* such one flower						*bune* exist	
9.2		*Vi biq'i q'uşurxoval* your caught bird			*sa t'e vard bakala ganut'un* one that flower where place			*yəşəinşbsa* live	
9.3a	*Usenin mandi xaşurxost'a* year month							*purpi tat'unsa* fly go	*q'eraz ganxo* another places
9.3b	*amma* but	*joğul* summer						*eğat'an* come	
9.3c			*p'urum* again					*purpi et'unsa* fly come	*t'e vard bakal ganu* that flower where place
9.4a	*T'e varda* that flower	*mas'i deven* white giant		*iz bağçina* 3s.GEN garden				*q'orişepsa* take.care	*ki* that
9.4b	*t'ia* there	*t'e quşurxo* that birds						*purpi eğat'un* fly come	
9.1	Free Translation: The old man started to think, then said, "I have heard that there is such rose.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	**Manner (or L)**	**Indirect Object**	**Location (or M)**	**Object**	**L, M or IO**	**Verb**	
9.2	Free Translation: The birds, which you fowled, live only in that place, where the rose is.								
9.3	Free Translation: The other months of the year they fly to other places but when summer comes they fly back to that place where the roses are.								
9.4	Free Translation: The white giant will take care of those roses, in order that the birds will fly there.								
10.1a	*Me əitə* this word	*Misak'en* Misak						*ibakala* heard	
10.1b								*k'inə* like	
10.1c					*dünyənexun bitiimə* earth all	*iz eyexun* 3s.GEN		*c'eveksa* forget	
10.1d			*oşa* after			*xavare* news		*haq'sa* take	
10.1e		*T'əre*						*c'eysa* come.out	*ki* that
10.1f	*əgər* if	*zu* I				*t'e varda* that flower		*eçes bakaiz* bring can	
10.1g		*t'e q'uşurxo bitiim* that birds all			*varde bač'anexun* flower after			*eğaltun* come	
10.1h								*düze* right	
10.2a		*T'e q'oja işq'aren* that old man				*coğabe* answer		*tadi* give	
10.2b								*Düze* right	
10.2c	*t'e vard bakala ganu*	*hər ciirə q'uşurxo*						*girt'unsa*	

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
	that flower where place	every kind birds							
10.3	Amma but		gele çǝtine very difficult			t'e varda that flower	t'ein	c'evksun take.out	
10.4					T'e bağçina that garden	sa darvazinen one gate		bağan gǝrǝ get.in need	
10.5						T'e darvazinal that gate		qaipsun to.open	gele çǝtine very difficult
10.6a		Sa devene one giant						qaypes baksa can.open is	
10.6b		q'eraz şuk'k'ali another no.one				zor strength		aytenesa manage	
10.1	Free Translation: When Misak heard this, he forgot about all in the world, then asked, "It is looking such, if I can bring that rose, all the birds will follow after the rose, it is true?"								
10.2	Free Translation: That old man answered, "It is true. All kinds of birds are gathering to the place, where the roses are.								
10.3	Free Translation: But it is very difficult to take that roses from there.								
10.4	Free Translation: You needs to go inside that garden through one gate.								
10.5	Free Translation: It is very difficult to open that gate.								
10.6	Free Translation: Only the giant can open it, nobody can do it.								
11.1a		Misak'en Misak						nexe said	
11.1b		Zu I						qayezk'o open	
11.1c		hun		za				upa	bĕin t'e bağça mani tǝrǝfǝ

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		you		to.me				tell	that garden which side
11.2a		*Q'oja işq'aren* old man						*ak'esest'a* show	*mani tərəfə bağça* which side garden
11.2b	*oşal* then							*zomebsa* teach	*t'iya hetər tağane* there how go
11.3a			*Saal* also					*nexe* said	
11.3b	*Bala* son							*ibakezu* heard	*ki* that
11.3c					*t'ia* there			*p'ap'i* reach	*amdarxo gelene be* people much
11.3d	*amma* but	*mas'i deven* white giant				*şot'oğo bitümə* to.them all		*besp'ene* kill	
11.4	*Çunki* because	*dev* giant				*gele zorbane* very strong		---	
11.5		*Hun* you		*şot'oxun* from.him				*bacartenbo* manage	
11.6a		*Hun* you						*gərə* need	
11.6b						*t'ər* such		*ban*	*ki* that
11.6c		*deven* giant		*va* to.you				*nu ak'ane* not see	
11.7a						*Yöni c'ap* good escape	*bakes*	*bakalnu* can	
11.7b		*sa* one						*duği taşalnu* to win	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
11.7c								ten baki do.not	
11.7d		*sa deven* one giant				*va* to.you		*əvçibale* kill	
11.1	Free Translation: Misak said, "I can open it, you tell me, on which side is that garden."								
11.2	Free Translation: The old man showed in which side was the garden, and then taught him how to go there.								
11.3	Free Translation: And said, "My dear, I have heard that many people went there, but the giant killed all of them.								
11.4	Free Translation: Because the giant is very strong.								
11.5	Free Translation: You cannot do anything with him.								
11.6	Free Translation: You need to do such, that giant will not see you.								
11.7	Free Translation: If you will be able to hide well, you will win, if not the giant will annihilate you."								
12.1		*Misak'en* Misak				*q'oja işq'ari əitə* old man word	*iz eyex* 3s.GEN memory	*enefsa* it.keeps	
12.2								*Tanesa* go	*k'oya* to.house
12.3a								*Həzirləinşaki* to.get.ready	
12.3b								*c'enesa* it.go.out	*yaq'a* way.road
12.1	Free Translation: Misak kept in his mind the old man's words.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
12.2	Free Translation: He went home.								
12.3	Free Translation: He prepared and set out.								
13.1a							*Gelene* much	*taysa* goes	
13.1b							*male* little	*taysa* goes	
13.1c						*üşünə ğene loxole* night day on		*gərbsa* mix	
13.1d						*ğena üşünü loxol* day night on		---	
13.1e			*axri* at.last					*hari* come	
13.1f					*deve bağçin t'öğöl* giant garden near			*p'anep'sa* reach	
13.2a		*Bağçal* garden						---	*ki* that
13.2b			*hərəmə alloy q'alinen* around high wall					*biq'ey* close	
13.3							*T'e q'alina-xunalbona* that wall inside	*c'ovakes bateneksa* to.pass cannot	
13.4a		*Misak'*			*q'alin hərəminə*			*furunne*	*ki*

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
		Misak			wall around			walk	that
13.4b						*darvazina* door		*bəğəbane* find	
13.5a	*Amma* but	*bağça* garden				*t'e q'ədər kalaney* that how.much big		--- 	*ki* that
13.5b		*Misak'* Misak	*düz sa şamat* right one week		*t'e bağçin hərrəminə* that garden around			*furrune* walk	
13.5c			*axri* at.last			*darvazina* door		*bəğənepsa* found	
13.6a		*Darvaza* door	*isə* now			*t'ər darvazaney* such door		--- 	*ki* that
13.6b		*dünyəne ən bacarağlu amdarenal* world one.of strong person						*qaypes bateneko* can.open cannot	
13.7		*Misak'* Misak						*arest'a* sit	*sa sor darvazin t'ŏğŏl* one minute gate near
13.8a		*Şo* 3s				*gele mandak* very tired		*bakeney* become	
13.8b	*şoto görəl* that why	*şot'o* 3s				*nepen*		*taneşt'a* bring	
13.1	Free Translation: He went a long way or a short way, he put the nights on the days, the days on the nights at last he came to the giant's garden.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
13.2	Free Translation: And the garden was closed all around with tall wall.								
13.3	Free Translation: It was not possible to go inside over that wall.								
13.4	Free Translation: Misak went around the wall to find the gate.								
13.5	Free Translation: But the garden was so great, that Misak went around that garden about one week and at last he found the gate.								
13.6	Free Translation: And the gate was such a gate, that the strongest person in the world would not be able to open it.								
13.7	Free Translation: Misak sat near the gate for some minutes.								
13.8	Free Translation: He was very tired and so he fell asleep.								

