1. THE HONOURABLE YOUNG WOMAN

honourable.001 *ğıryət-mand-ə moynə* honour-ADJZ-ATTR girl

The honourable young woman.

honourable.002

The tale leapt up, the sky-cow jumped.

honourable.003

j- ∂ = \S =e cift ∂ , xans ∂ n ∂ m-i penc dandon=i \S ari \S t- ∂ . hit(II)-PTCP=3SG.CL=COP.3SG kick Khan_S ∂ n ∂ m-OBL five tooth=3SG.CL break-PTCP[PF]

It gave a kick and broke five of Khan Sənəm's teeth.

honourable.004

 $qil\partial=y$ hest=b-e, $qil\partial=y$ ni-b-e. CLF=one EXIST=be-PRET.3SG CLF=one NEG-be-PRET.3SG

Once upon a time...

honourable.005

dinyo dim=ədə odəm vey=b-e. world face=at person much=be-PRET.3SG

there were many people on the face of the earth.

honourable.006

çəvon dılə=də qılə=y kosib-ə xıyzon hest=b-e. 3PL.POSS interior=at CLF=one poor-ATTR family EXIST=be-PRET.3SG

Among them was a poor couple.

honourable.007

merd vey qir-in-ə cıvon=b-e. man much strength-ADJZ-ATTR young=be-PRET.3SG

The husband was a very strong young man.

honourable.008

do-y lap çı bın=o pey-ə-vat-i. tree-OBL exactly of base=by up-IPF-tear-IPF.3SG

He would pull up trees right from the base.

honourable.009

kosib- ∂ti ∂ - $k\partial$ -y, $\check{g}i\zeta$ =i nun ∂ - $st\partial n$ -i, i\$t\$ ∂ xiyzon-i poor-ABSTR IPF-do(I)-IPF.3SG bite=one bread IPF-take(I)-IPF.3SG REFL.POSS family-OBL

niğo ə-də-y. protection IPF-give(I)-IPF.3SG

He would toil hard to buy a morsel of bread and provide for his household.

```
honourable.010
```

jen=ış qılə=y reçin=b-e, qılə=y reçin=b-e, woman=3SG.CL CLF=one beautiful=be-PRET.3SG CLF=one beautiful=be-PRET.3SG

hiç vot-ənin niy! no say-GDV NEG.COP.3SG

His wife was a beauty, a beauty, I can't tell you!

honourable.011

 $b = ov şum - i \quad vot - eyd = b - e : \quad - \text{``ti} \quad be - m = - ş - i, \quad az \quad be - şu - m \text{''}.$ to moon-OBL say-PROG=be-PRET.3SG 2SG out-PROH-go-IMP.2SG 1SG.DIR out-go-SBJV.1SG

She said to the sun, 'Don't you come out, so I may come out'; she said to the moon, 'Don't you come out, so I may come out'.

honourable.012

subay-əti vaxt-i vey cıvon-on əçəy dard-i=ku mard-eydə=b-in.
unmarried-ABSTR time-OBL much young-PL 3SG.POSS pain-OBL=by die-PROG=be-PRET.3PL

While she was unmarried, many youths were dying with passion for her.

honourable.013

bə vey om-ə $el \zeta i$ -yon= $\iota \varsigma$ "ne" vot= $\iota \varsigma$ -e. to much come(II)-PTCP suitor-PL=3SG.CL no say=3SG.CL-PRET

She said no to numerous suitors that came.

honourable.014

ıştə ısət-nə kə-xıvand=ış qət-e.
REFL.POSS now-ADJZ house-master=3SG.CL take-PRET

She took her current husband.

honourable.015

bə iyəndi "con" vot-eydə=b-in, "con" məs-eydə=b-in. to recip soul say-prog=be-pret.3pl soul hear-prog=be-pret.3pl

They called each other 'dear soul'.

honourable.016

be iyəndi bə=çəvon xirtə i cılmə nun n-ə-ş-i. without RECIP to=3PL.POSS throat one piece bread NEG-IPF-go-IPF.3SG

Without each other, not a piece of bread went into their throats.

honourable.017

di c
eg mat
eg von mehriban -
eg ti = ku qev - be-pur-i qep je-yde = b-e.village people 3PL.POSS kind-ABSTR=by mouth-to-full-ABSTR speech hit(II)-PROG=be-PRET.3SG

The people of the village talked volubly of their kindness.

honourable.018

çı xıyzon-i co dard=ış nı-b-e. of family-OBL other pain=3SG.CL NEG-be-PRET.3SG

And the couple had no other troubles.

merd vard-eydə=b-e, jen pat-eydə=b-e -xido o-fəy-ə man bring(II)-PROG=be-PRET.3SG woman cook-PROG=be-PRET.3SG God PV-provide-PTCP

colonizering contains contain contains contain contains contain

The husband would bring, the wife would cook – from the things God provided.

honourable.020

әто...

but

But...

honourable.021

ruj=içı ruj-on bə məhol-i хәbә rəs-ə-y ki, qılə loti ÇO day-PL region-OBL news arrive-II-PRET.3SG four CLF rogue

pəydo b-ә. evident be-РТСР[РF]

One day the news came to the region that four rogues had appeared.

honourable.022

 $x \ni lx - i$ mol - i $dizd - eyd \ni = n$, $birn - eyd \ni = n$, $hard - eyd \ni = n$. people - OBL cattle - OBL steal - PROG = COP . 3PL cut - PROG = COP . 3PL eat(II) - PROG = COP . 3PL

They were stealing, slaughtering, and eating the people's cattle.

honourable.023

 $h ag{ba} ag{in} ag{kina}, ag{vayu} ag{sixan} ag{and-eyda} = n,$ still this little=COP.3SG=EVID=ADD to people-OBL girl bride word send-PROG=COP.3PL

piy-arşi-yeydə=n. up-break-PROG=COP.3PL

And that was apparently the least of it: they would pester and harass the people's daughters and brides.

honourable.024

From behind they would cut the throat of anyone that spoke out.

honourable.025

cəmat bə tars də-ş-e. people to fear in-go-PRET.3SG

The people grew afraid.

honourable.026

ıştə vəyu, kin-on coylinə bə kəno va-n-ə-də-yn.
REFL.POSS bride girl-PL alone to side leave-NEG-IPF-give(I)-IPF.3PL

They wouldn't let their brides and daughters go out alone.

di civon-on ba i ara oma-yn ki, avon-i ci diy=o village young-PL to one space come(II)-PRET.3PL compounds compou

bı-tojn-on.

MOD-drive-OPT.3PL

The youths of the village came together to drive them from the village.

honourable.028

peşo bə fik də-ş-in ki, hələ loti-yon $q\iota l \Rightarrow y$ then to thought in-go-PRET.3PL COMP still rogue-PL CLF=one

be- $\check{g}iry$ ət- ∂ti = $\hat{g}on$ kard- ∂ =ni, \check{g} ər ∂yz dizd-i. without-honour-ABSTR=3PL.CL do(II)-PTCP=NEG.COP.3SG except thief-ABSTR

Then they realized that so far the rogues hadn't committed any disgrace, except stealing.

honourable.029

qabər ıştən be-ş-in ş-in. perhaps REFL out-go-PRET.3PL go-PRET.3PL

Perhaps they would leave and go by themselves.

honourable.030

bi-d ∂ xun e-ni-m-o.

