

- (1) *ссиги замана-лълъи-л ици-б к1к1ирл1е гъане б-ик1в-а ида инциту-да гури*  
 before time-nM.obl-erg 1pl.excl-n Karata village n-be-pf cop five-int place[loc]  
 ‘Previously, our village of Karata was spread over 5 locations.’
- (2) *гьо-б замана-лълъи-л гьо-рай гъан-алда-ч1о бакъи б-ик1в-а ида данде*  
 dem-n time-nM.obl-erg dem-nH+ village-pl-topo1 between n-be-pf cop together  
*бекк-у-ч1е-лъер*  
 get\_along-pf-neg  
 ‘In those days, there was discord between them.’
- (3) *це-б-лълъи-к1ел це-рай туцмано-рай р-ак1в-а ида*  
 one-n-nM.obl-com one-nH+ enemy-nH+ nH+-be-topo3 cop  
 ‘They were like enemies to one another.’
- (4) *це-цу-б це-б бец1ц1ур б-охъ-ид-о-б хъан-д-о-б б-ик1в-а ида*  
 one-m.obl-n one-n cattle n-take-impf-ptcp-n take-impf-ptcp-n n-be-pf cop  
 ‘They would steal each other’s cattle.’
- (5) *гьо-б замана-лълъи-л ургъ-е ида гьор-до-бай г1акълу ида-бай г1адан-ди*  
 dem-n time-nM.obl-erg think-pf cop dem.pl-hpl.obl-hpl intelligence cop-hpl man-pl  
 ‘In those day, some wise people had a thought.’
- (6) *ссоре-хъ ин-дов-а-ло-л б-ецт-ида-гъе*  
 around-topo5 logo-hpl.obl-topo3[loc]-hpl.obl-erg n-leave-impf-cvb.neg  
*б-ак1в-арик1ел сару гьор-до-л данде гэгъ-е ида инцитуда гъане*  
 hpl-be-spcvb next dem.pl-hpl.obl-erg together do-pf cop five village  
 ‘Because those surrounding them wouldn’t leave them in peace, they united the five villages.’
- (7) *цебо-б мак1ва ц1ехха-е-б-хва эшхъа-ид-о-б=къ мак1вай-къ1а*  
 strong-n place look\_for-pf-n-[pf]cvb Eshqa-impf-ptcp-n=quot place-topo2[loc]  
*б-игъ-ē идъа ч1вада-б-а-л1-и бокъ1о-ди ч1вада-ди*  
 n-settle-pf cop Botlo-pl -pl  
 ‘Having looked for a strong place, they settled in a place called Eshqa.’
- (8) *бокъ1о-да-л1 ч1вада-да-л1 джах1да б-ик1в-а ида*  
 Botlo-pl-gen -pl-gen argument n-be-pf cop  
 ‘The Botlos and the Chwadada had arguments.’
- (9) *бокъ1о-ди б-иш-инд-о-бай б-ак1в-а ида*  
 Botlo-pl n-win-impf-ptcp-hpl n-be-pf cop  
 ‘The Botlos won.’
- (10) *бокъ1о-да-л ч1вада-да-а зулму ге-йд-о-б б-ик1в-а ида*  
 Botlo-pl-erg Chwada-pl-topo3[loc] violence do-impf-ptcp-n n-be-pf cop  
 ‘The Botlos terrorized the Chwadada.’

- (11) *ч1вада-ди ургъ-ē ида гьор-до-л ракъерий-а к1к1а-ан идйа бокъ1о-ди*  
 Chwada-pl think-pf cop dem.pl-hpl.obl-erg truce-topo3[loc] call-pf cop Botlo-pl  
 ‘The Chwadada came up with something: on Thursday they called the Botlos for a truce’
- (12) *гьор-дов-а ч1аг1а гагъ-е ида кел1и тамахъу ва це-б-ел-ал*  
 dem.pl-hpl.obl-topo3[loc] boza do-pf cop in[inter] tobacco coord one-n-add-other  
*г1алагъважа гьабажв-а-б-хва*  
 rubbish mix-pf-n-[pf]cvb  
 ‘They prepared them a drink to which they added tobacco and all sorts of things.’