APPENDIX D

MISAK PART 3

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
1.1a							*Gelene* much	*nep'axesa* asleep	
1.1b							*male* little	*nep'axesa* asleep	
1.1c		*səsaxun* noise						*muğurebaksa* awake	
1.1d								*ŭmŭxelaxsa* listen	
1.1e	*oşa* after							*běneğsa* see	
1.1f		*səs* noise						*avuzebaksa* increase	
1.2a		*Şot'ay* 3s						*eyexa bafst'a* remember	
1.2b		*q'oja işq'aren* old man		*içu* 3s				*peney* say	*ki* that
1.2c		*dev* giant	*bəz vədine* some never		*iz bağçinaxun* 3s.GEN garden			*c'eri* go.out	
1.2d								*tanesa ŏx̆lə* go hunting	
1.3a		*Misak'en* Misak						*q'amişebaki* to.understand	
1.3b		*dev*			*ŏx̆ləxune*			*eysa*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		giant			to.hunt			comes	
1.4a			*Usum*					*hayzeri*	*iz ganuxun*
			quickly					get.up	3s.GEN place
1.4b								*tas'i c'ap'ebaksa*	
								go hide	
1.1	Free Translation: He fell asleep for a long or short time, he woke up from a noise, listened, and then saw that the noise was increasing.								
1.2	Free Translation: He remembered the old man told him that the giant sometimes came from the hunt.								
1.3	Free Translation: Misak understood the giant has coming from the hunt.								
1.4	Free Translation: He got up very quickly from his place and hid.								
2.1a	*Sa xeylək oşa*	*dev*						*ak'esa*	
	one some after	giant						show	
2.2a		*Misak'en*						*běneğsa*	
		Misak						see	
2.2b		*sa kala buruxe*						*eysa*	
		one big mountain						comes	
2.2c	*əgər*							*fukain*	
	if							to.blow	
2.2d		*amdara*			*tozane*			*c'urevko*	
		person			dust			make	
2.3a	*Ama*	*Misak'*						*ŏxǒlbaley*	
	but	Misak						hunt	
2.3b		*şot'in*	*şat'*					*avaney*	*ki*
		3s	well					know	that
2.3c	*əgər*	*amdaren*						*port'p'ain*	

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
	if	person						patience	
2.3d		*iz əşlə*					*yavaş-yavaş haq'q'ullu*	biq'ain	
		3s.GEN work					little.by. little clever	to.do	
2.3e		*şotin*				*ǯn ost'ar düşmənəl*		*taşes baneko*	
		3s				strong enemy		carry can	
2.4a					*Göynu*			*purk'ala*	
					air			fly	
2.4b						*q'uşa*		*biq'sun*	
						to.bird		catch	
2.4c		*hasand əş*						*tene*	
		easy work						it.not	
2.5	*Ama*	*Misak'en şot'o*						*bacarebsa*	
	but	Misak 3s						manage	
2.1	Free Translation: After some time passed, the giant was seen.								
2.2	Free Translation: Misak saw that the big mountain was coming, if it would blow, it could reduce a person to powder.								
2.3	Free Translation: But Misak was a hunter, he knew very well that, if a person suffers, and does his job quietly and cleverly, he can win the strongest enemy.								
2.4	Free Translation: It is not easy to catch the bird who is flying in the sky.								
2.5	Free Translation: But Misak could do that.								
3.1		*Misak'en*	*p'urum*			*q'oja işq'ari əitəne*		*eyex basta*	
		Misak	again			old man word		remember	
3.2a		*Q'oja işq'aren*		*şot'o*				*peney*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		old man		3s				say	
3.2b	*∂gər* if		*yoni* good					*c'ap'bakes bakain* hide can	
3.2c		*deven* giant				*va* to.you		*nu ak'ain* not see	
3.2d						*şot'o* 3s		*taşes bakalnu* carry can	
3.3a	*Misak'ey-nak'al* Misak	*ko* this				*çətin əş* difficult work		*teney* not	
3.3b	*sot'aiynak* because							---	*ki* that
3.3c		*şot'in* 3s				*q'uş* bird		*biq'atan* catch	
3.3d								*c'ap'baki* hidden/ be.put.out	
3.3e			*şip-şip*		*q'uşe tŏğŏl* bird near		*t'əre* such	*taysay* go	*ki* that
3.3f	*saal* also	*q'uşenal* bird						*tene avabaksay* it.not know	
3.3g		*Misak'* Misak						*c'ap'bakene* hide	
3.4		*Misak'* Misak						*c'ap'ebaksa* hide	
3.1	Free Translation: Misak remembered the old man's words again.								

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
					Nucleus				
3.2	Free Translation: The old man said to him, "If you will be able to hide well and the giant will not see you, you will be able to win him.								
3.3	Free Translation: And for Misak it was not difficult, because when he fowled birds he hid and went on tiptoe to the bird such that the bird also didn't know Misak hid.								
3.4	Free Translation: Misak hid.								
4.1a	*Oşal* then	*dev* giant						*hari* come	
4.1b					*iz tŏğŏlxun* 3s.GEN near			*c'ovaneksa* pass	
4.1c						*Misak'a* to.Misak		*ateneksa* can't.see	
4.1d								*tanesa* go	*darvazin tŏğŏl* gate near
4.1e		*Misak'al* Misak			*şotay bač'anexun* 3s.GEN after		*iz nəfəsə* 3s.GEN breath	*bot'i* stop	
4.1f							*xoresun* crawl	*tanesa* go	
4.2a		*Deven* giant				*darvazina* door		*qayene* open	
4.2b								*banesa* enter	*bağçina* garden
4.2c		*Misak'al* Misak			*iz bac'anexun* 3s.GEN after			*bas'i* enter	
4.2d					*sa xodin bac'ane* one tree back			*c'ap'e baksa* hide is	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
4.3a		*Dev*						*tas'i*	*k'oya bağaminc'ə*
		giant						go	to.house
4.3b		*Misak'en*		*iz c'apbay ganuxun*	*deve loxolxun*	*iz pula*		*tene tağaybsa*	
		Misak		3s.GEN hide place	giant over	3s.GEN eyes		it.not not.take.away	
4.1	Free Translation: The giant went by him, didn't see Misak, went to the gate and Misak crawled after him, without breathing.								
4.2	Free Translation: The giant opened the gate and came in the garden, and Misak came in after him and hid behind the tree.								
4.3	Free Translation: While the giant went into the house, Misak looked after the giant from his hiding place.								
5.1a		*Dev*			*k'oya*			*bağala k'inə*	
		giant			to.house			enter like	
5.1b		*Misak'en*				*nəfəse*		*hǎvq'sa*	
		Misak				air		breath	
5.2a					*İz hərəminə*			*běneğsa*	
					3s.GEN around			see	
5.2b						*məhət'əle*		*manst'a*	
						surprised		to.be	
5.3					*İz piyin běş*	*gele q'əşəng bağçane*		*aksa*	
					3s.GEN eyes before	very wonderful garden		see	
5.4		*Dünyənin ən şat q'uşurx o ən şaat vardurxo*		*me bağçinaney*				---	
		world one.of good birds one.of good flower		this garden					
5.5	*T'e ǔşïinə*	*Misak'en*			*bağçinane*			*kəybsa*	

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
	that night	Misak			garden			spend. the.night	

5.1	Free Translation: When giant went in the house, Misak took a breath.
5.2	Free Translation: He looked around and was surprised.
5.3	Free Translation: He saw a very beautiful garden in front of him.
5.4	Free Translation: The best birds and the best flowers of the world were (here) in this garden.
5.5	Free Translation: Misak spent that night in the garden.

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
6.1	*Savaxt'an* morning	*dev* giant	*p'urumal* again					*tanesa ŏxǯlǝ* go hunting	
6.2a		*Misak'al* Misak		*iz c'ap'bay ganuxun* 3s.GEN hide place				*c'eri* go.out	
6.2b								*taranne* walk	*bağçina* garden
6.3a		*Me bağçina* this garden			*t'e gözǝl q'uşurxoxun* that nice birds			*buyey* full	
6.3b				*şot'oxunal gözǝl q'uşurxonoy* from.3s nice bird	*cürǝbǝ-cürǝ vardurxonoy* different flower			---	
6.3c	*amma* but	*Misak'en* Misak						*tene avay* it.not know	*manu nu şerebaicala vardey* which not fade flower