MOD-give(I).IMP.2SG blood down-NEG-come-OPT.3SG

May no blood be spilt.

honourable.031

b = sma ci kiy = ku bi-vot-im, c = a civon-a xiyzon-i = ku. to = 2PL of who = by small small by small small

Who shall I tell you about... that young couple.

honourable.032

i ruj jen-i b = sta suy = s vot-e: -merd-a, one day woman-OBL to=REFL.POSS husband=3SG.CL say-PRET man-VOC

az dil=im=e bi-şu-m ba=şta dada ka. 1SG.DIR heart=1SG.CL=COP.3SG MOD-go-SBJV.1SG to=REFL.POSS father house

One day the wife said to her husband: –Husband, I feel like going to my father's house.

honourable.033

xəyli vaxt=e çəvon=ım xəbə niy. much time=COP.3SG 3PL.POSS=1SG.CL news NEG.COP.3SG

I haven't heard their news in a long time.

honourable.034

merd-i ray=i\$ do-y.
man-OBL agreement=3SG.CL give(II)-PRET

The man gave his assent.

jen dəro qın-i-ye. woman to.road fall-II-PRET.3SG

The woman took to the road.

honourable.036

açay ro çı diy miyon-i=ku – cəmat qırdə=b-ə vırə=ku 3SG.POSS road of village middle-OBL=by people gathered=be-PTCP place=by

 $d \partial$ -vard-ey $d \partial$ =b-e.

in-pass-PROG=be-PRET.3SG

Her route went past the middle of the village, where people congregated.

honourable.037

b=i vaxt-i ço qila loti=yan ro-y=sa mand-a=b-in. to=this time-OBL four CLF rogue=ADD road-OBL=on stay-PTCP=be-PRET.3PL

And at that time the four rogues were standing in the street.

honourable.038

b = q = b - in.

to speech=be-PRET.3PL

They were talking.

honourable.039

jen $d\partial$ -vard-ey= ∂ d ∂ qil ∂ =y vot=i ς -e: -ci xos- ∂ moyn ∂ =y. woman in-pass-INF=at CLF=one say=3SG.CL-PRET what beautiful-ATTR girl=COP.3SG

When the woman passed by, one said: -What a lovely young woman she is.

honourable.040

Another said: –She carries away a man's heart with her.

honourable.041

 $se-min-\partial$ $qil\partial$ vot=i, say=3 sg. CL-Pret lady-ATTR girl 1PL-ACC when guest

kard-eyd =?

do(II)-PROG=COP.2SG

The third said: -Young lady, when are you going to make us your 'guests'?

honourable.042

jen-i in Sixan-on=iş məs-ə-y. woman-OBL this word-PL=3SG.CL hear-II-PRET

The woman heard these words.

honourable.043

 $tik = y = \partial n$ de tov - i $pi - y \partial - y$. little=one=ADD with speed-OBL walk-II-PRET.3SG

And she walked a little faster.

sixan ğand-e. word send-PRET

In the evening when she was returning home, the rogues again had words with her.

honourable.045

jen tanq-ə-nəfəs omə-y be-ş-e bə kə. woman narrow-ATTR-breath come(II)-PRET.3SG out-go-PRET.3SG to house

The woman came home short of breath.

honourable.046

merd-i ζi jen-i $\partial hvol = \partial d = \varsigma$ fam- ∂ -y ki, $\zeta i \zeta$ - $s \partial$ b- ∂ . man-OBL of woman-OBL mood=at=3SG.CL understand-II-PRET COMP what-INDEF be-PTCP[PF]

From his wife's mood the man understood that something had happened.

honourable.047

 $x
ab
a = \emptyset$ q
ab - e : -m
ab
a = t
ab = j
ab = t = j
ab = t
ab = j
ab = j

He asked: -Evidently something has been said to you?

honourable.048

jen-i bə həşə=ş nı-jənə-y. woman-OBL to denial=3SG.CL NEG-hit(II)-PRET

The woman didn't deny it.

honourable.049

az çoko $bo=\$m \ni=m$ qəp jə-y, əy=ən $bo=\$t \ni$ 1SG.DIR how for=2PL=1SG.CL speech hit(II)-PRET 3SG.OBL=ADD for=REFL.POSS

merd-i=ş vot-e. man-OBL=3SG.CL say-PRET

Just as I told you, so she told her husband.

honourable.050

merd-i xun bə ağu-ləxtə qın-i-ye. man-OBL blood to poison-clot fall-II-PRET.3SG

The man's blood turned to poison.

honourable.051

ğıyz-in − ğıyz-in vot=ış-e: −ısə bə-ş-e=m, ə be-ğıryət-on anger-ADJZ anger-ADJZ say=3SG.CL-PRET now FUT-go-FUT=COP.1SG that without-honour-PL

bə-kışt-e=m. FUT-kill-FUT=COP.1SG

Furiously he said: –Now I'll go and kill those scoundrels.

jen e-qin-i-ye bə merd-i po. woman down-fall-II-PRET.3SG to man-OBL foot

The woman fell at the man's feet.

honourable.053

bino=ş kard-e lovə kard-e, ğıbon-sədəğə ş-e. beginning=3SG.CL do(II)-PRET begging do(II)-INF victim-sacrifice go-INF

She started to beg and grovel.

honourable.054

vot=i\$-e: -b\$\rightarrow\$\$\text{\$\sigma}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \quad \text{\$\chi}\$\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \quad \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \quad \quad \text{\$\chi}\$ \quad \

She said: -I implore you.

honourable.055

ma-s-i, avon vey=in, t1 c0ylina. PROH-go-IMP.2SG 3PL much=COP.3PL 2SG alone

Don't go, there are many of them and you are alone.

honourable.056

b=əvon=ı zu ə-vışkı-ni. to=3PL=2SG.CL strength FUT-suffice-NEG.3SG

You won't overcome them.

honourable.057

tin-i b
eg -j-e = n b
eg -k
eg -k
eg -e -n, cimi k
eg -y xo b
eg -k
eg -n. 2
eg -e -n e
eg -e
eg -e -n e
eg -e
eg -e -n e
eg -e
eg -e
eg -e -n e
eg -e
eg -e

They will beat you and kill you, and destroy my house.

honourable.058

b-əni b-ə, s-əni s-ə. be-GDV be-PTCP[PF] go-GDV go-PTCP[PF]

Let bygones be bygones [lit. what was to happen has happened, what was to go has gone].

honourable.059

tikə=y səbr bı-kə.

little=one patience MOD-do(I).IMP.2SG

Show a little restraint.

honourable.060

merd-i b jen-i=s qus do-y. man-OBL to woman-OBL=3SG.CL ear give(II)-PRET

The man listened to his wife.

honourable.061

vind=iş-e ağıl-mand-ə sıxan kard-eydə. see=3SG.CL-PRET mind-ADJZ-ATTR word do(II)-PROG

He saw that she was talking sense.

 $h \ni m = \ni n$ som = e.

and=ADD evening=COP.3SG

Moreover, it was evening.

honourable.063

cok-i=s av=e, cok-i=s cok-i=

good-ABSTR=3SG.CL 3SG.DIR=COP.3SG morning-ADJZ day-OBL eye MOD-do(I).SBJV.3SG

The best thing was to wait for tomorrow.

honourable.064

ruj o-b-ə-y.

day PV-be-II-PRET.3SG

Day broke.

honourable.065

merd-i ğıyz nışt- $\partial = b$ -e.

man-OBL anger sit-PTCP=be-PRET.3SG

The man's anger had subsided.

honourable.066

 $\partial v = e$ ki, $\check{g}i\varsigma = i = \bar{s}$ hard - e, $\varsigma - e$ $i\varsigma t \partial$ ko - y dumo ... 3SG.DIR=COP.3SG COMP bite=one=3SG.CL eat(II)-PRET go-PRET.3SG REFL.POSS work-OBL behind

So he ate a bite and went off to his work...

honourable.067

b = sm cic - i = ku bi - vot - im, ci loti - yon = ku. to = 2PL what -OBL = by MOD - say - SBJV.1SG of rogue - PL = by

Who shall I tell you about, the rogues.

honourable.068

əvon zinə-ni reçin-ə vəyu xəyləği yod=o be-kard-e 3PL yesterday-ADJZ beautiful-ATTR bride much memory=by out-do(II)-INF

 z_{in} -eyd ∂ = n_i -b-in.

know-PROG=NEG-be-PRET.3PL

They weren't able to forget that beautiful bride from the day before.

honourable.069

har qılə $dil=\partial d\partial$ ıştə *vot=is-e*: -azbəpe jen-i kə-y each CLF REFL.POSS heart=at say=3sg.cl-PRET house-OBL 1sg.dir must that woman-OBL

pəydo bi-kə-m.

evident MOD-do(I)-SBJV.1SG

Each one said to himself: -I must find that woman's house.

honourable.070

de fikr-i har kəs bə i tərəf ş-e. with thought-OBL each person to one direction go-PRET.3SG

With this in mind, each went his own way.

bə i-vrə qırdə nı-b-in. to one-place gathered NEG-be-PRET.3PL

They didn't get together.

