(1) *це-в   хан-щу-в   лъаб-да ваша идйа*
one-M khan-m.obl[gen]-M three-int son   cop
'One khan had three sons. '

(2) *гьор-до-л1и-гал   гьеч1е мик1о-в хан-щу-в   ваша-щу-л*
dem.pl-hpl.obl-topo7-abl most   small-M khan-m.obl[gen]-M son-m.obl-erg
ин-щув-а   имо-б   б-ехьв-а-бал маг1ишат
logo-m.obl-topo3[loc] father.obl[gen]-n n-come-pf   wealth
бискин-ди-лов-а   б-екъ-е   б-ит1-у-б-уха   б-ахъа-ан идйа
poor-pl-hpl.obl-topo3[loc] n-share-pf n-tear_apart-pf-n-[pf]cvb n-spend-pf cop
'Of them the smallest boy of the khan shared with the poor the wealth that had come to
him from his father.'

(3) *гьера це-б   чамōрда чамоварда замана б-оъ-ан-л1а хан-щув-а   къор-а*
now one-n some   some   time   n-go-pf   khan-m.obl-topo3[loc] want-pf
ида гьарк1к1е й-елъ-алъа бечелъер
cop wife   f-lead-inf   wealth
'Now, the khan wanted wealth to take a wife'

(4) *гьо-б   ц1ц1ик1к1об бечелъер ц1ехха-алъа гьекъе-р   гьерч1ч1-о-в   гьа-в*
dem-n more   wealth   look_for-inf outside-all stand_up-ptcp-M dem-M
хан-щу-в   ваша в-окк-у   идйа це-б   гьан-л1и-р
khan-m.obl[gen]-M son   m-end_up-pf cop   one-n village-topo7-all
'Having gone out to look for this larger wealth, this khan's boy ended up going to one
village.'

(5) *гьо-щу-ч1о   б-ик1в-а идйа це-б   ц1акъа-да хьогьо-б имо-б*
dem-m.obl-topo1[loc] n-be-pf   cop one-n very-int   good-n   father-n
ирсси-л1   б-аъ-а-б   къолден
inheritance-gen n-reach-pf-n armour
'He inherited a weapon from his very good father. '

(6) *гьо-б   бича-алъа базар-кь1а-р   в-оъ-а-на   данде   в-окк-у   идйа*
dem-n sell-inf   market-topo2-all m-go-pf-when.cvb together m-end_up-pf cop
гьо-щув-а   базарган жугьут1а-в
dem-m.obl-topo3[loc] merchant Jewish-M
'Going to the market to sell it, he met a Jewish merchant.'

(7) *жугьут1а-щу-л б-ац1ц1-ен идйа багьа къадар*
Jewish-m.obl-erg n-ask-pf   cop   price norm
'The Jew asked what the price range was.'

(8) *кьвани-дйа ц1ц1ик1к1об багьа гагь-а-ла   жугьут1а-в   г1арсий-а*
much-int   more   price do-pf-when.cvb Jewish-M   money-topo3[loc]

1

баращхъ-е   *идйа*
feel_sorry_for-pf cop
'When the price was set high, the Jew felt a pang of sadness thinking of the money.'

(9)   *б-агь-алъа гиний-е-ч1е*   *идйа амма гьеде*   *б-екк-е-б-оха-л*   *гьо-б*
n-buy-inf be_able-pf-neg cop   but   something n-give-pf-n-[pf]cvb-add dem-n
гьач1е-б-оха   *рес*   *б-ик1в-а-ч1е идйа жугьут1а-щув-а*
cop.neg-n-[pf]cvb possibility n-be-pf-neg cop Jewish-m.obl-topo3[loc]
'He was not able to buy, nevertheless the Jew could not do without getting it.'

(10)   *даран б-екк-у-ч1е-гил*   *хан-щу-в*   *ваша базар-кь1а*
trade n-end_up-pf-neg-because.cvb khan-m.obl[gen]-M son   market-topo2[loc]
ссор-да   *в-ук1-а идйа*
walk_around-int m-be-pf cop
'Since the exchange did not succeed, the khan's son wandered about the market.'

(11)   *б-ис-ан*   *ида це-б*   *ц1акъа-б-да ц1акъа-б иргъва хьване*
n-find_oneself-pf cop one-n very-n-int   very-n   trot   horse
'He found a magnificent ambler.'