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
6.1	Free Translation: In the morning the giant went to hunt again.								
6.2	Free Translation: And Misak came out of his hiding place and walked in the garden.								
6.3	Free Translation: There were a lot of beautiful birds like those and more beautiful than those, different kinds of flowers in this garden, but Misak didn't know which of them was the not-droop rose.								
7.1a		*Misak'* Misak						*tarak'a-tarak'a* walking	
7.1b								*tas'i* go	
7.1c								*p'anep'sa* reach	*deve k'ojin t'ŏğŏl* giant house near
7.2a								*Banesa* enter	*k'oya* to.house
7.2b					*t'e k'ojin boş* that house inside	*q'irx dənə otağxone* forty two room		*buy* full	
7.3		*Soğo* one		*t'esunt'uxun* from.other		*şat* good		---	
7.4	*Amma* but				*otağxoy boş* room inside	*şuk'k'al* nobody		*buteney* do.not	
7.5a						*Q'irximci-c'i otağa* fortieth room		*bağat'an* enter	
7.5b		*iz ŭmŭğo* 3s.GEN ear				*səse* sound		*lafst'a* hear	
7.6a								*Ŭmŭxelaxsa* listen	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
7.6b								*běnĕǧsa* sees	
7.6c		*səs* noise			*p'ole oq'axune* floor under			*c'eysa* come.out	
7.6d		*şot'in* 3s	*usum* quickly			*palaza* carpet		*alabi* lift.up	
7.6e								*běneǧsa* see	*t'ia p'advala bağala çomono* there basement enter door
7.7a						*Çomo* door		*qayene* open	
7.7b								*běneǧsa* see	*sa xuyərə* one girl
7.7c			*iz popaxun* 3s.GEN hair					*suruk'p'et'un* to.hang	
7.1	Free Translation: Misak was walking and came to the giant's house.								
7.2	Free Translation: He came inside the house; there were forty rooms.								
7.3	Free Translation: Each one was better than another.								
7.4	Free Translation: But there was nobody in the rooms.								
7.5	Free Translation: When he came in the fortieth room he heard a sound.								
7.6	Free Translation: He listened, understood (saw) that the voice was coming from under the floor, he quickly raised the carpet and saw the gate (down) to the basement.								
7.7	Free Translation: He opened the door and saw a girl, who was hanging with her hair.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
8.1a		*Xuyəren* girl		*Misak'a* to.Misak				*ak'ala* see	
8.1b								*k'inə nexe* like said	
8.1c	*Ay cavan ğar* hey young son	*hun* 2s			*miya* here	*k'ən* what		*bsa* to.do	
8.2				*Devaxun* giant				*q'ïtenbsa* not.be.afraid	
8.3a							*Usumbaka* be.hurry	*taki* go	*mein* here
8.3b		*dev* giant						*eğain* to.come	
8.3c						*va* to.2s	*k'ot'or-k'ot'or* in.small.piece	*zĭğbale* tear	
8.4a		*Misak'en* Misak						*pine* said	
8.4b							*Q'i* to.be.afraid	*maba* do.not	
8.4c		*dev* giant						*tas'ene* went	
8.4d				*za* to.1s				*upa* tell	
8.4e		*hun* 2s						*şunu* who.2s.are	
8.5a		*Xuyəren* girl						*pine* said	
8.5b		*Bez s'i* my name				*Serane* Seran		---	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
8.6a	*Za* to.1s	*devene* giant						*başq'i* kidnap	
8.6b								*eçeriyo* bring	*miya* here
8.7	*Hema usene ki* how.many year that	*deven* giant				*za* to.me	*me bainq'u -nane* this darkness	*efsa* keep	
8.1	Free Translation: As soon as the girl saw Misak, she said, "Hey, young man, what are you doing here?								
8.2	Free Translation: Aren't you afraid of the giant?								
8.3	Free Translation: Quickly go from here, if the giant comes, he will divide you in pieces."								
8.4	Free Translation: Misak said, "Don't be afraid, the giant went away; tell me, who are you?"								
8.5	Free Translation: The girl said, "My name is Seran.								
8.6	Free Translation: The giant stole me and brought me here.								
8.7	Free Translation: It is some years, that the giant has kept me in this darkness."								
9.1a		*Misak'en* Misak				*xuyərə* girl		*şadebsa* to.untie	
9.1b								*ars'evek'sa* to.make.to.sit	*oq'a* down
9.1c	*sa sor* one minute	*xuyəren* girl				*nəfəsə* breath		*hŭveq'sa* to.breathe	
9.1d			*oşa* after			*xavare* news		*haq'sa* take	

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
				Nucleus					
9.1e								*Upa* / tell	*běin*
9.1f		*hun* / 2s						*şunu* / who.2s.are	
9.2		*Hun* / 2s			*miya* / here		*hetəren* / how	*baft'iyo* / come	
9.3					*Het'u görən* / why reason			*hariyo* / come	
9.4a		*Misak'en* / Misak			*iz bel* / 3s.GEN head			*hari* / come	
9.4b						*əşurxo* / thing		*exlət'ebsa* / tell	*xuyərə* / girl
9.1	Free Translation: Misak untied the girl and put her down. She caught her breath, then she asked, "Tell me, who are you?								
9.2	Free Translation: How did you come in here?								
9.3	Free Translation: For what reason did you come?"								
9.4	Free Translation: Misak told the girl all the adventures which happened to him.								
10.1a		*Xuyərenal* / girl						*nexe* / said	
10.1b	*De şat* / ok good			*za* / to.1s				*upa* / tell	*běin*
10.1c		*vi* / 2s				*qǒveǧala varda* / to.look.for flower		*bǒǧǒmbi* / find	
10.2a		*Misak'en* / Misak		*şot'o* / 3s		*coǧabe* / answer	*tast'a* / give	---	
10.2b		*Zu* / 1s	*həysə* / now			*varde* / flower		*fikirə tez zap'e* / think not pull	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
10.3a		*Zu* 1s	*həysə* now					*fikirez bsa* think to.do	*ki* that
10.3b						*va* to.2s	*hetər meyin* how from.here	*c'evk'az* to.take	
10.4a		*Seranen* Seran		*ğara* to.son				*pine* said	
10.4b	*Əgər* if	*hun* 2s				*ketər şat ğarnusa* such good boy		---	
10.4c								*çurensa* want	*za* to.1s
10.4d					*me bayinq'u -naxun* this darkness			*c'evq'an* take.out	
10.4e	*t'evədine* then							*ŭmŭxlaxa* listen	
10.4f			*oşal* then					*avabaka* know	
10.4g		*nu şerebakala vard* not fade flower			*me bağçina* this garden		*bez hünərene* 1s.GEN help	*əmələ hario* grow come	
10.5a	*Əgər* if					*za* to.1s	*meyin* from.here	*c'evk'ain* take.out	
10.5b								*hesabba* think	*ki* that
10.5c		*vardal* flower			*deve kiyexun* giant hand			*c'evenksa* take.out	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
10.6		*Q'uşurxoval t'evədine bitüm* bird then all			*bez bac'anexun* 1s.GEN after			*purpi tağalt'un* fly come	
10.1	Free Translation: And the girl said, "All right, tell me please, have you found the flower which you looked for?"								
10.2	Free Translation: Misak answered her, "Now I'm not thinking about the flower.								
10.3	Free Translation: Now I'm thinking about how to take you from here."								
10.4	Free Translation: Seran said to the fellow, "If you are such a good fellow, and want to take me from this darkness, then listen to me to know the non-droop flower which grows in this garden thanks to me (with my help).								
10.5	Free Translation: If you will take me form here, consider that you are taking the flower from the giant's hand.								
10.6	Free Translation: Then all the birds will fly after me also."								
11.1a		*Misak'en* Misak						*pine* said	
11.1b	*Amma* but							*avatezu* know.1s	
11.1c						*va* to.2s	*hetər* how	*c'evk'az* to.take	*me bağçinaxun* this garden
11.2a		*Xuyəren* girl						*c'oğabe tadi* to.answer give	
11.2b		*Deve* giant				*şat ĕkurxono* good horse		---	
11.3a		*Yan* 1p						*gərə ars'i* need sat	
11.3b					*ĕkurxon* horse			*tağayan* to.go	
11.3c		*dev*						*eğaminc'ə*	

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
		giant							
11.4a		*Misak'en* Misak						*pine* said	
11.4b	*Əgər* if	*yan* 1p			*me bağçinaxun* this garden			*c'eyes bakayan* go.out to.be	
11.4c								*t'ist'un çətin tene* to.run difficult it.not	
11.4d						*sa darvazina* one door		*qaypi* to.open	
11.4e								*c'eysun lazime* to.go.out need	
11.5a		*Zu* 1s				*darvazina* door		*qaypes bazaksa* open can	
11.5b		Xuyəren girl						pine said	
11.5c	*şoto görəl* that why	*deven* giant				*za* to.1s	*bez popaxun* 1s.GEN hair	*ğaçp'i suruk'ebsa* tie hang	*ki* that
11.5d		*zu* 1s						*t'imat'az* run	*meyin* from.here
11.6a	*Oşa* after	*şorox* 3p					*hərəkət* hurry	*bi tat'unsa* make go	*ĕk bakala ganu* horse where place
11.6b								*lat'unsa* to.seat	*ĕka* horse
11.6c		*Seranenal* Seran				*darvazina* door		*qayene* open	