honourable.072

fikir-zikr=şon $ç=\partial$ jen-i ton=o b-e. thought-remembrance=3PL.CL of=that woman-OBL side=by be-PRET.3SG

Their thoughts were with that woman.

honourable.073

*in jen-i merd ş-e bəpeştə əv e-ş-e bə so.*this woman-OBL man go-INF after 3SG.DIR down-go-PRET.3SG to courtyard

After this woman's husband left, she went out into the courtyard.

honourable.074

bino=ş kard-e bo so-bə-y rıt-e.
beginning=3sg.cl do(II)-pret for courtyard-outdoors-OBL sweep-INF

She started to sweep the yard.

honourable.075

i-min-ə loti om *y* d *a-vard-ey=əd* d e *vind-e*. one-ORD-ATTR rogue come(II)-PRET.3SG in-pass-INF=at 3SG.DIR=3SG.CL see-PRET

The first rogue came and saw her as he was passing by.

honourable.076

i\$\text{st} \ $dil = \partial d \gamma \qquad \qqquad \qqqq \qqq \qqqq \qqq$

"məvuji bə=ştə orzu bə-rəs-e=m". evidently to=REFL.POSS desire FUT-arrive-FUT=COP.1SG

In his heart he rejoiced, and he said to himself, 'it seems I will achieve my desire'.

honourable.077

de xıvol-i nez, b-ebә parçin-i, vot=i\$-e: −baxtəvər-i say=3sg.cl-pret with intention-OBL be-PRET.3SG fence-OBL fortunate-OBL near to

jen, keynə əmən-i "ğonəğ" kard-eydə=ş? woman when 1PL-ACC guest do(II)-PROG=COP.2SG

With this intention he drew close to the fence and said: –Fortunate woman, when are you going to make us your 'guests'?

honourable.078

jen-i hiç $no-pe-\check{g} \Rightarrow t=i$ ni-kard-e, $c \Rightarrow vob=i$ do-y: woman-OBL no put(II)-up-take=3SG.CL NEG-do(II)-PRET answer=3SG.CL give(II)-PRET

*¬şanqo suk-on na-hand-ə b-o-yş.*evening cockerel-PL NEG-sing-PTCP MOD-come(I)-FUTIMP.2SG

The woman did not hesitate, and replied: –Come this evening before the cocks crow.

merd bə co di ş-ə.

man to other village go-PTCP[PF]

My husband has gone to another village.

honourable.080

im-şanqo kə=də ə-bi-ni. this-evening house=at FUT-be-NEG.3SG

This evening he won't be at home.

honourable.081

i-min- ∂ loti dil k ∂ s ∂ =d ∂ mand-eyd ∂ =ni-b-e in c ∂ vob-i m ∂ s-e b ∂ pest ∂ s. one-ORD-ATTR rogue heart bosom=at stay-PROG=NEG-be-PRET.3SG this answer-OBL hear-INF after

The first rogue's heart didn't remain in his breast after he heard this answer.

honourable.082

ıştən-bə=ştə vot=ış-e ki, "lap çok b-e coylinə omə-ym.
REFL-to=REFL say=3SG.CL-PRET COMP exactly good be-PRET.3SG alone come(II)-PRET.1SG

He said to himself, 'It was good that I came alone.

honourable.083

hiç bə=ştə dust-on ə-vot-nim. no to=REFL.POSS friend-PL FUT-say-NEG.1SG

I won't say anything to my friends.

honourable.084

bəpe ım-ruj hiç bə=çəvon çəş nı-çi-yom". must this-day no to=3PL.POSS eye NEG-be_visible-OPT.1SG

Today I shouldn't let them see me'.

honourable.085

şoy-şoy kard-e-kard-e ş-e. joy-joy do(II)-INF-do(II)-INF go-PRET.3SG

He went away rejoicing.

honourable.086

He waited for evening.

honourable.087

ləz=i də-vard-e. moment=one in-pass-PRET.3SG

A little time passed.

honourable.088

dı-min-ə loti=yən ro omə-y çı-yo e-qın-i-ye. two-ORD-ATTR rogue=ADD road come(II)-PRET.3SG of-here down-fall-II-PRET.3SG

And the second rogue came along and turned up there.

jen $so=\partial d\partial$ $\check{g}ab-on$ $sist-eyd\partial=b-e$. woman courtyard=at plate-PL wash-PROG=be-PRET.3SG

The woman was washing dishes in the yard.

honourable.090

 $\partial lb\partial sa\partial t$ $zin\partial -ni$ ∂ "xos- ∂ $moyn\partial = \varsigma$ " $zin-\partial -y$.immediatelyyesterday-ADJZthatbeautiful-ATTRgirl=3SG.CLknow-II-PRET

He immediately recognized that 'lovely young woman' from yesterday.

honourable.091

nez b-e bə parçin-i. near be-PRET.3SG to fence-OBL

He came up to the fence.

honourable.092

vot=i\$\(\sigma \) -xos-\(\partial \) moyn\(\partial \) noyn\(\partial \partial \) noyn\(\partial \

He said: -Lovely young woman, when will you make us happy?

honourable.093

jen-i hiç no-pe-ğət=ış nı-kard-e. woman-OBL no put(II)-up-take=3SG.CL NEG-do(II)-PRET

The woman didn't hesitate.

honourable.094

 $c au vob = i \$ do - y: -suk - on i - min - a hand - e saat - i bapesta answer=3SG.CL give(II)-PRET cockerel-PL one-ORD-ATTR sing-INF hour-OBL after

b-o-vs.

MOD-come(I)-FUTIMP.2SG

She answered: -Come after the hour when the cocks first crow.

honourable.095

 $k \rightarrow x i v a n d = \partial n$ $k \rightarrow = d \rightarrow b i - n i$. house-master=ADD house=at FUT-be-NEG.3SG

The man of the house won't be at home.

honourable.096

 $b \partial co$ $vir \partial \varsigma - \partial$. to other place go-PTCP[PF]

He has gone elsewhere.

honourable.097

The rogue heard these words and couldn't believe his ears.

soy-soy kard-e-kard-e c=0 so-y=ku diyoro b-e. soy-soy do(ii)-inf-do(ii)-inf of=that courtyard-obl=by far be-pret.3sg

He went away from that courtyard rejoicing.

honourable.099

i\$tən b\$\alpha = \$\$\$t\$\alpha = \$\$\$ vot-e: -"\$\chi_cok b-e coylin\$\alpha om\$\alpha-ym.\$ REFL to=REFL=3SG.CL say-PRET good be-PRET.3SG alone come(II)-PRET.1SG

He said to himself: 'It was good that I came alone.

honourable.100

hiç bə=ştə dust-on ə-vot-nim. no to=REFL.POSS friend-PL FUT-say-NEG.1SG

I won't say anything to my friends.

honourable.101

bə çəvon çə ς =ən ə- ς ι -nim". to 3PL.POSS eye=ADD FUT-be_visible-NEG.1SG

I won't even let them see me'.

honourable.102

ın loti=yən ş-e.

this rogue=ADD go-PRET.3SG

This rogue went away too.

honourable.103

He waited for evening.

honourable.104

 $saət-i \qquad b \ni diq \ni \quad se-min- \ni \quad loti=y \ni n \quad \varsigma \iota \quad jen-i \qquad k \ni = \varsigma \qquad p \ni y do \quad kard-e.$ $\text{hour-OBL} \quad \text{after} \qquad \text{three-ORD-ATTR} \quad \text{rogue=ADD} \quad \text{of} \quad \text{woman-OBL} \quad \text{house=3sg.cl} \quad \text{evident} \quad \text{do(II)-PRET}$

And after an hour the third rogue found the woman's house.

honourable.105

jen-i b=i $loti=\varsigma=\partial n$ vaxt do-y: $-"pe\varsigma$ $suk-\partial-hand-i$ woman-OBL to=this rogue=3SG.CL=ADD time give(II)-PRET after cockerel-ATTR-sing-OBL

b-o-vş".