- (13) *бокъ1о-ди б-агухх-у ида б-агуххв-а-ла ч1вада-ди-ло-л*  
 Botlo-pl hpl-get\_drunk-pf cop hpl-get\_drunk-pf-when.cvb Chwada-pl-hpl.obl-erg  
*г1адам б-ецт-а-ч1е-б-охва ракъерв-а б-ахъв-а-бай бокъ1о-ди*  
 man n-leave-pf-neg-n-[pf]cvb truce-topo3[loc] n-come-pf-hpl Botlo-pl  
*к1к1ваб-к1к1ва ида*  
 kill cop  
 ‘The Botlos drank, and when they were drunk, the Chwadadas killed the Botlos that had come for a truce without sparing a single one of them.’
- (14) *гьорге эшхъа гагъ-е ида ц1ийо-м гъане ссоре-гал ссор-е къин ида-б к1еда гури-гал*  
 there Eshqa do-pf cop new-n village around-abl turn-pf wall cop-n two place-abl  
*микъе-л ида-б*  
 way-erg cop-n  
 ‘There they built a new village with a wall around it and with two roads coming from both sides.’
- (15) *гьо-б замана-гал хирхи-р данде гагъ-е ида гагъ-е ида це-рай-ла-л*  
 dem-n time-abl behind-all together do-pf cop do-pf cop one-nH+-other-add  
*гъан-алди*  
 village-pl  
 ‘Since then, they have also united the other villages.’
- (16) *гьор-до-в гьадогъа в-ук1-а ида малла*  
 dem.pl-hpl.obl[gen]-M head m-be-pf cop mullah  
 ‘Their head was the Mollah.’
- (17) *гьо-рай гъан-алда-а-р ц1ц1ери-л б-ик1в-а ида к1к1урда-л1 игъа*  
 dem-nH+ village-pl-topo3-all name-erg n-be-pf cop Karata\_people-gen troop  
 ‘And they named these villages “Karata crowd”.’
- (18) *гьор-до-б данделъер б-ик1-уд-о-б б-ик1в-а ида решини-ч1о*  
 dem.pl-hpl.obl[gen]-n meeting n-be-impf-ptcp-n n-be-pf cop year-topo1[loc]  
*бакъи це-б микъа-л арчи-ид-о-б=къ гъан-л1и*  
 between one-n way-erg Archo-impf-ptcp-n=quot village-topo7[loc]  
 ‘Their meeting would be once a year in a village called Archo.’

- (19) *гьорди-р-ел б-ахь-уд-о-бай б-ак1в-а ида гьани-л1 це-в це-в*  
 there-all-add hpl-come-impf-ptcp-hpl n-be-pf cop village-gen one-M one-M  
*вакил*  
 representative  
 ‘A representative from each village would come.’
- (20) *гьорге бакъи б-илъ-ид-о-б б-ик1в-а ида ин-до-б халкъи-л1 г1адлу*  
 there between n-put-impf-ptcp-n n-be-pf cop logo-hpl.obl-n people-gen behavior  
*гьек1ва к1к1ваб-е-цов-а гьа-цдо-б тамих1 б-екъеиц-о-цв-а гьа-цдо-б*  
 man kill-pf-m.obl-pf dem-such-n punishment n-steal-ptcp-m.obl-pf dem-such-n  
 ‘There they would discuss their people’s behavior, such punishment for killers, such for thieves.’
- (21) *гьорге це-в вакил гале-ч1е-в-ха в-угъ-е ида г1ала-л1 в-ук1-а*  
 there one-M representative speak-neg-M-[pf]cvb m-stand-pf cop Hala-gen m-be-pf  
*ида*  
 cop  
 ‘There one representative stayed quiet, he was from Hala.’
- (22) *данделъер-и-л1 гьадогъа-цу-л б-ац1ц1-ен ида мен гьенсс-ол гале-ч1-о-в*  
 meeting-obl-gen head-m.obl-erg n-ask-pf cop 2sg why-q speak-neg-ptcp-M  
*ду-б гьадогъа ч1аго б-еицт-а-в*  
 2sg-n head alive n-leave-pf-M  
 ‘The head of the meeting asked: why didn’t you speak? May God bless you ? lit. may he leave your head alive?’