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
11.6d							c'eri bağçi-naxun go.out garden	tat'unsa go	
11.1	Free Translation: Misak said, "But I don't know how to take you from this garden."								
11.2	Free Translation: The girl answered, "The giant has good horses.								
11.3	Free Translation: We must go on the horses, before the giant comes."								
11.4	Free Translation: Misak said: "If we could get out of this garden, it is not difficult to run, the main thing is to open the gate and go out."								
11.5	Free Translation: "I can open the gate," said the girl, "that's why the giant ties me and hangs me by my hair, so that I won't run away."								
11.6	Free Translation: Then they quickly went to the horse's place, sat on a horse and Seran opened the gate, then they went out of the garden.								
12.1a		Şorox 3p				taysaxq'at'un ready		baki	
12.1b		zu 1s						exlətbaz tell	vǎx devaxun to.you giant
12.2a		Dev giant		ŏxǎlǎxun hunt	qaybaki back			enesa it.comes	k'oya to.house
12.2b								běneğsa see	
12.2c						bağçina bağala darvazox garden enter gate		qaye open	
12.2d								tanesa go	p'odvala basement
12.2e								běneğsa see	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
12.2f						*xuyər*	*t'ia*	*butene*	
						girl/daughter	there	not.have	
12.2g						*ĕkal*		*butene*	
						horse		not.have	
12.2h								q'amişebaksa	ki
								understands	that
12.2i	*bağcina*	*amdare*						*bas'e*	
	garden	to.person							
12.2j						*xuyərəl*		*ext'i taşerene*	
						girl		take take	
12.3a		*Dev*						*lanesa*	*ĕka*
		giant						mount	horse
12.3b								*tanesa*	*şot'oğoy bačanexun*
								go	3p.GEN after
12.3c	*amma*	*me ĕk*		*t'e ğar q'a xuyər ars'i ĕkaxun*		*gele acize*		*baksa*	
	but	this horse		that son and girl/daughter sat horse		very weak		is	
12.4		*Şorox*				*xeylək*		*tas'i t'un baksa*	
		3p				some		go 3p is	
12.1	Free Translation: While they are going, I shall tell you about the giant.								
12.2	Free Translation: The giant came back from the hunt to his house; he saw that the gate of the garden was open; he went to the basement; the girl was not there and the horse was not there, he understood that some one came into the garden and he had taken the girl also.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
12.3	Free Translation: The giant sat on the horse and followed after them, but this horse was weaker than the horse the fellow and girl were riding.								
12.4	Free Translation: They had gone some way already.								
13.1a					*Qoş furupi* behind turn			*bet'unğsa* look	
13.1b								*at'unk'sa* see	
13.1c		*dev* giant			*bacanexun* after			*enesa* it.comes	
13.2a						*İçoğoy ĕka* 3p.GEN horse	*samalal* more	*kapt'i* to.make.hurry	
13.2b							*ost'ahar* fast	*t'un taysa* 3p goes	
13.3a		*Seranen* Seran		*Misak'a* to.Misak				*pine* said	
13.3b								*Ma q'ĭba* don't afraid	
13.3c		*beş ars'i ĕk* 1p.GEN sat horse				*gele bəyc'e* very fast		*taysa* goes	
13.3d		*dev* giant		*yax* 1p				*p'ap'ala tene* reach it.not	
13.3e	*çunki* because	*dev* giant				*gele bĭhĭne* very heavy		---	
13.3f		*şot'ay ĕk* 3s.GEN horse	*usum* quickly			*mandak'* tired		*bakale* be	
13.1	Free Translation: They looked back and saw the giant was coming after them.								
13.2	Free Translation: They galloped more quickly.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
13.3	Free Translation: Seran said to Misk, "Don't be afraid, our horse is gallopping very fast; the giant will not reach us, because the giant is very heavy, his horse will be tired very soon."								
14.1a	*Samal oşa* after after		*sal* also		*qoş* behind			*bĕt'unğsa* look	
14.1b								*at'unksa* see	*ki* that
14.1c		*ĕk* horse						*bitene* fall	
14.1d		*iz jomoval* 3s.GEN mouth				*dirist kǒfunal* all foam		*bakene* be	
14.1e						*sa təhərene nəfəs* one air		*hǒfq'sa* breathe	
14.1f		*deval* giant						*bitene* fall	*oqa* down
14.2a		*Seranen* Seran						*pine* said	
14.2b			*Ene*					*ma q'ība* don't afraid	
14.2c		*dev* giant		*yax* 1p				*p'ap'ala tene* reach it.not	
14.2d		*şo* 3s			*qoş* behind			*qaybay tağale* return go	
14.1	Free Translation: After some time, they looked back, and saw the horse fall down, and his mouth was full of foam; he breathed with difficulties and the giant fell down, too.								
14.2	Free Translation: Seran said, "Don't be afraid anymore, the giant will not reach us; he will go back."								
15.1a								*Gelet'un* more *taysa* goes	
15.1b								*malt'un* *taysa*	

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	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
							a.little	goes	
15.1c	*axri* at.last	*şorox* 3p						*hari* come	
15.1d					*Misak'i k'oya* Misak's to.house			*p'at'unbsa* arrive	
15.2a		*Misak'i nanan* Misak's mother				*Misaka* Misak		*ak'ala* see	*kinə* as
15.2b							*gele* very	*mŭqebaksa* to.be.happy	
15.2c						*Seranal* Seran		*q'ujbi* embrace	
15.2d								*muçene* to.kiss	*iz xuyər k'inə* 3s.GEN girl/ daughter like
15.3a	*Oşa* after	*nanan* mother		*Misak'a* to.Misak				*nexe* said	
15.3b	*Ay bala* hey child	*hun* 2s				*şaat əşen* good work		*biq'iyo* to.do	
15.3c						*Serana* Seran	*deve kiyexun* giant hand	*čevk'i eçerenu* bring	
15.4a	*Ama* but	*hun* you		*za* to.1s				*upa* tell	*Bĕyn*
15.4b						*t'e nu şerebakala varda* that not fade flower		*eçerenu* bring	
15.1	Free Translation: They went a long or short time, at last they came to Misak's house.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
15.2	Free Translation: When Misak's mother saw him she was very happy. She embraced and kissed Seran also as her daughter.								
15.3	Free Translation: Then mother said to Misak, "My dear son, you did very well, bringing Seran from the giant's hand.								
15.4	Free Translation: But tell me please, have you brought that non-droop flower?"								
16.1a		*Misak'* Misak				*məhət'əl*		*manest'a*	*ki* that
16.1b		*nanan* mother	*mayna* how					*ava* know	
16.1c	*çunki* because	*için* 3s.REFL			*k'oyaxun* home			*tağat'an* go	
16.1d						*varde* flower	*barədə* about	---	
16.1e				*nana* mother		*hik'k'al* nothing		*pitene* not.tell	
16.2a		*Nanan* mother						*pine* said	
16.2b	*Ay bala* hey child	*hun* you			*k'oyaxun* home			*č'erit'uxun* go.out	*oşa* after
16.2c		*padč'ağen* king		*alverçina* merchant		*iz vəzire* 3s.GEN secretary		*biyo* to.do	
16.3a		*T'e alverçiyal* that merchant	*isə hər ği* now every day					*enesa* it.comes	*miya* here
16.3b				*vane* 2s		*xavar* news		*haq'sa* take	
16.4a		*Şot'in* 3s						*fikirebsa* think	
16.4b		*hun*				*varda*		*eçez ten bakal*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		2s				flower		bring do.not can	
16.4c		*padč'ağenal* king				*vi bula* 2s.GEN to.head		*bot'ale* cut	
16.5a		*T'e q'oja işq'aral* that old man						---	
16.5b		*mat'in ki* which that		*va* to.2s		*yaq'e* way		*akest'e* show	
16.5c								*biq'i* caught	
16.5d								*badet'un* put	*zindana* prison
16.1	Free Translation: Misak was surprised that mother knew, because when he went from the house he didn't say anything about the flower to his mother.								
16.2	Free Translation: Mother said, "My dear, after you left the house the king made the merchant his advocate.								
16.3	Free Translation: That merchant is coming here every day and he is asking about you.								
16.4	Free Translation: He is thinking, that you will not be able to bring that rose, and the king will cut off your head.								
16.5	Free Translation: That old man, who showed you the way, has been put in prison (arrested).								
17.1a		*Mot'oğon* 3p						*exlətp'amin-cə* to.tell	
17.1b		*təzə vəziri amdarxo* new secretary people						*et'unsa* come	
17.1c						*xavart'un* news		*haq'sa* take	
17.1d		*Misak'* Misak						*harene* come	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
17.2a		*Misak'* Misak						*c'enesa* it.go.out	
17.2b					*bĕş* before			*nexe* said	
17.2c	*Ho* yes	*zu* I						*harezu* came	
17.3a		*T'e hari amdarxoy boşt'an sunt'in* that come people among one						*nexe* said	
17.3b		*Padč'ağen va tadi vaxt* king to.you give time	*ğe* day					*çareksa* finished	
17.4		*Hun* 2s				*varda* flower		*ençerenu* to.bring	*yoxsa tə* or no
17.1	Free Translation: While they were talking, the new advocator's people came and asked, "Has Misak come?"								
17.2	Free Translation: Misak came out and said, "Yes, I came."								
17.3	Free Translation: One of the people (who came) said, "The time, which the king had fixed for you, comes to an end.								
17.4	Free Translation: Have you brought the rose or not?"								
18.1a		*Misak'en* Misak	*sal* also			*sa vədine q'ĭbi əfçi* one never afraid lie		*duği tene* to it.not	
18.1b		*şot'o* 3s	*görəl hələ* why still			*iz jomo* 3s.GEN mouth		*ǎmbeney*	*ki* that
18.1c						*uk'ale*		*tə eçeritezu* no bring	
18.2a		*Seranen*	*şot'oxun bĕş*			*coğabe*		*tasta*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		Seran	from.3s before			answer		give	
18.2b	Ho / yes	kot'in / 3s						eçerene / bring	
18.2c	samal oşa / after after	için / 3s.REFL						eçeri / bring	
18.2d				padč'ağa / king				tadale / give	
18.3		Hari amdarxo / come people			qoş / behind			qaybay tat'unsa / return go	
18.4a		Misak'enal / Misak		Seranaxun / Seran		xavare / news		haq'sa / take	
18.4b		Hun / 2s						avanu / know	ki / that
18.4c		zu / I				varda / flower		eçeritezu / bring	
18.4d			het'aynak'en / why			əfçi / lie		duği / to	
18.5a		Seranen / Seran						axşumene / laugh	
18.5b			oşal / then					nexe / said	
18.5c		Hun / 2s				t'e varda / that flower		eçerenu / bring	
18.6a		Seranen / Seran						exest'a / takes	boşq'ava / saucer
18.6b								bineq'sa / it.catches	iz bŏxmoğoy tume / 3s.GEN nose under