MOD-come(I)-FUTIMP.2SG

The woman gave a time to this rogue too: 'Come after the cock-crow'.

honourable.106

çoşt-oni ço-min-ə loti=yən pısə si-yə, *yəxə si-yə*, lunch-ADVZ four-ORD-ATTR rogue=ADD fly_button break-PTCP collar break-PTCP

de ulumzılım-i in so=s $p ext{-}ydo$ kard-e. with difficulty-OBL this courtyard=3SG.CL evident do(II)-PRET

And at lunchtime the fourth rogue, with difficulty, fly open and collar open, found this yard.

∂y=∂n lşt∂ vaxt=ış zın-∂-y.
3SG.OBL=ADD REFL.POSS time=3SG.CL know-II-PRET

And he found out his time too.

honourable.108

sir-e-sir-e, bənə iştə b-ə se qilə həmr-on, smile-inf-smile-inf like REFL.POSS be-PTCP three CLF companion-PL

fikir kard-e-kard-e ş-e. thought do(II)-INF-do(II)-INF go-PRET.3SG

Smiling, like his three companions, he went away deep in thought.

honourable.109

 ςo - $yn \ni n = \ni n$ $\varsigma \iota$ $iy \ni n d \iota = k u$ be- $x \ni b \ni$ $s \ni v = \iota s \ni n$ $\varsigma \ni s$ kard-e. four-COLL=ADD of RECIP=by without-news night=3PL.CL eye do(II)-PRET

Unbeknownst to each other, all four waited for evening.

honourable.110

sanqov-oni merd oma-y ba=sta ka. evening-ADVZ man come(II)-PRET.3SG to=REFL.POSS house

In the evening the man came home.

honourable.111

jen sur-e-sur-e be-ş-e b \Rightarrow =çay va. woman smile-INF-smile-INF out-go-PRET.3SG to=3SG.POSS front

His wife came out to meet him with a smile.

honourable.112

dast-ov=iş vard-e, merd-i iştə dast-on=iş şişt-e. hand-water=3SG.CL bring(II)-PRET man-OBL REFL.POSS hand-PL=3SG.CL wash-PRET

She brought water, and the man washed his hands.

honourable.113

ç-əyo merd-i v = d =*ş* qay no-y. of-there man-OBL front=at=3SG.CL tea put(II)-PRET

Then she set down tea in front of the man.

honourable.114

xurək=ış vard-e. food=3SG.CL bring(II)-PRET

She brought food.

honourable.115

merd-i hard=ış-e.

man-OBL eat(II)=3SG.CL-PRET

The man ate.

```
honourable.116
```

ç-əyo $x \rightarrow b \rightarrow q \rightarrow t = i - x \rightarrow y$ $b \rightarrow b \rightarrow b \rightarrow v$ of-there news take=3SG.CL-PRET good MOD-be.SBJV.3SG

Then he asked: -Good for you!

honourable.117

im-ruj ha-ruj-na=sa vey so=sa. this-day each-day-ADJZ=on much glad=COP.2SG

Today you are happier than usual.

honourable.118

ci xaba=ye? what news=COP.3SG

What's the news?

honourable.119

-hiç, ım-şanqo ço qılə "ğonəğ"=ımon bə-b-e. no this-evening four CLF guest=1PL.CL FUT-be-FUT

-Nothing, this evening we'll have four 'guests'.

honourable.120

So I'm rejoicing.

honourable.121

 $-kin\partial$, $h\partial l\partial$ bi-vot bunim, qo ciki $hiy=\partial d\partial = y?$ - girl still MOD-say.IMP.2SG let_me_see cow who.POSS field=at=COP.3SG

-Girl, tell me, let me see, what's going on [lit. in whose field is the cow]?

honourable.122

jen nışt-e merd-i ton=o. woman sit-PRET.3SG man-OBL side=by

The woman sat down beside the man.

honourable.123

bino=ş kard-e, çı sıftə=ku lap tobə çoko=m oxoy, beginning=3sg.cl do(II)-PRET exactly of at_first=by until end 1sg.dir how=1sg.cl

She began right from the start up to the end - just as I have told you, so she told her husband.

honourable.124

merd-i tam-tam-i b=im-on=i qu qu do-y.

man-OBL silent-silent-ADVZ to=this-PL=3SG.CL ear give(II)-PRET

The man listened to these things in silence.

 ς -əyo vot= ι ς -e: —kinə, ι ς tı sə xərob b-ə, ς i ς =e? of-there say=3SG.CL-PRET girl 2SG.POSS head ruined be-PTCP[PF] what=COP.3SG

Then he said: –Girl, has your head gone rotten, what's the matter with you?

honourable.126

ç-əyo, *çımi dumo çoko bə-b-e?* of-there this.POSS behind how FUT-be-FUT

Then what will happen after that?

honourable.127

jen-i dumo=ş qəp jə-y: —şanqo mor-qənqəl hıt-e, woman-OBL continuation=3SG.CL speech hit(II)-PRET evening snake-crab sleep-PRET.3SG

az htt-e n1-zn-ə-ym. 1SG.DIR sleep-INF NEG-know-II-PRET.1SG

The woman continued: -Last night snake and crab slept, but I couldn't sleep.

honourable.128

xəyli fik=ım kard-e. much thought=1SG.CL do(II)-PRET

I thought a lot.

honourable.129

b=i nəticə omə-ym ki, əvon hukmən mın-i pəydo bə-ka=n. to=this conclusion come(II)-PRET.1SG COMP 3PL definitely 1SG.OBL-ACC evident FUT-do(II)=COP.3PL

I came to the conclusion that they would definitely find me.

honourable.130

az əvon-i qılə-qılə bə kə vanq kard-eydə=m, 1SG.DIR 3PL-ACC CLF-CLF to house call do(II)-PROG=COP.1SG

tin=ən əvon-i qılə-qılə bı-kışt. 2SG=ADD 3PL-ACC CLF-CLF MOD-kill.IMP.2SG

I'm summoning them to the house one by one, and you kill them one by one.

honourable.131

d au d au = k u mand - u $\check{g} au m au = m = u$ tij kard - u. father=by stay-PTCP dagger=1SG.CL=ADD sharp do(II)-PTCP[PF]

I have sharpened the dagger that was left to me from my father.

honourable.132

tı niyo $b \rightarrow b - e = \emptyset$ $b = \emptyset$ $k \rightarrow d \rightarrow d \rightarrow d$. 2SG hidden FUT-be-FUT=COP.2SG to=that room=at

You'll hide in that room.

honourable.133

i-min- ∂ qil ∂ b-om-e. one-ORD-ATTR CLF FUT-come(II)-FUT

The first one will come.

dı-min-ə kəybə=ş *tikə*=y sıxan $b \partial -ka = mon$, *ç-әуо* qılə ku-yə-y, little=one FUT-do(II)=COP.1PL of-there two-ORD-ATTR door=3sg.cl word CLF beat-II-PRET

az i-min-ə loti də-bə-no=m bə ıştı b-ə kə. 1SG.DIR one-ORD-ATTR rogue in-FUT-put(II)=COP.1SG to 2SG.POSS be-PTCP room

We'll talk a little, then when the second one knocks on the door, I'll put the first one in the room where you are.

honourable.135

b au - vot - e = m "cimi suya oma - y, b = a ka = da niyo bi - b - i". FUT-say-FUT=COP.1SG 1SG.POSS husband come(II)-PRET.3SG to=that room=at hidden MOD-be-IMP.2SG I'll say 'my husband has come back, hide in that room'.

honourable.136

tı əy bə-kışt-e=ş.
2SG 3SG.OBL FUT-kill-FUT=COP.2SG

You will kill him.

honourable.137

 ς -əyo $d\iota$ -min-ə $q\iota l$ ə=n omə-y, jəqo, se-min-ə $q\iota l$ ə=n of-there two-ORD-ATTR CLF=ADD come(II)-PRET.3SG like_that three-ORD-ATTR CLF=ADD

jəqo bə-kışt-e=ş. like_that FUT-kill-FUT=COP.2SG

Then when the second [intended: third] one comes, I'll do likewise, and you'll kill the third [intended: second] one likewise.

honourable.138

az ιsta suya=m $k\iota sta$. 1SG.DIR REFL.POSS husband=1SG.CL kill-PTCP[PF]

When the fourth one comes, I'll say to him, I've killed my husband.

honourable.139

çəy mard-i bı-bə şo-də bə ru. 3SG.POSS corpse-OBL MOD-carry(I).IMP.2SG throw-give(I).IMP.2SG to river

Take his corpse and throw it into the river.

honourable.140

əv i-min-ə mard-i bə-ba. 3SG.DIR one-ORD-ATTR corpse-OBL FUT-carry(II)

He will carry away the first corpse.

honourable.141

dı-min-ə qılə hozı bə-no=mon. two-ORD-ATTR CLF ready FUT-put(II)=COP.1PL

We'll prepare the second corpse.

