

- (1) *сарел болъон-ел ч1вагара-л лъаб-да-л чокъа б-ик1в-а идйа*
fox-add pig-add quail-add three-int-add friend n-be-pf cop
‘A fox, a pig, and a quail were friends.’
- (2) *р-аъ-ан-л1а р-ак1в-а идйа бет1ербахъи гагъ-алъа*
nH+-go-pf nH+-be-pf cop sustenance do-inf
‘They went and looked for food.’
- (3) *б-ис-ан идйа це-б енххе*
n-find_oneself-[pf]cvb cop one-n stream
‘They came across a river.’
- (4) *ч1вагара эрт-а-м-оха гъу-ди-ххил б-ахъ-ен идйа*
quail fly-pf-n-[pf]cvb dem-sl-dir n-end-pf cop
‘The quail flew across to the other side.’
- (5) *б-ихх-у идйа сарел болъон-ел*
n-remain-pf cop fox-add pig-add
‘The fox and the pig were still there.’
- (6) *болъони-л кекъ-ен ида саров-а-ххил*
pig-erg speak-pf cop fox-topo3[loc]-dir
‘The pig said to the fox’
- (7) *мен-а ден мугъуло-а рек1в-а-ан ду-рай щунк1-ибди р-еххела-рай идйа*
2sg-erg 1sg back-topo3[loc] sit_on-caus-pf 2sg-nH+ leg-pl nH+-long-nH+ cop
‘Put me on your back, your legs are longer.’
- (8) *саро-л хъогъо-б чокъа болъон мугъуло-а рек1в-а-а-м-оха енххе*
fox-erg good-n friend pig back-topo3[loc] sit_on-caus-pf-n-[pf]cvb stream
ххар-алъа байбихъа-а идйа
swim_across-inf start-pf cop
‘The fox put his good friend the pig on his back and started walking across the river.’
- (9) *енххе бакъи-л1и-р р-аъ-ла болъон саро-ч1о гару-ди*
stream between-topo7-all nH+-go-when.cvb pig fox-topo1[loc] neck
б-егваж-у-б-оха саре гъанкъ-а-йдйа б-алъ-е идйа
n-wrap_around-pf-n-[pf]cvb fox choke-caus-impf n-begin-pf cop
‘When they reached the middle of the river, the pig was so wrapped around the fox’s neck, he was choking him.’
- (10) *саро-л кекъ-ен идйа ди-б хъогъо-б чокъа зебухъолъи гагъ-алъа гъадогъа*
fox-erg speak-pf cop 1sg-n good-n friend goodbye do-inf head
гъаъ-а-ан дий-а
see-caus-imp[tr] 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc]
‘The fox said: My good friend, to say goodbye, show me your head.’

- (11) *болџони-л гьадоџа ссиги-р б-охх-а-а идџа зебухьолџи гагь-алџа*
 pig-erg head in_front-all n-appear-caus-pf cop goodbye do-inf
 ‘The pig inched its head forward to say goodbye.’
- (12) *гьера мен б-ич1-а-б гьанџ-инда гьач1е цемик1и-л ссиди-хџ*
 now 2sg n-die-pf-n see-impf cop.neg a_little-add in_front-topo5[loc]
б-охх-а-а гьадоџа
 n-appear-caus-imp[tr] head
 ‘Now, bring your head a little further out, I can’ t see’
- (13) *болџони-л квалџо-б-ел ссиди-хџ б-охх-а-а идџа гьадоџа*
 pig-erg even_more-n-add in_front-topo5[loc] n-appear-caus-pf cop head
саро-л гьо-б ссаг1ат ела-л теџ-а-а идџа
 fox-erg dem-n hour maw-add obtain-caus-pf cop
 ‘The pig stuck its head out even further. At the same moment, the fox’s mouth reached for (the head).’
- (14) *гьадоџа-л ч1ам-е-б-оха болџон енххе-л1и-ххил енххе-л1и-р т1ам-е идџа*
 head-add chew-pf-n-[pf]cvb pig stream-topo7-dir stream-topo7-all throw-pf cop
 ‘He chewed his head off and threw the pig into the river.’