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
18.7			*Mis'ikcə*		*iz bŏxmŏğoy loxol*			*duneğsa*	
			little		3s.GEN nose on			touch	
18.8a	*Bŏxmoğo-xun*	*p'ɔ̌ k'at p'i*						*k'at'ene*	*boşq'avi boş*
	nose	two drop blood						drop	saucer inside
18.8b								*t'ɪk'ɪrpi*	
								turned	
18.8c		*hər soğo*				*sa vardane*		*c'uresa*	
		every one				one flower		become	
18.1	Free Translation: Misak never told a lie out of fear, so he just opened his mouth to say he didn't bring it.								
18.2	Free Translation: Seran answered before him, "Yes, he has brought it; after some time he will bring it and hand it to the king."								
18.3	Free Translation: The people who came went back.								
18.4	Free Translation: And Misak asked Seran, "You know that I didn't bring the rose, why did you lie?"								
18.5	Free Translation: Seran smiled and then said, "You have brought that rose."								
18.6	Free Translation: Seran took a saucer and kept it under her nose.								
18.7	Free Translation: She touched her nose a little.								
18.8	Free Translation: There two small drops of blood dropped into the saucer, then every drop turned into a rose.								

APPENDIX E

MISAK PART 4

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
1.1a		*Seranen*						*nexe*	
		Seran						said	
1.1b		*Deve*			*bağçinal*	*ke vard*	*bez p'iyaxune*	*əmələ eysay*	
		giant			garden	this flower	1s.GEN blood	grow come	
1.1c	*şot'o görəl*	*deven*				*za*	*t'ia*	*ğaçe efsay*	
	3s why	giant				to.1s	there	tie keep	
1.2a	*İsə*							*exta*	*me vardurxo*
	now							take	this flower
1.2b								*taşa*	*padč'ağeynak' vaxun*
								bring	to.king from.2s
1.2c						*kul*		*haq'eq'an*	
						hand		make.free	
1.3a		*Misak'en*						*nexe*	
		Misak						said	
1.3b	*Tə*	*şot'oğon*	*p'urumal*	*zaxun*		*kul*		*haq'ala tet'un*	
	now	3p	again	from.1s		hand		make.free not	
1.4a	*Heq'ədər ki*	*murdar alverçi sal beysavat padč'ağ*						*but'un*	
	how that	bad merchant also stupid king						exist	
1.4b		*ya zaynak' ya zalari amdarxoynak'*				*dinčluğ*		*butene*	
		even 1s even like.1s people				peace		not.have	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
1.5a		*Seranen* Seran				*xavare* news		*haq'sa* take	
1.5b	*P'oy* but	*hun* 2s				*k'ə bsʋnen* what to.do		*çuresa* want	
1.1	Free Translation: Seran said, "That rose was created from my blood in the giant's garden too, that's why the giant tied and kept me there.								
1.2	Free Translation: Now take these roses, and carry them to the king, so that they make you free (take their hands away)."								
1.3	Free Translation: Misak said, "No, they will not make me free (take their hands away).								
1.4	Free Translation: As long as there are the bad merchant and the stupid king, there is no peace for me and for people like me."								
1.5	Free Translation: Seran asked, "But what do you want to do?"								
2.1a		*Misak'enal* Misak						*qaybay* return	
2.1b				*şot'oxune* from.3s		*xavar* news		*haq'sa* take	
2.1c								*Upa* tell	*běyin*
2.1d	*əgər* if	*zu* 1s				*me varda* this flower		*taşeri* bring	
2.1e				*padč'ağa* king				*tadaiz* give	
2.1f		*hun* 2s	*sal* also			*mər vard* such flower		*əmələ eçez bakalnu* grow bring can	
2.2a		*Seranen* Seran		*şot'o* 3s		*coğabe* answer		*tast'a* give	
2.2b	*Ho* yes							*bakoz* can	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
2.3		*Zu* 1s				*vardluği baxça* flower garden		*sakoz*	
2.4	*Deve bağçina bakala* giant garden where	*q'uşurxo bitüm* birds all						*purpi eğale* fly will.come	*miya* here
2.5		*Misak'* Misak						*mŭqebaksa* to.be.happy	
2.1	Free Translation: And Misak asked her, "Tell me, please, if I give these roses to the king, will you create this kind of rose again?"								
2.2	Free Translation: Seran answered his question, "Yes, I can.								
2.3	Free Translation: I shall create a flower garden.								
2.4	Free Translation: All the birds from the giant's garden will come here."								
2.5	Free Translation: Misak was happy.								
3.1a						*Vardurxo* flower		*lanexsa* it.puts	
3.1b					*q'əşəng p'ot'nosi boş* wonderful tray inside			*taneşt'a* bring	*padč'ağeynak'* to.king
3.2a	*Həgigiyal* indeed	*q'uşurxon* bird	*gele vaxtey* very time			*mǯğ* song		*tet'unney* not	
3.2b						*varda* flower		*ak'ala* see	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
3.2c			*k'inə* like					*diriləinşt'un-baki* to.get.alive	
3.2d								*burt'unqi mǎǧpsa* started sing	
3.2e		*padč'ağal* king				*mŭqĕbaki* happy		---	
3.2f	*ama* but	*alverçina* merchant						*unk'o* look	
3.2g						*sa güllət'un* one bullet		*xelbey* shoot	
3.2h		*şot'in* 3s						*pine* said	
3.2i		*Yan* 1p		*Misak'a* to.Misak				*peyan* say	
3.2j						*t'e varda tumlaq'an* that flower root		*eçeri* bring	
3.3	*Ama* but	*için* 3s.REFL				*tək vardane* alone flower		*eçere* bring	
3.4a	*Ğeynaxun* from.today			*kot'o* 3s				*yaq'absune lazim* send need	*ki* that
3.4b								*tas'i* go	
3.4c						*varde tuma* flower root		*eçane* bring	
3.4d	*çunki* because	*me vard* this flower	*tumsuz* without.root					*şerebakale* fade	

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	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
3.1	Free Translation: He put the roses into a nice tray and carried them to the king.								
3.2	Free Translation: It was true that it was long time that the birds didn't sin;, when they saw the roses they were revived and started to sing, and the king was happy; but the merchant, looked like somebody shot him; he said, "We said to Misak to bring the rose with its root.								
3.3	Free Translation: But he brought only the roses.								
3.4	Free Translation: We must send him today to go and bring the root of the rose, because this rose will droop without a root."								
4.1a		*Misak'en* Misak						*běneğsa* see	
4.1b						*çara* choice		*teno* NEG	
4.1c						*mər fikirəne* such think		*eysa* comes	
4.1d	*Zərəl* okay							*teno* NEG	
4.1e		*hun* 2s				*alverçi* merchant		*baka* can	
4.1f		*zuval* 1s.and				*zu* 1s		---	
4.1g		*akesa*						---	*ki* that
4.1h		*hun* 2s		*zaxun* from.1s		*kul* hand		*ten haq'sa* do.not take	
4.2a								*Běğen běyin* let see	
4.2b		*şin* who		*şuxun* from.whom				*bacar bala* cannot win	