 ∂v $om\partial -y$, $b=\partial y$ $b\partial -vot-e=m$ ki, 3SG.DIR come(II)-PRET.3SG to=3SG.OBL FUT-say-FUT=COP.1SG COMP

ıştı bard-ə mard ıştı=sə rə o-qard-e. 2SG.POSS carry(II)-PTCP corpse 2SG.POSS=on quickly PV-turn-PRET.3SG

When he comes back I'll tell him: the corpse you took away returned more quickly than you.

honourable.143

ijən bı-bə şo-də.

again MOD-carry(I).IMP.2SG throw-give(I).IMP.2SG

Take it and throw it out again.

honourable.144

bovə=ş nı-kard-e, bə-vot-e=m ki, çımı şuyə trust=3SG.CL NEG-do(II)-PRET FUT-say-FUT=COP.1SG COMP 1SG.POSS husband

b = \$t = k - y vey $h = mr = \check{g} = b - e$. to=refl.poss house-obl much fond=be-pretl.3sg

If he doesn't believe me, I'll say that my husband was very fond of his house.

honourable.145

 $\partial v = ey$ ki, ζi $k\partial - y = ku$ co b - e $zin - eyd\partial = ni$. 3SG.DIR=COP.3SG COMP of house-OBL=by other be-INF know-PROG=NEG.COP.3SG

So he can't be apart from the house.

honourable.146

b=i səfə çəy lınq-on bı-bırn-iş, bı-də

to=this time 3SG.POSS foot-PL MOD-cut-FUTIMP.2SG MOD-give(I).IMP.2SG

om-e n1-zn-o.

come(II)-INF NEG-know-OPT.3SG

This time cut off his feet so he can't come back.

honourable.147

 $jo\check{g}o-jo\check{g}o,$ mard-on $b\partial-do=m$ $b\partial$ ru so-do-y. like_this-like_this corpse-PL FUT-give(II)=COP.1SG to river throw-give(II)-INF

Like this I'll have him throw the corpses into the river.

honourable.148

se-min- ∂ k ∂ r ∂ s-ey= ∂ d ∂ tin= ∂ n b ∂ -s-e=s dumo ∂ y. three-ORD-ATTR time go-INF=at 2SG=ADD FUT-go-FUT=COP.2SG behind 3SG.OBL

And when he goes the third time, you'll go after him.

honourable.149

co-min-a loti=yan ba-kışt-e=ş, b-om-e=ş.

four-ORD-ATTR rogue=ADD FUT-kill-FUT=COP.2SG FUT-come(II)-FUT=COP.2SG

You'll kill the fourth rogue too and come back.

rohat, asudə bə-ji-ye=mon. calm relaxed FUT-live-FUT=COP.1PL

We'll live in peace and quiet.

honourable.151

merd-i bə jen-i vot-ə-y-on=ış quş do-y.
man-OBL to woman-OBL say-PTCP-SBZ-PL=3SG.CL ear give(II)-PRET

The man listened to the things his wife said.

honourable.152 rozi b-e.

satisfied be-PRET.3SG

He agreed.

honourable.153

şəv b-e.

night be-PRET.3SG

Night fell.

honourable.154

tikə=*y də-vard-e*. little=one in-pass-PRET.3SG

A little time passed.

honourable.155

kəybə=şon ku-yə-y.

door=3PL.CL beat-II-PRET

There was a knock on the door.

honourable.156

merd o-vaşt-e bə ç-ə-ton-ə kə. man PV-jump-PRET.3SG to of-that-side-ATTR room

The man crossed into the other room.

honourable.157

jen-i kəybə=ş o-kard-e. woman-OBL door=3SG.CL PV-do(II)-PRET

The woman opened the door.

honourable.158

i-min- ∂ loti $d\partial$ - ς -e $b\partial$ $k\partial$. one-ORD-ATTR rogue in-go-PRET.3SG to house

The first rogue came into the house.

honourable.159

jen-i $b=\partial y=i$ sır- ∂ diyən nişo do-y. woman-OBL to=3SG.OBL=3SG.CL smile-PTCP face sign give(II)-PRET

The woman showed him a smiling face.

bə loti=ş vot-e: —tadi mə-qət.

to rogue=3SG.CL say-PRET hurried PROH-take.IMP.2SG

She said to the rogue: -Do not rush things.

honourable.161

pilo=m də-parzin-i-yə. pilau=1SG.CL in-strain-II-PTCP[PF]

I've strained some pilau.

honourable.162 $h \partial l \partial b l - \partial = ni$.

still be-PTCP=NEG.COP.3SG

It's not ready yet.

honourable.163

bi-da bi-bu, ba-h-amon, c-ayo... MOD-give(I).IMP.2SG MOD-be.SBJV.3SG MOD-eat(I)-SBJV.1PL of-there

Let it get ready and we'll eat, and then...

honourable.164

 $\varsigma \iota$ -yo $-\varsigma$ -əyo tikə=y= ς on sixan kard-e. of-here of-there little=one=3PL.CL word do(II)-PRET

They talked a little about this and that.

honourable.165

b=i vaxt-i kəybə=şon ku-yə-y. to=this time-OBL door=3PL.CL beat-II-PRET

Then there was a knock on the door.

honourable.166

jen-i vot=i\$-e: -vay, d\$\partial d\$=m vay! woman-OBL say=3SG.CL-PRET oh father=1SG.CL oh

The woman said: -Alas, alas!

honourable.167

çımı şuyə omə-y.

1sg.poss husband come(II)-pret.3sg

My husband has come.

honourable.168

ti $d\partial$ - ς -i b= ∂ $k\partial$. 2SG in-go-IMP.2SG to=that room

You go into the other room.

honourable.169

i-min-ə loti də-ş-e b=ə çəşmə. one-ORD-ATTR rogue in-go-PRET.3SG to=that room

The first rogue went into the other room.

There was a door from this room to that room.

honourable.171

The man of the house immediately took out his dagger and thrust it into the rogue's heart.

honourable.172

jen-i kəybə=ş o-kard-e. woman-OBL door=3SG.CL PV-do(II)-PRET

The woman opened the door.

honourable.173

di-min- ∂ loti= \S va-do-y b ∂ k ∂ . two-ORD-ATTR rogue=3SG.CL leave-give(II)-PRET to house

She let the second rogue into the house.

honourable.174

jen-i $b=im-i=\varsigma=\partial n$ bə i-min-ə qılə vot-ə sıxan-on=ış vot-e. woman-OBL to=this-OBL=3SG.CL=ADD to one-ORD-ATTR CLF say-PTCP word-PL=3SG.CL say-PRET

The woman said the same words to him that she had said to the first one.

honourable.175

nışt-in.

sit-PRET.3PL

They sat down.

honourable.176

 $\varsigma \iota$ -yo $-\varsigma$ -əyo tikə=y= ς on $s\iota$ xan kard-e. of-here of-there little=one=3PL.CL word do(II)-PRET

They talked a little about this and that.

honourable.177

ijən=ən kəybə=şon ku-yə-y. again=ADD door=3PL.CL beat-II-PRET

And again there was a knock on the door.

honourable.178

jen-i vot=ış-e: –vay, çı kə-xob-i=ye! woman-OBL say=3SG.CL-PRET oh what house-ruined-ABSTR=COP.3SG

The woman said: –Oh, damn it!

honourable.179

çımı şuyə omə-y.