- (23) *малла дув-а-гал в-уш-анлъа-л ит-ибиссе гьек1ва-гал в-огъ-анлъа-л*  
 mullah -pf-abl m-win-inf-add let-proh man-abl m-be\_defeated-inf-erg  
*в-оицт-ибиссе=къе кекъ-ен ида гьо-цу-л*  
 m-leave-proh=quot speak-pf cop dem-m.obl-erg  
 ‘He replied, “Molla, don’t let yourself be defeated and let yourself be defeated.”’
- (24) *гьо-б къаг1ида-к1ел к1к1урда-л1 к1к1алала-ди-ло-б игъо-л1*  
 dem-n method-com Karata\_people-gen -pl-hpl.obl-n troop-gen  
*гьадогъа-лъер-ий-а б-ик1в-а к1к1урл1е гьане*  
 head-obl-pf n-be-pf Karata village  
 ‘This way, the village of Karata stood at the head of the Karata people.’
- (25) *гьо-б-да замана-лълъи-л б-ик1в-а ида гьалмагъал т1уки-да-к1ел ва*  
 dem-n-int time-nM.obl-erg n-be-pf cop argument Tukita\_person-pl-com coord  
*гьал-би-ло-к1ел ва ахъва-да-к1ел*  
 -pl-hpl.obl-com coord Akhvakh\_person-int-com  
 ‘At that time, there were skirmishes with the Tukitas, the Khunzakhs, and the Akhwakhs.’

- (26) *гъо-б гъалмагъал-и-чио бакъи к1к1ваб-е ида т1уки-л1 це-в*  
 dem-n argument-obl-topo1[loc] between kill-pf cop Tukita\_person-gen one-M  
*гъек1ва*  
 man  
 ‘In a skirmish, they killed a Tukita.’
- (27) *гъо-цу-й й-ик1в-а ида ила гъо-й гъекъе-р гъерч1ч1-е ида*  
 dem-m.obl[gen]-f f-be-pf cop mother dem-f outside-all stand\_up-[pf]cvb cop  
 ‘He had a mother, she went out.’
- (28) *ваша к1к1ваб-е-р зах1малъ-е-хва гъо-лълъи-л б-илъ-е ида ц1ай*  
 son kill-pf-msd become\_difficult-pf-[pf]cvb dem-nM.obl-erg n-put-pf cop fire  
*эшхъа-ид-о-б=къ мак1ва-й-къ1а б-ик1в-а-б к1к1урда-л1*  
 Eshqa-impf-ptcp-n=quot place-pl-topo2[loc] n-be-pf-n Karata\_people-gen  
*гъан-л1и*  
 village-topo7[loc]  
 ‘The murder of her son being difficult to accept, she set fire to the village of the Karatas that was in the place called Eshqa.’
- (29) *гъо-б гъане ц1агъ-е ида*  
 dem-n village burn-pf cop  
 ‘This village burned down.’
- (30) *гъо-б ц1агъ-а-ла-да гъоргал лъ-е-б-хва гъо-бай б-ахъв-а ида*  
 dem-n burn-pf-when.cvb-int there fear-pf-n-[pf]cvb dem-hpl hpl-come-pf cop  
*гъане гагъ-алъа ин-до-рай к1к1ура -ид-о-рай=къ*  
 village do-inf logo-hpl.obl-nH+ Karata.loc -impf-ptcp-nH+=quot  
*кил-аба-ха-р*  
 hamlet-pl-topo4-all  
 ‘When it burned down, from there they came out of fear to the hamlets called Karata to build a village.’
- (31) *гъорге гъо-б къвар-лълъи-л гагъ-о-б гъане ида гъо-б ссаг1ай-къ1а ида-б*  
 there dem-n moment-nM.obl-erg do-ptcp-n village cop dem-n hour-topo2[loc] cop-n  
*ици-б к1к1урл1е гъане*  
 1pl.excl.gen-n Karata village  
 ‘There, the village that was formed at that time is our Karata village that exists at this time.’