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
						Nucleus			
4.3a	*P'urumal alverçin əyit*	*padč'aǧi*						*xoşele eysa*	
	again merchant word	king						like comes	
4.3b	*oşal*							*nexe*	
	then							said	
4.3c		*Vəziren*				*düze*		*nexe*	
		secretary				right		said	
4.4a		*Hun*						*gərə*	
		2s						need	
4.4b			*saal*					*tağan*	*deve bağçina*
			also					go	giant garden
4.4c						*me varde tumaxun*		*eçan*	
						this flower root		bring	
4.1	Free Translation: Misak saw that there was no other way, he came to this decision, "All right, you will be the merchant, and I am me, it is understandable that you will let me have no peace.								
4.2	Free Translation: Let's see who will win."								
4.3	Free Translation: The king liked the merchant's suggestion again, and then said, "The advocate says the truth.								
4.4	Free Translation: You must go to the giant's garden again to bring the root of this rose."								
5.1a		*Misak'en*				*coǧabe*		*tast'a*	
		Misak				answer		give	
5.1b		*Vi padč'ağluǧ*						*avuzq'anbaki*	
		2s.GEN kingdom						rise	
5.1c		*şo*	*saal*			*deve padč'ağluǧ*		*tene*	
		3s	also			giant kingdom		it.not	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
5.1d		*şo* 3s				*beş şəhərə* 1p.GEN city		*lari* like	*şəhəre* city
5.2a		*Şu* who			*beş şəhəre* 1p.GEN city			*p'urene* died	
5.2b					*t'iyat'un* there			*baksa* is	
5.3	*T'iyanin* there	*padč'ağal* king				*vi irəmətt'i bavane* 2s.GEN late father		---	
5.4a				*Vi barədə* 2s about				*ibakituxun* heard	*oşa* after
5.4b		*fağıren* poor						*ĕnenepi* cry	
5.4c	*oşal* then							*pine* said	
5.5a	*Het'u görə* why as	*bez ğaren* 1s.GEN son		*za* to.1s				*aksa* see	
5.5b								*tene hario* it.not come	
5.6a	*oşa* after	*zu* 1s				*vard* flower		*çureğat'anal* want	
5.6b						*varda tumexun* flower root		*tast'un* give	
5.6c								*tene çures'i* it.not want	
5.6d						*me əitəne* this word		*pi* said	
5.6e	*Əgər* if	*zu* I				*varda tumla* flower root		*tadaiz* give	
5.6f		*bez ğar* 1s.GEN son				*irəzi* agree		*bakale* be	
5.6g				*za*				*ak'sun*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
				to.1s				see	
5.6h								*tene çureğal* it.not want	
5.7a		*İç* 3s						*hareq'an* come	
5.7b		*zu* 1s		*şot'o* 3s		*tumla* root		*tadoz* give	
5.8		*Alverçin baval* merchant father			*t'iyaney* there			---	
5.9		*Şot'oğon* 3p		*za* to.1s		*təzə yaq'* new road		*ak'estundi* show	
5.10a			*T'e yaq'en* that road			*xib saaden* three hour	*t'iya* there	*tas'i* go	
5.10b							*q'oşqaybay* back	*eyes baneko* come can	

5.1	Free Translation: Misak answered him, "Your kingdom will grow, it is not the giant's kingdom, it is like our city.
5.2	Free Translation: There the people live, who died here.
5.3	Free Translation: And the king of that place is your father who died.
5.4	Free Translation: When he heard about you, the poor cried and then said,
5.5	Free Translation: 'Why didn't my son come to see me?',
5.6	Free Translation: and when I asked about the rose, he didn't want to give me the rose with the root, and said thus, 'If I shall give you the rose with the root, my son will be satisfied, he won't want to see me.
5.7	Free Translation: He will come, I shall give it to him with the root.'
5.8	Free Translation: The merchant's father was there, too.

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
5.9	Free Translation: They showed me a new way.								
5.10	Free Translation: It is possible to go there and come back for three hours by that way."								
6.1a		*Alverçinen* merchant						*avanebaksa* to.know	*ki* that
6.1b		*Misaken* Misak				*əfçine* lie		*duğsa* to.lie	
6.2	*Ama* but	*padč'ağ* king				*gele beysavate* very stupid		*baksa* is	
6.3		*Şotin* 3s				*hat'ia* there		*věne baksa* believe is	
6.4a		*İz pulmux* 3s.GEN eyes						*buy-buy* suffuse	
6.4b						*baki*		*ěnene* cry	
6.4c	*oşal* then							*nexe* said	
6.4d			*Hərəkət-p'anan* be.hurry	*za* to.1s				*lapest'anan* dress	
6.4e		*zu* 1s				*bez bava* 1s.GEN father		*aksunez çuresa* to.see want	
6.5a		*Alverçinen* merchant						*nexe* said	
6.5b	*Ay padč'ağ* hey king					*sa* one		*portp'a* wait	
6.5c		*Misaken* Misak		*yax* 1p				*q'andirişeq'an* explain	
6.5d	*běin*	*şo*	*hetər*			*yaq'a*		---	*ki*

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		3s	how			way.road			that
6.5e					*t'iya* there	*xib saaden* three hour		*tas'i* go	
6.5f								*qaybakes baneksa* return was	
6.6a		*Misaken* Misak						*eneşt'a* it.bring	*şot'oğo şəhəre* to.them city
6.6b		*bakala* where				*xene* water	*börine* by	---	
6.7	*T'e xene boş* that water inside	*çeyilluğe* bog						*baksa* is	
6.8a		*Misaken* Misak				*te çeyilluğa* that bog		*ak'est'i* show	
6.8b								*nexe* said	
6.8c								*Lek'a* look	
6.8d					*me xene oq'axun* this water under	*yaq'o* road		---	
6.9a					*Xene boş* water inside			*cup'k'ala* jump	
6.9b					*k'inə xene oq'axun* like water under			*izmişsun lazıme* swim need	
6.10a					*T'ia* there			*bask'i* sleep	

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	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
6.10b								*galgalpinut'* not.move	
6.10c						*sa bača s'irik* one hundred till		*böq'ɔ̆lpsune lazım* count need	
6.11a						*Bača s'irik* hundred till		*bŏq'ɔlpit'uxun* count	*oʂa* after
6.11b						*yaq'* road		*qayeğale* open	
6.11c					*bona* inside			*bas'it'uxun* enter	
6.11d	*oʂa* then.after		*samal* after					*tansa* go	
6.11e					*t'e ʂəhərə* that city			*p'anp'sa* reach	
6.1	Free Translation: The merchant understood that Misak told a lie.								
6.2	Free Translation: But the king was very stupid.								
6.3	Free Translation: He believed right away.								
6.4	Free Translation: His eyes were filled with tears; then he said, "Quickly dress me, I want to see my father."								
6.5	Free Translation: The merchant said: "King, wait a little bit. Let Misak explain to us, what kind of way it is, that it is possible to go and come back in three hours."								
6.6	Free Translation: Misak brought them to the waterside, which was in the city.								
6.7	Free Translation: There was a bog in that water.								
6.8	Free Translation: Misak showed the bog and said, "Look, there is a way under the water.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
6.9	Free Translation: After jumping into the water, you need to swim.								
6.10	Free Translation: Sleep there; do not move and you need to count till one hundred.								
6.11	Free Translation: After counting till one hundred, the way will open, then you go in some way and you will arrive at that city."								
7.1a		*Padč'ağen* king						*çuresa* want	
7.1b			*hat'iya* at.that.place					*cup'k'ane* jump	
7.1c		*alverçinen* merchant		*şot'o* 3s				*enefsa* it.keeps	
7.1d								*nexe* said	
7.1e		*Zu* 1s				*Misaki əyitə* Misak word		*větezu* believe.NEG	
7.2a	*Əgər* if	*kot'in* 3s				*düze* right		*nexe* said	
7.2b		*sa* one				*həysə* now	*beş piyin běş* 1p.GEN eyes before	---	
7.2c	*siftə* first	*iç* 3s						*tas'eq'an* go	
7.2d						*t'e vardurxoxun* that flower		*eçereq'an* bring	
7.3a		*Misak'enal* Misak		*şotoğo* them				*nexe* said	
7.3b	*Şaat ama* okay but	*zu* 1s	*həisə* now			*gele mandak'zu* very tired		---	
7.3c	*əyc'ə biyaço*		*isə*					*eynan*	*miya*

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
	tomorrow evening		now					come	here
7.3d		*zu*			*efi piyin běş*	*k'ə çurnansa*		*eçoz*	
		1s			2p.GEN eyes before	what want		bring	
7.4						*Hakot'inal*		*irəzit'un baksa*	
						with.this		agree is	
7.5		*Hərsoğo*						*tanesa*	*iz k'oya*
		everyone						go	3s.GEN to.house
7.1	Free Translation: The king wanted to jump right away, but the merchant stopped him, then said, "I don't believe Misak's suggestion.								
7.2	Free Translation: If he speaks the truth, now it is better for him to go first in front of our eyes and bring such roses."								
7.3	Free Translation: And Misak said to them, "All right, but now I am very tired; tomorrow evening come here, I shall bring what you want in front of your eyes."								
7.4	Free Translation: They agreed to this.								
7.5	Free Translation: Everyone went to his house.								
8.1a		*Üşe*	*bayinq'*					*bakit'uxun*	*oşa*
		night	dark					become	after
8.1b		*Misak'en*				*vardal*		*exest'a*	
		Misak				flower		takes	
8.1c						*sa möşikəl qızılen sal gümüşen*		*buybi*	
						one sack gold also silver		fill	
8.1d		*mat'uki*		*deve k'oyaxun*			*eğat'ane*	*eçerey*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		which		giant home				return	bring
8.1e								*c'eri tanesa*	*xene t'e börine*
								go.out go	water that by
8.2a						*Vardal möşikəl*	*ləmbəluğa*	*c'ap'ebsa*	
						flower sack	bushes	hide	
8.2b			*qoşqaybay*					*enesa*	*k'oya*
			back					it.comes	to.house
8.1	Free Translation: In that evening when it became dark, Misak took the rose and one sack full of gold and silver, which he had brought from the giant's house and went to the other side of the water.								
8.2	Free Translation: He hid the rose and the sack in the bushes and then came back home.								
9.1a	*Əyc'indəri*	*padč'ağ alverçi saal şəhəri amdarxo*						*etunsa*	*xene börine*
	next.day	king merchant also city people						come	water by
9.1b			*hetər*					*pet'un*	
			how					say	
9.2a	*Biyəbaka-t'an*	*Misak*			*bitümt'ay piyin bĕş*	*iz partala*		*c'eq'i*	
	get.dark	Misak			everyone eyes before	3s.GEN clothes		take.off	
9.2b						*içu*		*bonest'a*	*xene boş*
						3s		throw	water inside
9.3a		*Misak'en*	*şaat*					*izmişes baneksay*	
		Misak	good					to.swim can	
9.3b	*hamal*	*şot'in*				*iz nəfəsə*	*boxoy*	*efes baneksa*	
	also	3s				3s.GEN breath	long	stop can	
9.3c	*çunki*					*q'uş*		*biq'at'an*	
	because					bird		catch	
9.3d						*şot'in nəfəs*		*hǎfteneq'say*	*ki*
						3s air		stop.breath	that