1SG.POSS husband come(II)-PRET.3SG

My husband has come.

ti $d\partial$ - \S -i $b=\partial$ $k\partial$. 2SG in-go-IMP.2SG to=that room

You go into the other room.

honourable.181 niyo bi-b-i. hidden MOD-be-IMP.2SG

Hide.

honourable.182

bəlkəm qılə=y çarə=m kard-e. perhaps CLF=one remedy=1SG.CL do(II)-PRET

Perhaps I'll find a solution.

honourable.183

di-min- ∂ loti $d\partial$ - ς -e b= ∂ $\varsigma \partial \varsigma m\partial$. two-ORD-ATTR rogue in-go-PRET.3SG to=that room

The second rogue went into the other room.

honourable.184

 $k au - x \imath v a n d - \partial$ merd - i $\partial v = \imath s = \partial n$ $k \imath s t - e$. house-master-ATTR man-OBL 3SG.DIR=3SG.CL=ADD kill-PRET

The man of the house killed him too.

honourable.185

pe-puşt=iş-e ba kana-kula, no=ş-e ka-y kiç=ada. up-wrap=3SG.CL-PRET to rags-REDUP put(II)=3SG.CL-PRET room-OBL corner=at

He wrapped him up in rags and put him in the corner of the room.

honourable.186

ləz=i də-vard-e. moment=one in-pass-PRET.3SG

A little time passed.

honourable.187

ijən=ən kəybə=şon ku-yə-y. again=ADD door=3PL.CL beat-II-PRET

And again there was a knock on the door.

honourable.188

The woman let the third rogue into the house too.

honourable.189

se-min-ə loti bino=ş kard-e bo jen-i çəş-bəv pe-ğand-e. three-ORD-ATTR rogue beginning=3SG.CL do(II)-PRET for woman-OBL eye-eyebrow up-send-INF

The third rogue started to wink at the woman.

jen-i vot=ış-e: –tadi mə-qət.

woman-OBL say=3SG.CL-PRET hurried PROH-take.IMP.2SG

The woman said: -Do not rush things.

honourable.191

sav=son cama dast=ada s-a=ni.

night=3PL.CL 1PL.POSS hand=at take(II)-PTCP=NEG.COP.3SG

They haven't taken the night away from us.

honourable.192

bı-də xurək bı-bu.

MOD-give(I).IMP.2SG food MOD-be.SBJV.3SG

Let the food prepare.

honourable.193

Let's eat a little, and then...

honourable.194

 $\varsigma\iota$ -yo $-\varsigma$ -əyo xəyli $s\iota xan=\iota \varsigma$ on kard-e. of-here of-there much word=3PL.CL do(II)-PRET

They talked a lot about this and that.

honourable.195

ijən=ən kəybə=şon ku-yə-y. again=ADD door=3PL.CL beat-II-PRET

And again a knock came at the door.

honourable.196

jen-i ja=s-e ba=sta ton-on:-vay, cimi suya oma-y! woman-OBL hit(II)=3sg.CL-PRET to=REFL.POSS side-PL oh 1sg.POSS husband come(II)-PRET.3sg

The woman struck her sides: –Alas, my husband has come back!

honourable.197

haydi, $d\partial$ -*ş-i* $b=\partial$ $k\partial$. come_on in-go-IMP.2SG to=that room

Come on, go into the other room.

honourable.198

nivo bı-b-i.

hidden MOD-be-IMP.2SG

Hide.

honourable.199

az bəlkə qılə=y çarə=m kard-e. 1SG.DIR perhaps CLF=one remedy=1SG.CL do(II)-PRET

Maybe I'll find a solution.

se-min-ə loti də-ş-e b=ə çəşmə. three-ORD-ATTR rogue in-go-PRET.3SG to=that room

The third rogue went into the other room.

honourable.201

merd-i əv=ış=ən kışt-e. man-OBL 3SG.DIR=3SG.CL=ADD kill-PRET

The man killed him too.

honourable.202

 $pe-pu\varsigma t=\iota \varsigma - e$ $b \ni kan \ni -kul \ni , no = \varsigma - e$ $k \ni -y$ $b = \ni k\iota \varsigma = \delta d \ni .$ up-wrap=3SG.CL-PRET to rags-REDUP put(II)=3SG.CL-PRET room-OBL to=that corner=at

He rolled him up in rags and put him in the corner of the room.

honourable.203

To cut a long story short, the woman let the fourth rogue into the house too.

honourable.204

After some small talk he too winked a little.

honourable.205

jen-i ıştən=ış be-kef bard-e. woman-OBL REFL=3SG.CL without-fun carry(II)-PRET

The woman pretended to be miserable.

honourable.206

The rogue asked: –What has happened?

honourable.207

kef=i niy.

fun=2sg.cl Neg.cop.3sg

You're in a bad mood.

honourable.208

jen-i vot=ış-e: —hiç xəbə mə-stən. woman-OBL say=3SG.CL-PRET no news PROH-take(I).IMP.2SG

The woman said: –Don't ask.

honourable.209

*çoko şəv b-e, bəne=m çımı şuyə omə-y.*how night be-PRET.3SG behold=COP.1SG 1SG.POSS husband come(II)-PRET.3SG

When night fell, I found out that my husband had come back.

 $b \ni = t i = m$ sixan $d \circ - \vartheta = b - e$.

to=2SG=1SG.CL word give(II)-PTCP=be-PRET.3SG

I'd given you my word.

honourable.211

vind=im-e risvo b - b - e = m.

see=1SG.CL-PRET shame FUT-be-FUT=COP.1SG

I saw that I would be shamed.

honourable.212

çımı şuyə mın-i bə-kışt-e. 1SG.POSS husband 1SG.OBL-ACC FUT-kill-FUT

My husband would kill me.

honourable.213

vot=im-e ki, cok-i=s v=e, az v=e, az v=e, bi-kist-om. say=1SG.CL-PRET COMP good-ABSTR=3SG.CL 3SG.DIR=COP.3SG 1SG.DIR 3SG.OBL MOD-kill-OPT.1SG

I said, the best thing is if I kill him.

honourable.214

çımı sır foş nı-bu.

1SG.POSS secret revealed NEG-be.SBJV.3SG

So my secret will not come out.

honourable.215

maşta xaba=n bi-qat-on, ba-vot-e=m s-e ba co di, morning news=ADD $model{model}$ $model{mode$

tobə ısə om-ə=ni.

until now come(II)-PTCP=NEG.COP.3SG

And if they ask tomorrow, I'll say that he went to another village and hasn't come back yet.

honourable.216

ay ci ara=ku pe-qat-amon, *ama işta kef-i bi-k-amon*.

3SG.OBL of space=by up-take-SBJV.1PL 1PL REFL.POSS fun-OBL MOD-do(I)-SBJV.1PL

Let's get him out of the way, so we can enjoy ourselves.

honourable.217

 ς -əyo $merd=\imath m$ vanq kard-e ki, $\varsigma o-y$ biyə iyo. of-there man=1SG.CL call do(II)-PRET COMP lamp-OBL MOD.bring(I).IMP.2SG here

Then I called to my husband to bring a lamp here,

honourable.218

çamçə pəydo kard-e zın-eydə=nim.

ladle evident do(II)-INF know-PROG=NEG.COP.1SG

[saying that] I couldn't find the ladle.

avoma-ybakada-ş-ey=adağəma=me-qat-e3SG.DIRcome(II)-PRET.3SGtoroomin-go-INF=atdagger=1SG.CLdown-take-PRET

bə=çəy dıl-i sə. to=3SG.POSS heart-OBL head

He came, and as he entered the room I stuck a dagger into his heart.

honourable.220

əçəymard=ımpe-puşt-əbə kanə-kulə,3SG.POSScorpse=1SG.CLup-wrap-PTCP[PF]to rags-REDUP

 $no-\partial=m=e$ $b=\partial$ $k\partial=d\partial$. put(II)-PTCP=1SG.CL=COP.3SG to=that room=at

I rolled his corpse up in rags and put it in the other room.

honourable.221

ts = tu = ku xahi = tm av = ey, tt ac = ac = v mard = bt = ba now 2sG = by request = 1sG.CL 3sG.DIR = COP.3sG 2sG 3sG.POSS corpse-OBL mod-carry(I).IMP.2sG

 $so-d\vartheta$ $b\vartheta$ ru, b-o-y. throw-give(I).IMP.2SG to river MOD-come(I)-IMP.2SG

Now I beg you, take his corpse away and throw it in the river and come back.

honourable.222

ç-əyo rohat, amoxtə ıştə ko-y bə-vind-e=mon. of-there calm sage REFL.POSS work-OBL FUT-see-FUT=COP.1PL

Then we'll see to our business in peace, properly.

honourable.223

loti sir-e-sir-e vot=i\$-e: -hejo im? rogue smile-INF-smile-INF say=3SG.CL-PRET just this

Smiling, the rogue said: –Is that all?

honourable.224

 $az=\partial n$ vot- $eyd\partial=m$, $h\partial b\partial t$ cic b- ∂ . 1SG.DIR=ADD say-PROG=COP.1SG of_course what be-PTCP[PF]

And I thought something must have happened.

honourable.225

çımı çəş-on=sə! 1sg.poss eye-pL=on

With pleasure!

honourable.226

 $an\partial=d\partial$ $c=\partial$ $merd-on=\partial d\partial=m$ $kist-\partial$ $so-do-\partial=m=e$ $b\partial$ ru. $so_much=at$ of=that man-PL=at=1SG.CL kill-PTCP[PF] throw-give(II)-PTCP=1SG.CL=COP.3SG to river

I have killed so many of those men and thrown them into the river.

