

- (1) *гъал-би-ло-бай* *б-ак1в-а идйа хан-ди*
 Khunzakh_person-pl-hpl.obl[gen]-hpl hpl-be-pf cop khan-pl
 ‘The Xunzax had khans.’
- (2) *гъор-дов-а* *б-екк-ид-о-б* *б-ик1в-а идйа магъало*
 dem.pl-hpl.obl-topo3[loc] n-give-impf-ptcp-n n-be-pf cop tribute
 ‘We paid a tribute to them.’
- (3) *ургъ-е идйа к1к1урда-л1ай* *г1акълу ида-бай г1адан-ди*
 think-pf cop Karata_people-gen.pl sense cop-hpl man-pl
 ‘The intelligent people of the Karatas thought.’
- (4) *гъор-до-л* *б-екк-е идйа хан-ди-лов-а* *ха-о-б-ал*
 dem.pl-hpl.obl-erg n-give-pf cop khan-pl-hpl.obl-topo3[loc] request-ptcp-n-other
гъедела г1учо-л1 *к1арк1анов-а-р р-аъ-иласс*
 thing chicken-gen egg-topo3-all nH+-reach-until.cvb
 ‘They gave the khans everything they asked for, down to the chicken’s egg.’
- (5) *къ1ек1у ин-до-ч1о-гал* *гъедела ха-а-ч1е* *б-ик1в-алъа ва*
 more logo-hpl.obl-topo1-abl thing request-pf-neg n-be-inf coord
ин-до-б *униций-а* *гъо-в хан-ел* *руцт1-ан-ч1е в-ук1-алъа къот1и*
 logo-hpl.obl-n land-topo3[loc] dem-M khan-add settle-pf-neg m-be-inf agreement
гагъ-е-хва
 do-pf-[pf]cvb
 ‘so that they would not ask for anything more of them and so that they would not settle on their land, this they decided.’
- (6) *же-щү-б-да* *магъало бак1ара-алъа в-оъ-ан-л* *в-ук1-а-в-ха*
 logo-m.obl-n-int tribute gather-inf m-go-pf-erg m-be-pf-M-[pf]cvb
в-охъ-а-л1о-в *хан ссор-е идйа ин-щү-в* *ц1ц1ей-щү-ха-р*
 m-come-pf-fut.ptcp-M khan turn-pf cop logo-m.obl-M friend-m.obl-topo4-all
зигарий-а-р
 sympathy-topo3[loc]-all
 ‘Back to collect his tribute, the khan turned to his friend for sympathy.’
- (7) *гъо-б анлъ-е идйа гъан-л1и-ссай* *г1анди-лов-а*
 dem-n hear-pf cop village-topo7[loc]-atbz people-hpl.obl-topo3[loc]
 ‘Fellow villagers heard about that.’
- (8) *гъо-бай* *к1усок1ус-о-б* *гури* *къабача-би-л р-еицд-а-б-оха*
 dem-hpl sit_downsit_down-ptcp-n place[loc] tulup-pl-add nH+-leave-pf-n-[pf]cvb
т1ар-е идйа гъор-ди-р
 fall-pf cop dem.pl-sl-all
 ‘Having left their tulups where they were sitting, they rushed there.’