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
9.3e		*q'uşen* bird						*avane bako* it.know can	
9.3f								*pureko* fly	
9.4a	*İsal* now	*şot'in* 3s			*xena* water			*cupit'uxun* jump	
9.4b	*oşa* after				*xene oq'axun* water under			*tas'i* go	
9.4c								*c'enesa* it.go.out	*xene t'e bel* water that head
9.5a		*Bainqe* dark						*baksa* is	
9.5b		*şuk'alen* nobody				*şoto* 3s.Dem		*ateneksa* can't.see	
9.6		*Misak'en* Misak			*t'iya* there		*xib saad* three hour	*yaq'e bĕğsa* wait	
9.1	Free Translation: The next day the king, the merchant and the people of the city came to the water-side, as they had agreed.								
9.2	Free Translation: When it became darker, Misak took off his clothes in front of the people and jumped into the water.								
9.3	Free Translation: Misak could swim well and he could stop his breathing a long time, because when he caught a bird he didn't breath, because the bird would know and fly.								
9.4	Free Translation: After jumping into the water, he swam to the other side.								
9.5	Free Translation: It was dark; nobody saw him.								
9.6	Free Translation: Misak waited there for three hours.								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
10.1a	*Oşa* after					*vardal saal sa möşik q'ïzïla q'a gümüşə* flower also one sack gold and silver		*exti* take	
10.1b					*xene boşt'an* water among			*tas'i* go	
10.1c					*xene t'e bel* water that head			*p'ap'i* reach	
10.1d			*bitüm amdar xoy piyin běş* all people eyes before	*xene boşt'an* water among				*c'enesa* it.go.out	
10.2a	*İçal* also		*hetər* how		*sa kiye* one hand	*vard* flower		---	
10.2b					*t'e soğo kiye* that one hand	*möşik* sack		---	
10.3		*Alverçin pul* merchant eye	*göynune* up					*laysa* go	
10.4a		*Misak'en* Misak				*varda* flower		*tanest'a* give	*padč'ağa* king
10.4b						*möşiki jomo* sack mouth		*şadbi* untie	
10.4c						*q'ïzïla q'a gümüşə* gold and silver		*s'inne* put	*alverçin turin oq'a* merchant foot down

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
10.4d								*nexe* said	
10.4e						*Moval* this	*vay-nak'* for.2s	*vi bavane* (Focus S/A) 2s.GEN father	yaq'abiyo send	
10.4f								*peneki* say	
10.4g	*miya* here	*şaat alvere* good trade						*taysa* goes	
10.4h		*şaat q'azanco* good income						*upa* tell	
10.4i								*hareq'an* come	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
10.5a		*Alverçin pulmoğon*				*q'ǐzǐla*		Blakemore, Diane. 1992. *Understanding Utterances: An Introduction to Pragmatics.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publ	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
		merchant eyes				gold		see	
10.5b			*k'inə*					*s'ilest'a*	*xǯye pulmoğoy səyəğ*
			like.as					shine	dog eyes like
10.6a	*Hat'iya*							*cupene*	*xena*
	at.that.place							jump	water
10.6b						*partara*		*c'eqinut*	
						clothes		take.off	
10.6c		*padč'ağal*	*şot'ay bac'anexun*					*harayk'a*	
		king	3s after					shout	
10.6d	*ə*							*çurpa*	
	hey							stop	
10.6e						*bez yaq'a*		*bĕğa tene*	
						1s.GEN way.road		look it.not	
10.6f		*zu*						*açoz*	
		1s						lose	
10.7a		*Amdarxon*						çurpi	
		people						stand	
10.7b			*gelet'un*					*yaq'bĕğsa*	
			more					wait	
10.7c	*ama*	*ya alverçi ya padč'ağ*			*xenaxun*			*c'etet'unsa*	
	but	even merchant even king			water			come.out.NEG	
10.8a		*Sa hema ği*						*c'ovakit'uxun*	*oşa*
		one some day						pass	after
10.8b						*şotoğoy meydat'un*		*bǝ̆ğǝ̆bsa*	
						3p.GEN corpse		find	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
10.1	Free Translation: Then he took the rose and a sack full of gold and silver and swam under the water and came out on the other side of the water in front of all the people.								
10.2	Free Translation: And now, in one there was a hand rose and in another hand a sack.								
10.3	Free Translation: The merchant's eye lit up.								
10.4	Free Translation: Misak gave the flower to the king, opened the sack and laid the gold and silver in front of the merchant, "But this was sent by your father," he said, "because 'the commerse is very good there, tell him to come.'"								
10.5	Free Translation: When the seller saw the gold, his eyes shined like a dog's eyes.								
10.6	Free Translation: Straight off he jumped into the water, without taking off his clothes; the king jumped after him crying, "Hey, stay, wait for me; if not I shall loss."								
10.7	Free Translation: The people waited a very long time, but the merchant and the king didn't come.								
10.8	Free Translation: After some days, the people found their dead bodies.								
11.1		*Misak'en*				*camati elmoğo*	*t'e beysavad padč'ağaxun sal murdar alverçinaxun*	*çark'esest'a*	
		Misak				people life	that stupid king also bad merchant	save	
11.2		*T'e q'oja işq'aral*		*zindanaxun*				*c'eveksa*	
		that old man		prison				set.free	
11.3a		*Bitim*		*deve bağçina bakala*				---	
		all		giant garden where					
11.3b		*q'uşurxoval*						*purpi*	

		Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
			S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
			bird						fly	
11.3c									et'unsa	*Misak'i q'a Serani bağçina*
									come	Misak's and Seran's garden
11.4			*Şoroxal*	*mŭq*					*yəşəinşt'un-bsa*	
			3p	happily					live	
11.1	Free Translation: Misak had saved the people from the stupid king and from the bad merchant.									
11.2	Free Translation: He freed that old man.									
11.3	Free Translation: And the birds came from the giant's garden to Misak's and Seran's garden.									
11.4	Free Translation: And they lived very happily.									
12.1	*Miyal*	*nağıl*							*çareksa*	
	here	story							finished	
12.1	Free Translation: This is the end of the story.									

APPENDIX F

PERSON FROM A DONKEY

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
1.1	*Ğimxoy sa ğinesta* day.3s.GEN one day	*sa aizlu* one villager		*iz elemaxun* 3s.GEN donkey				*tanesa* go	*şəhəre* city
1.2	*T'iya* there				*sa dənə İnstit'ut'i binorin bĕş* one two institute building before		*skameyk'in loxol* bench on	*arest'a* sit	
1.3	*İs töx* 3s near	*qerəz sa amdaral* other one person						*arest'a* sit	
1.4a		*Me aizlunen* this villager		*te amdaraxun* that person		*xavare* news		*haqsa* take	
1.4b		*Mo* this				*hik'ə* what		---	
1.5					*Miya* here			*kət'unp'sa* doing	
1.6a		*Te amdaren* that person		*şoto* that		*c'oğabe* to.answer		*tast'a* give	
1.6b	*Miya* here					*elema* donkey		*eçeri* bring	
1.6c								*ğaçt'unne* tie	
1.6d	*oşa* after	*elema* donkey						*amdart'unpsa* person.make	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
1.7a		*T'e aizlunen* that villager						*fikirebsa* think	*ki* that
1.7b						*iz elemal* 3s.GEN donkey	*miya* here	*ğaçkain* tie	
1.7c						*amdare* to.person		*bako* can	
1.1	Free Translation: Once, a villager went to the city on his donkey.								
1.2	Free Translation: There he sat on the bench in front of the University.								
1.3	Free Translation: Some other person sat near him.								
1.4	Free Translation: This villager asked that man, "What is this?								
1.5	Free Translation: What happens here?"								
1.6	Free Translation: That man answered him, "Here people bring and tie their donkey and then they make it into a person."								
1.7	Free Translation: The villager thought that if he tied his donkey there, it could be a person.								