 $lm=\partial n$ $c\partial von=\partial d\partial qll\partial =y$. this=ADD 3PL.POSS=at CLF=one

He's one more of them.

honourable.228

jen $d\partial$ - ς -e b= ∂ $k\partial$. woman in-go-PRET.3SG to=that room

The woman went into the other room.

honourable.229

i-min- ∂ loti mard= $\iota \varsigma$ $\varsigma \iota k \iota r n$ - ι - ι -v e b= ι $k \partial$. one-ORD-ATTR rogue corpse=3SG.CL drag-II-PRET to=this room

She dragged the corpse of the first rogue back into this room.

honourable.230

jen-i $\partial v=i\varsigma$ no-y $b\partial$ loti kul. woman-OBL 3SG.DIR=3SG.CL put(II)-PRET to rogue back

The woman placed it on the rogue's back.

honourable.231

loti ş-e.

rogue go-PRET.3SG

The rogue went.

honourable.232

ləz=i də-vard-e, loti o-qard-e. moment=one in-pass-PRET.3SG rogue PV-turn-PRET.3SG

A little time passed and the rogue returned.

honourable.233

jen-i əv=ış vind-ə-cəğın vot=ış-e: —ay-hay! woman-OBL 3SG.DIR=3SG.CL see-PTCP-TEMP say=3SG.CL-PRET oh-oh

When the woman saw him she said: -Oh, oh!

honourable.234

mard ıştı=sə rə o-qard-e ki!
corpse 2SG.POSS=on quickly PV-turn-PRET.3SG COMP

The corpse came back more quickly than you!

honourable.235

ti $\partial v = i$ so-ni-do-y? 2SG 3SG.DIR=2SG.CL throw-NEG-give(II)-PRET

Didn't you throw it in?

loti dıl=ış=b-e damə bı-bu, vind=ış-e, rogue heart=3SG.CL=be-PRET.3SG speaking MOD-be.SBJV.3SG see=3SG.CL-PRET

rost-i=yən, əçəy sati bə-nav bard-ə mard əv=ey

true-ABSTR=ADD 3SG.POSS just_now to-front carry(II)-PTCP corpse 3SG.DIR=COP.3SG

o-lxart- ϑ k ϑ -y miyon= $\vartheta d\vartheta$. PV-lie-PTCP[PF] room-OBL middle=at

The rogue wanted to say something but saw that, indeed, that was the corpse he had just taken away lying in the middle of the room.

honourable.237

təcub=iş kard-e. surprise=3sg.CL do(II)-PRET

He was surprised.

honourable.238

şək=iş bard-e pi-yə-y. doubt=3sg.CL carry(II)-INF want-II-PRET

He wanted to doubt it.

honourable.239

ni-bard-ey= ∂n n- ∂ -zn-i.

NEG-carry(II)-INF=ADD NEG-IPF-know-IPF.3SG

But he couldn't fail to take it away.

honourable.240

jen çı dast=o be-∂-ş-i.

woman of hand=by out-IPF-go-IPF.3SG

The woman would slip through his fingers.

honourable.241

jen-i $b=\partial y=o=\varsigma$ $c \partial s$ $pe-\check{g}$ and-e. woman-OBL to=3SG.OBL=for=3SG.CL eye up-send-PRET

The woman made eyes at him.

honourable.242

loti con bə larz də-ş-e.
rogue soul to tremble in-go-PRET.3SG

The rogue's body started trembling.

honourable.243

 $jo\check{g}o=$ \$\square\$ vot-e: $-b\partial=$ \$tt xatır, ∂ v sa k ∂ r ∂ =n o-qard-o, like_this=3SG.CL say-PRET to=2SG.POSS sake 3SG.DIR hundred time=ADD PV-turn-OPT.3SG

az ij
eg n b
eg -ba = m so -ba - do = m.

1SG.DIR again FUT-carry(II)=COP.1SG throw-FUT-give(II)=COP.1SG

He said: –For your sake, even if he returns a hundred times, I'll take him away and throw him in again.

And indeed, the woman put the second rogue's corpse on his back as well.

honourable.245

loti mard=ış bard-e.
rogue corpse=3SG.CL carry(II)-PRET

The rogue carried the corpse away.

honourable.246

no=*ş-e* cl ru-y k > no. put(II)=3SG.CL-PRET of river-OBL side

He put it on the riverbank.

honourable.247

i\$\text{\$\sigma\$} \sets \sigma = \text{\$\sigma\$} \quad be-kard-e.} \text{REFL.POSS} \quad \text{dagger=3SG.CL} \quad \text{out-do(II)-PRET} \quad \text{}

He got out his dagger.

honourable.248

se-ço kara=ş e- $\check{g}at$ -e ba mard-i luz. three-four time=3SG.CL down-take-PRET to corpse-OBL belly

He stuck it into the corpse's belly three or four times.

honourable.249

vot=iş-e: -isə bə-zn-e=\$, mardə bə kə o-qard-e çiç=e. say=3SG.CL-PRET now FUT-know-FUT=COP.2SG corpse to house PV-turn-INF what=COP.3SG

He said: –Now you'll know what it is for a corpse to come back home.

honourable.250

mard=i\$\ \quad \quad \quad \corpse=3SG.CL \quad \text{throw-give(II)-PRET} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{river} \quad \quad \text{river} \quad \quad \text{river} \quad \text{river} \quad \text{river} \quad \text{river} \quad \quad \text{river} \quad \quad \text{river} \quad \quad \text{river} \quad \qq \quad \quad

He threw the corpse into the river.

honourable.251

şoy-şoy kard-e-kard-e o-qard-e bə kə. joy-joy do(II)-INF-do(II)-INF PV-turn-PRET.3SG to house

He returned to the house rejoicing.

honourable.252

rəs-ə-cəğın çiç bı-vind-o çok=e? arrive-PTCP-TEMP what MOD-see-OPT.3SG good=COP.3SG

When he arrived, what should he see?

honourable.253

vind=iş-e mard əv=ey, o-lxart-ə kə-y miyon=ədə. see=3SG.CL-PRET corpse 3SG.DIR=COP.3SG PV-lie-PTCP[PF] room-OBL middle=at

He saw there was a corpse lying in the middle of the room.

jen=ən nışt-ə bəm-eydə. woman=ADD sit-PTCP[PF] weep-PROG

And the woman was sitting crying.

honourable.255

loti xəbə=ş qət-e: —ın be-ar-i zoə be-ar ijən o-qard-e? rogue news=3SG.CL take-PRET this without-shame-OBL boy without-shame again PV-turn-PRET.3SG

The rogue asked: -Did this scoundrel son of a scoundrel come back again?

honourable.256

-ha, vind-eydə=ş ki, o-qard-ə. yes see-PROG=COP.2SG COMP PV-turn-PTCP[PF]

-Yes, you can see that he's come back.

honourable.257

çımı şuyə bə=ştə kə-y vey həmrəğ=b-e.