- (9) *гворди-р б-аъ-и-ла* *гъо-в хан в-ус-ан* *ида хъваний-а-гал*
 there-all hpl-reach-when.cvb dem-M khan m-find_oneself-pf cop horse-pf-abl
руцт1-ан-ч1-оха *зигари* *гагъ-идйа*
 climb_off-pf-neg-[pf]cvb sympathy do-impf
 ‘When they got there, the xan expressed his condolences without dismounting his horse.’
- (10) *б-ахъв-а-ла-да* *хан-щу-л* *ин-щу-б* *анлъер б-ич1-а-о-ч1е-б*
 hpl-come-pf-when.cvb-int khan-m.obl-erg logo-m.obl-n word n-die-caus-ptcp-neg-n
б-ик1в-а-ха=къе
 n-be-pf=quot
 ‘When we arrived, the khan, so as not to betray his word,’
- (11) *кекъ-ен* *идйа*
 speak-pf cop
 ‘said.’
- (12) *же-в хъваний-а-гал* *руцт1-ан-ч1е*
 logo-M horse-topo3-abl settle-pf-neg
 ‘I will not dismount my horse.’
- (13) *гъо-б къвари-лълъи-л* *гъо-в хан-щу-л* *магъало-л бак1ара-а-б-хва*
 dem-n moment-nM.obl-erg dem-M khan-m.obl-erg tribute-add collected-pf-n-[pf]cvb
б-ехъв-а-б *це-б унса бакъи* *б-илъ-е* *идйа къвагъ-а-а-м-ехва*
 n-come-ptcp-n one-n ox between n-put-pf cop burst-caus-pf-n-[pf]cvb
къвагъ-а-ан-б-ехва *в-уш-а-н-щв-а*
 burst-caus-pf-n-[pf]cvb m-win-pf-msd-m.obl-topo3[loc]
 ‘At this moment, the khan bet an ox which had been collected as part of the tribute on the winner of the shooting.’
- (14) *гъера къвагъа-анлъа б-ал1-е* *идйа хан-щу-к1ел* *сару* *ида-бай г1адан-ди-л*
 now shoot-inf hpl-begin-pf cop khan-m.obl-com together cop-hpl man-pl-add
ва *к1к1урда-л1ай* *г1адан-ди-л*
 coord Karata_people-gen.pl man-pl-add
 ‘Now the Karata people and the people that were together with the khan began to shoot.’
- (15) *гъо-б къвагъ-е-н-и-ч1о* *бакъи* *к1к1урда-л1* *ришан-лъер-да*
 dem-n burst-pf-msd-obl-topo1[loc] between Karata_people-gen victory-int
б-екк-уда-гъе *б-ик1в-а* *идйа*
 hpl-end_up-impf-cvb.neg n-be-pf cop
 ‘The Karatas didn’t win.’

- (16) *гво-в кьвар-лълъи-л гьор-до-в гьадоъа-цу-л же-цу-л-да*
 dem-M moment-nM.obl-erg dem.pl-hpl.obl[gen]-M head-m.obl-erg logo-m.obl-erg-int
кекъ-ен-м-ахва б-игъ-а-о-бай лъаб-да гьек1ва к1к1а-ан идъа
 speak-pf-n n-stand-caus-ptcp-hpl three-int man call-pf cop
 ‘At this moment, their head called three men who he had already chosen.’
- (17) *гва-в-ел гво-в-ел гьинге-л ида-бай*
 dem-M-add dem-M-add where-q cop-hpl
 ‘Him and him, where are you?’
- (18) *б-ахъ-у ссиги-р*
 hpl-come-imp[intr] in_front-all
 ‘Come forth’
- (19) *гьера в-охъ-а идъа це-в гьек1ва ссиги-р*
 now m-come-pf cop one-M man in_front-all
 ‘Then a man stepped forward.’
- (20) *гво-цу-л кекъ-ен идъа ди-й гьарк1к1о-л1 лъаб-да-л ц1ц1ери т1ан-да*
 dem-m.obl-erg speak-pf cop 1sg-f wife-gen three-int-add name throw-impf
ден-а лай бакъи-л1и торч1ч1-ен-ч1вар
 1sg-erg soot between-topo7[loc] throw-pf-cond.neg
 ‘He said: I will divorce my wife (lit. throw the three names of my wife) if I miss the target (lit. if I don’t throw into the soot).’
- (21) *торч1ч1-ен идъа гво-цу-й гьарк1к1е-гвал й-ик1в-а-ч1е идъа*
 shoot-pf cop dem-m.obl[gen]-f wife-even f-be-pf-neg cop
 ‘He shot (he did not even have a wife).’
- (22) *хирхи-л1о-в к1е-да-л1о-цу-л-ел торч1ч1-ен идъа лай бакъи-л1и*
 next-ord-M two-int-ord-m.obl-erg-add throw-pf cop soot between-topo7[loc]
 ‘The second one shot too in the soot.’
- (23) *гьорге ришан теъ-а идъа к1к1урда-а*
 there victory obtain-pf cop Karata_people-topo3[loc]
 ‘There the Karatas received victory.’
- (24) *гво-б кьвари-лълъи-л гво-в хан-цу-л кекъ-ен*
 dem-n moment-nM.obl-erg dem-M khan-m.obl-erg speak-pf
 ‘At this moment, this khan said.’
- (25) *ин-щув-а анлъ-е б-ик1в-а к1к1урда-л1 къвач1а*
 logo-m.obl-topo3[loc] hear-pf n-be-pf Karata_people-gen bag
б-ик1-уда-е-б-ха=къ
 n-be-impf-pf-n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘I heard that people of Karata have balls.’

- (26) *элӕел гъаӕ-анлъа-л гъаӕ-ан-е-хва=кӕ*
today see-inf-add see-pf-pf-[pf]cvb=quot
'And today I have seen it.'