APPENDIX G

THE FOX AND THE PHEASANT

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
1.1	*Sa ǧi* one day	*orozi* pheasant			*xoda* tree			*ars'eney* sitting	
1.1	Free Translation: One day the pheasant was sitting on the tree.								
2.1a		*Tülkü* fox						*ĕnesa* come	*şotay tŏğŏl* 3s.GEN near
2.1b								*nexe* said	
2.1c						*Usumez* glad		*akiyo* see	*va* to.2s
2.1d								---	*bez orozi* 1s.GEN pheasant
2.1e								---	*bez muča dost* 1s.GEN sweet friend
2.2a						*Vi gözəl səsə* 2s.GEN nice sound		*ibaki* hear	
2.2b								*hariz* came	*ki* that
2.2c				*va* to.2s				*ak'az* see	
2.1	Free Translation: The fox came to him and said, "Glad to see you, my pheasant, my dear friend.								
2.2	Free Translation: I heard your beautiful voice and came to see you."								

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
3.1a								*Diristbaka*	*ke vi muča əitmoǧoynak'*
								thanks	this 2s.GEN sweet word
3.1b								*pine*	*orozinen şot'o*
								said	pheasant 3s
3.1	Free Translation: "Thank you for your sweet words," said the pheasant to him.								
4.1a		*Tülkinenal*						*nuibaksunane*	
		fox							
4.1b								*laxi*	
4.1c	*oşal*							*pine*	
	then							said	
4.1d								*İtezbaki*	
								hear.1s.NEG	
4.1e		*hun*				*k'ən*		*pi*	
		2s				what		said	
4.2a			*Saate*					*bako*	
			better					can	
4.2b		*hun*			*oq'a*			*s'iǧan*	*ay bez muča dost*
		2s			down			come	hey my sweet friend
4.2c								*tarakayan*	
								walk	
4.2d				*zaxun*				*exlətbsun*	
				with.1s				talk	
4.2e				*şotaynak*				---	*ki*
				because					that
4.2f						*hun*	*xodin loxolxun*	*əit'kat'an*	
						2s	tree over	speak	
4.2g								*itezbaksa*	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
								hear.can't	
4.1	Free Translation: The fox showed that he didn't hear and then said, "I didn't hear what you said.								
4.2	Free Translation: It would be better if you would come down, my dear friend; we can talk and walk together, because when you talk from the tree I can't hear."								
5.1a		*Orozinen* pheasant						*pine* said	
5.1b		*Zu* 1s		*oq'a tarapsuna* down walk				*q'izbsa* afraid	
5.1c		*yax quşurxo* 1p birds				*oq'a tarapsun* down walk	*qˮne* (Focused S/A) danger	---	
5.1	Free Translation: The pheasant said, "I am afraid to walk down, for us birds to walk down is dangerous.."								
6.1a			*Bərkəz* maybe	*zaxunen* 1s				*qˮïbsa* afraid	
6.1b		*tülkinen* fox						*pine* said	
6.1	Free Translation: "Maybe you are afraid of me?" said the fox.								
7.1a				*Vaxun* 2s				*nuval qïbaiz* not afraid	
7.1b				*q'eraz heyvanxoxun* another animal				*q'ïzbsa* afraid	
7.2a		*Hər cürə heyvanxono* every.different kind animal						---	
7.2b								*pine* said	*orozinen* pheasant

	Pre-nuclear	S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	Post-nuclear
7.1	Free Translation: ”I am not afraid of you, but I am afraid of other animals.								
7.2	Free Translation: There are lots of kinds of animals,” said the pheasant.								
8.1a								*Tə q'i maba* NEG fear do.not	*bez orozi* my pheasant
8.1b								---	*bez muč'a dost* my sweet friend
8.1c			*həysə* now			*k'anunt'un* law		*c'evk'iyo* take.out	
8.1d				*dirist oçala* all earth		*şipluğqan* peace		*bay* be	
8.2a	*Həysə* now	*heyvanxonal* animal				*sun-suna* each-other		*galtet'unst'a* touch	
8.2b								*pine* said	*tülkünen* fox
8.1	Free Translation: “Do not be afriad, my pheasant, my sweet friend; now a law is adopted: ‘Be peace in all the earth.’								
8.2	Free Translation: Now the animals don’t touch each other,” said the fox.								
9.1a								*Bǯ* look	
9.1b		*ko* this				*şaate* well.good		---	
9.1c								*pine* said	*orozinen* pheasant
9.2a								*Le* see	
9.2b		*xǯyox* dog						*et'unsa* come	

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
9.2c			bisi kanunen	vaynak'				t'ist'un lazĭme	
			old law	for.2s				to.run need	
9.2d	ama		həysə	vaynak		qĭ		butene	
	but		now	for.2s		fear		not.have	
9.1	Free Translation: "Oh, that is good," said the pheasant.								
9.2	Free Translation: "Look! Here are dogs coming; by the old power you needed to run away, but now you don't need to be afraid."								
10.1a		Tülkinen				xǯyoğoy səsə		ibakala kinək	iz
		fox				dog sound		heard	3s.GEN
10.1b						ŭmĭxxo		alabi	
						ear		lift.up	
10.1c								çuresa t'it'ane	
								want to.run	
10.1	Free Translation: When the fox heard the dogs bark, he held up his ears and wanted to run away.								
11.1		Hun	het'ay-nak'en					t'ist'a	
		2s	why					run	
11.2a	Axri	təzə qanune						c'eriyo	
	but	new law						cross	
11.2b		xǯyoğon						galtet'undal	
		dog						touch.NEG	
11.2c								pine	orozinen
								said	pheasant
11.1	Free Translation: "Why are you running away?								
11.2	Free Translation: Since the new power was adopted, the dogs won't touch you," said the pheasant.								
12.1		Şin				k'ə		ava	

	Pre-nuclear	**Nucleus**							**Post-nuclear**
		S/A	**Manner (or L)**	**Indirect Object**	**Location (or M)**	**Object**	**L, M or IO**	**Verb**	
		who				what		know	
12.2a	*Bərkəs*	*şotoğon*		*təzə k'anuna*				*ibakitet'un*	
	maybe	3p		new law				hear.NEG	
12.2b								*pine*	*tülkünen*
								said	fox
12.1	Free Translation: "Who knows?								
12.2	Free Translation: Maybe they didn't hear about the new power," said the fox.								
13.1a		*Tülkünen*		*xǯyoğoxun*				*gĭbi*	
		fox		dog				afraid	
13.1b								*t'inest'a*	
								run	
13.1	Free Translation: The fox was afraid of the dogs and ran away.								

APPENDIX H

TWO NEIGHBORS

	Pre-nuclear	Nucleus							Post-nuclear
		S/A	Manner (or L)	Indirect Object	Location (or M)	Object	L, M or IO	Verb	
1.1	*Baneksa tenebaksa* 3s.is 3s.is.not	*p'ɜ̌dənə q'onşine* two neighbor						*baksa* is	
1.2		*Şorox* 3p				*gele muč'a q'onşiyoxt'un* very sweet neighbor		*baksa* is	
1.1	Once upon a time there were two neighbors.								
1.2	They were very sweet neighbors.								
2.1	*Ğimxoy sa ğinast'a* days.3s.GEN one day	*şot'oğon* 3p				*ereq'i topin dərden* nut tree about	*pis* bad	*davat'unbsa* fight	
2.2	*Oşal* then	*sun-sunaxun* each.other				*orot'un* offense		*baksa* is	
2.3	*Usenxon* year	*sun-sunaxun* each.other						*tet'un əite* not speak	
2.1	One day they quarrel for the nut's tree.								
2.2	After that they didn't speak with each other.								
2.3	From that day, they didn't speak with each other for years.								
3.1	*Sa ği* one day	*şorox p'ɜ̌ q'onşiyal* 3p two neighbor			*yaq'at'un* road			*c'eysa* come.out	

3.2		*Sa q'onşin* one neighbor				*maşin* car		*xarabe baksa* not.working is	
3.1	Once, the two neighbors went out.								
3.2	The car of one neighbor was broken.								
4.1a		*Me q'onşinen* this neighbor		*t'esoğo q'onşina* other neighbor				*nexe* said	
4.1b								*Eki* come	
4.1c						*beş oroluğa* 1p.GEN offense	*sa sor* one minute	*bosen* stop	
4.1d								*kömǝyba* help	
4.1e						*bez maşina xoda* my car engine		*baden* start	
4.2	*Oşa* after		*p'urumal* again			*oroyan* offense		*bako* can	
4.1	This neighbor said to the other neighbor, "Let's stop our offense for a while; help me to start the engine.								
4.2	Then we will continue our offense."								

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