1SG.POSS husband to=REFL.POSS house-OBL much fond=be-PRET.3SG

My husband was very fond of his house.

honourable.258

hiç co virə=də mand-e n-ə-zn-i. no other place=at stay-INF NEG-IPF-know-IPF.3SG

He couldn't stay anywhere else.

honourable.259

ti b=i $s ag{$\partial = n$}$ ay bi-ba, ba ru so-ni-do-a 2SG to=this time=ADD 3SG.OBL MOD-carry(I).IMP.2SG to river throw-NEG-give(II)-PTCP

 $\partial \zeta \partial y$ $S \partial - y = \partial n$ O-birin, $linq-on = \partial n$.3SG.POSShead-OBL=ADDPV-cut.IMP.2SGfoot-PL=ADD

This time take him and before you throw him into the river, cut off his head and feet.

honourable.260

bi-də o-qard-e ni-zn-o.

MOD-give(I).IMP.2SG PV-turn-INF NEG-know-OPT.3SG

So he can't come back.

honourable.261

loti co çarə=ş nı-b-e. rogue other remedy=3SG.CL NEG-be-PRET.3SG

The rogue had no alternative.

honourable.262

jen-i=ku=yən də-vard-e zın-eydə=nı-b-e. woman-OBL=by=ADD in-pass-INF know-PROG=NEG-be-PRET.3SG

He could not refuse the woman.

 $\partial v = ey$ macbur mand-e, mard= i\$\(\sigma \sigma o-do-y \\ ba= \sigma t \righta \du \sigma i = sa. \\ 3\text{SG.DIR=COP.3SG} \) obliged stay-PRET.3SG corpse=3SG.CL throw-give(II)-PRET to=REFL.POSS back-OBL=on

So he was obliged, and threw the corpse on to his back.

honourable.264

ş-е.

go-PRET.3SG

He went.

honourable.265

kə-xıvand-ə merd çı kə-y=ku be-ş-e. house-master-ATTR man of room-OBL=by out-go-PRET.3SG

The man of the house came out of the room.

honourable.266

e-qin-i-ye çı ço-min-ə loti dumo. down-fall-II-PRET.3SG of four-ORD-ATTR rogue behind

He went after the fourth rogue.

honourable.267

loti rəs-ə-y bə ru-y. rogue arrive-II-PRET.3SG to river-OBL

The rogue came to the river.

honourable.268

mard=i\$ no-y b z amin. corpse=3SG.CL put(II)-PRET to earth

He put the corpse on the ground.

honourable.269

siftə çəy sə=ş birn-i-ye, şo-do=ş-e bə ru. at_first 3SG.POSS head=3SG.CL cut-II-PRET throw-give(II)=3SG.CL-PRET to river

First he cut off its head and threw it into the river.

honourable.270

merd $\zeta \iota$ do-y $pe \xi \iota = o$ $b=\iota m-on$ $to m \xi o$ $kard-eyd \partial = b-e$.

man of tree-OBL back=by to=this-PL look do(II)-PROG=be-PRET.3SG

The man was watching all this from behind a tree.

honourable.271

loti ıştə ko=ş o-rıxn-i-ye, vot=ış-e: —ısə hınə hest=e, rogue REFL.POSS work=3SG.CL PV-free-II-PRET say=3SG.CL-PRET now valour EXIST=COP.3SG

 $ujn = \partial n$ o-qard. again=ADD PV-turn.IMP.2SG

The rogue finished his task and said: -Now come back again if you've got the strength!

odəm-i pıə qur-i joğo bə-sut-e=n.
person-OBL father grave-OBL like_this FUT-burn-FUT=COP.3PL

That's how they'll burn a man's father's grave [i.e. that's how to teach someone a lesson].

honourable.273

hejo dıl=ış=b-e ki, bə dumo o-qard-o, merd be-ş-e just heart=3SG.CL=be-PRET.3SG COMP to back PV-turn-OPT.3SG man out-go-PRET.3SG

ci do-y pest=o. of tree-OBL back=by

He was just about to go back when the man came out from behind the tree.

honourable.274

ğəmə=ş e-qət-e bə loti dıl-i sə. dagger=3SG.CL down-take-PRET to rogue heart-OBL head

He stuck his dagger into the rogue's heart.

honourable.275

 ς -əyo b=əy= ς tov do-y, e- \check{g} and= $\iota \varsigma$ -e bə ru. of-there to=3SG.OBL=3SG.CL whirl give(II)-PRET down-send=3SG.CL-PRET to river

Then he whirled him round and threw him into the river.

honourable.276

be-ş-e omə-y bə=ştə kə. out-go-PRET.3SG come(II)-PRET.3SG to=REFL.POSS house

He went back to his house.

honourable.277

b = st = jen - i = s "vey s = g = b - i" vot=is - e. to=REFL.POSS woman-OBL=3SG.CL much healthy=be-IMP.2SG say=3SG.CL-PRET

He said 'thank you' to his wife.

honourable.278

bə=çəy ğıryət-i, ağl-i heyran mand-e. to=3SG.POSS honour-OBL mind-OBL amazed stay-PRET.3SG

He was amazed at her honour and intelligence.

honourable.279

sıxan=ışon bə *əhvolot-i=ku* hiç i no-y ki, c=ibəpe kəs word=3PL.CL to one place put(II)-PRET COMP of=this story-OBL=by must no person

xəbə nı-qət-o. news NEG-take-OPT.3SG

They made a pact that nobody should ever find out about this incident.

honourable.280

kard-e. bino=şon kard-e $uj \ni n = \ni n$ bənə sıftə-nə jimon amoxtə beginning=3PL.CL do(II)-PRET again=ADD like at_first-ADJZ life do(II)-INF sage

They began to live sensibly again, as before.

se-ço ruj də-vard-e. three-four day in-pass-PRET.3SG

Three or four days passed.

honourable.282

 $diy=\partial d\partial$ $pi\zeta-pi\zeta$ $tasb-\partial-y$ ki, loti-yon qin $b-\partial=n$. village=at whisper-REDUP heat_up-II-PRET.3SG COMP rogue-PL lost be-PTCP=COP.3PL

In the village, word got around that the rogues had vanished.

honourable.283

*hiç co diy-on=ədə=n nin.*no other village-PL=at=ADD NEG.COP.3PL

And they weren't in any of the other villages either.

honourable.284

məvuji, *əvon=ışon kışt-ə*. evidently 3PL=3PL.CL kill-PTCP[PF]

It seemed that they had been killed.

honourable.285

cəmat-i şoy-şoy=ış kard-e. people-OBL joy-joy=3SG.CL do(II)-PRET

The people rejoiced.

honourable.286

bə çəvon kışt-ə-kəs-i con-i=şon dıvo kard-e. to 3PL.POSS kill-PTCP-AGN-OBL soul-OBL=3PL.CL prayer do(II)-PRET

They prayed for the soul of the person who had killed them.

honourable.287

tn jen=t suya=n tstan=tson tstan=tson tstan=tson tstan=tson tstan=tstan tstan=tstan tstan=tstan tstan=tstan tstan ts

çiy=ku=şon xəbə niy. thing=by=3PL.CL news NEG.COP.3SG

But this husband and wife behaved as if they had no knowledge of anything.

honourable.288

 $tob \partial \quad is \partial = n \qquad hi \zeta \quad k \partial s \qquad zin-eyd \partial = ni \qquad ki,$ until now=ADD no person know-PROG=NEG.COP.3SG COMP

loti-yon ki kışt- $\partial = \S = e$. rogue-PL who kill-PTCP=3SG.CL=COP.3SG

And up to now nobody knows who killed the rogues.

honourable.289

 $\it im-i$ $\it i$ $\it qila$ $\it az$ $\it zin-eyda=b-im.$ this-OBL one CLF 1SG.DIR know-PROG=be-PRET.1SG

Only I know this.

 $\partial v = im = \partial n$ $bo = sm\partial q\partial p$ $j\partial - y$. 3SG.DIR=1SG.CL=ADD for=2PL speech hit(II)-PRET

And I have told it to you.

honourable.291

sim = an bo co kas-on bi-vot-an=an. 2PL=ADD for other person-PL MOD-say-IMP.2PL=ADD

And you, tell it to other people too.

honourable.292

qila=y ci $ni\check{g}il-i$ bi-vot-i, qila=y=an acay nivist-a-kas-i. CLF=one of tale-OBL AGN-say-OBL CLF=one=ADD 3SG.POSS write-PTCP-AGN-OBL

Three apples fell from the sky: one is mine, one belongs to the story's teller, and one belongs to him who wrote it down.