

- (1) *к1к1урда-л1ай масхъар-ди б-ец1-е-ч1-о-б гъарк1а*
 Karata_people-gen.pl joke-pl n-filled-pf-neg-ptcp-n eye
 'Karata jokes - Insatiable eye'
- (2) *аниц це-б къва-лълъи-л в-окк-у идъа Мух1ама гидабда г1агарлър*
 time one-n moment-nM.obl-erg m-end_up-pf cop Mohamed all relatives
бак1ара-б гури-р
 gather-n place-all
 'One time Magomed went to a place where all his relatives were gathered.'
- (3) *б-алъ-е идъа гъа-бай Мух1адъ-а-р гъо-да*
 hpl-begin-pf cop dem-hpl Mohamed-topo3-all speak-impf
 'They began speaking to Magomed.'
- (4) *гъинда-лълъи-л-ол гъошда ц1ц1ар-да къан-да кепъ-а в-ук1-алъа*
 when-nM.obl-erg-q this_way drink-impf eat-int happiness-topo3[loc] m-be-inf
идъа-в
 cop-M
 'How long can you keep enjoying yourself eating and drinking this way?'
- (5) *маг1ишат гъгъ-алъа къару б-аъ-а идъа=къе*
 wealth do-inf moment n-reach-pf cop=quot
 'The time has come for you to build a life.'
- (6) *Мух1ама гале-ч1е в-угъ-о-в-хва в-ук1-а идъа хири кекъ-ен идъа*
 Mohamed speak-neg m-be-pf cop after speak-pf cop
 'Having decided not to speak at first, he then said.'
- (7) *гъера бишди ди-хъ-ел андук-и ден-а бишдъ-а-р б-ас-инда-л*
 now 2pl 1sg-topo5[loc]-add listen-imp[intr] 1sg-erg 2pl-topo3-all n-tell-impf-add
це-б б-ик1в-а-б гъедела
 one-n n-be-pf-n thing
 'Now you listen to me, I'll tell you a story that happened.'
- (8) *в-ук1-а идъа в-ук1-а-ч1е идъа це-в гъек1ва хъогъо-б же-щуб-да*
 m-be-pf cop m-be-pf-neg cop one-M man good-n logo-m.obl[gen]-n-int
маг1ишат идъа-в
 wealth cop-M
 'There once was a good man with a lot of wealth.'
- (9) *гъо-б гидабда ч1алг1-а-на гъо-щуб-л мак1и-л к1к1ан-ан-хва гидабда*
 dem-n all bother-pf-when.cvb dem-m.obl-erg child-add call-pf-[pf]cvb all
бечелър гъор-до-ч1о бакъи б-екъ-е идъа же-в-да-л
 wealth dem.pl-hpl.obl-topo1[loc] between n-share-pf cop logo-M-int-add

- рах1атй-а в-ук1-а идйа*
 quiet-topo3[loc] m-be-pf cop
 ‘When he got tired of all of it, he called his children and divided his wealth among them, then he was at peace.’
- (10) *амма гво-щв-а рах1ат ч1алг1-ан идйа*
 but dem-m.obl-topo3[loc] quiet annoу-pf cop
 ‘But the peace started bothering him.’
- (11) *хири-л в-алъ-е идйа гво-в маг1ишат ге-да*
 after-add m-begin-pf cop dem-M wealth do-impf
 ‘So he started again accumulating wealth.’
- (12) *б-ик1в-а-б гзгъ-о-д-о-б бечелъер гьерал гво-щв-а теъ-а идйа*
 n-be-pf-n do-pf-impf-ptcp-n wealth again dem-m.obl-topo3[loc] obtain-pf cop
амма гво-щв-а гво-б къора-а-да б-ик1в-а гвач1е
 but dem-m.obl-topo3[loc] dem-n want-pf n-be-pf cop.neg
 ‘He was successful at accumulating wealth again, but this didn’t fulfil him really (lit. but he didn’t receive his desire)’
- (13) *ссиме-л б-аъ-а гво-щу-л гъарди-гал уници-л багъ-е гъарк1-ай*
 anger-add n-reach-pf dem-m.obl-erg earth[loc]-abl land-add take-pf eye-pl
хъохъоб-е идйа
 rub-pf cop
 ‘Then he took the earth in his hands and rubbed his eyes with it, saying:’
- (14) *р-ец1-и бишди р-ец1-и бишди*
 nH+-filled-imp[intr] 2pl nH+-filled-imp[intr] 2pl
 ‘Be satisfied, be satisfied!’
- (15) =кве
 =quot
 ‘
- (16) *ди-рай гъарк1-ай г1агаро-бай г1анди гъинда-г1аги-да р-ец1-о-р-ай*
 1sg-nH+ eye-pl relative-hpl people when-indef-int nH+-filled-ptcp-nH+-pl
идйа=кве б-ахъ-ан идйа гво-щу-л ххабар
 cop=quot n-end-pf cop dem-m.obl-erg news
 ‘-My eyes, dear relatives, were always full, he ended his story.’