(12)   *хан-щу-в*   *ваша-щу-л*   *кекь-ен идйа гьа-б къолдени-хъ*
khan-m.obl[gen]-M son-m.obl-erg speak-pf cop   dem-n armour-topo5
хис-а-бич1-оле   *хьване=кье*
change-caus-fut.neg-q horse=quot
'The khan's son said: would you exchange this horse for this weapon?'

(13)   *гьай гьай в-оццехх-е*   *в-уч1-оха*   *хиса-сс=кье*   *кекь-ен хьвани-л1*
yes   yes   m-be_happy-pf m-die-[pf]cvb exchange-atbz=quot speak-pf horse-gen
минарк1ва-щу-л
owner-m.obl-erg
'I will gladly exchange it, said the owner of the horse.'

(14)   *къолден-ел б-екк-е* *хьване-л* *б-огь-оха*   *в-оъ-ан-л1а в-ук1-а-в*
armour-add n-give-pf horse-add n-take-[pf]cvb m-go-pf   m-be-pf-M
хан-щу-в   *ваша-щув-а*   *данде*   *в-окк-у*   *идйа унса*
khan-m.obl[gen]-M son-m.obl-topo3[loc] together m-end_up-pf cop   ox
бича-алъа-л1о-в *це-в* *гьек1ва*
sell-inf-fut.ptcp-M one-M man
'and he gave the weapon after taking the horse. The khan's boy who was going met a man who was going to sell an ox, '

(15)   *гьа-щув-а-ххил*   *кекь-ен идйа в-охь-у*   *хьвани-хъ*   *унса*
dem-m.obl-topo3[loc]-dir speak-pf cop   m-come-imp[intr] horse-topo5[loc] ox
хиса-алъа
exchange-inf
'he said: Come, exchange the horse for the ox. '

(16) *хиса-а   ида хьвани-хъ   унса*
exchange-pf cop horse-topo5[loc] ox
'He traded the horse for the ox.'

(17) *унса-л б-елъ-оха   в-оъ-ан-л1о-в   хан-щу-в   ваша-щув-а*
ox-add n-lead-[pf]cvb m-go-pf-fut.ptcp-M khan-m.obl[gen]-M son-m.obl-topo3[loc]
данде   в-окк-у   идйа хъут1а бича-алъа в-оъ-ан-л1о-в   це-в   гьек1ва
together m-end_up-pf cop   rooster sell-inf   m-go-pf-fut.ptcp-M one-M man
'The khan's son who was going to take the ox met a man who was going to sell a rooster. '

(18) *гьо-щув-а-ххил   кекъ-ен идйа в-охь-у   унсо-хъ   хъут1а*
dem-m.obl-topo3-dir speak-pf cop   m-come-imp[intr] ox-topo5[loc] rooster
хиса-алъа
exchange-inf
'He told him: Come, exchange a rooster for an ox. '

(19) *хъут1и-хъ   унса-л б-екк-оха   в-оъ-ан-л1о-в   гьа-щув-а   данделъ-е идйа*
rooster-topo5 ox-add n-give-[pf]cvb m-go-pf-fut.ptcp-M dem-m.obl-pf meet-pf   cop
къвапа бича-алъа в-оъ-ан-л1о-в   це-в   гьек1ва
hat   sell-inf   m-go-pf-fut.ptcp-M one-M man
'After he sold the ox for a rooster, as he was going he met one man who was going to sell a hat.'

(20) *гьа-щув-а-ххил   кекъ-ен идйа в-охь-у   хъут1и-хъ*
dem-m.obl-topo3[loc]-dir speak-pf cop   m-come-imp[intr] rooster-topo5
хъут1о-хъ   къвапа хиса-алъа
rooster-topo5 hat   exchange-inf
'He said to him: Come, exchange the hat with the rooster.'

(21) *къвапи-хъ   хъут1а-л хиса-в-оха   къай-кь1а-ххил в-оъ-ан-л1о-в*
hat-topo5[loc] rooster-add exchange-M-[pf]cvb home-topo2-dir m-go-pf-fut.ptcp-M
гьа-щув-а   б-ис-ан ида микъ-и   це-б енххе
dem-m.obl-topo3[loc] n-find-pf cop way-topo6[loc] one-n stream
'After changing the rooster for the hat, he found a river as he was going back to his house.'

(22) *б-охъ-е   къвапа-л гъарди   б-илъ-оха   гьорге кавка-д-о-б*
n-remove-pf hat-add   earth[loc] n-put-[pf]cvb there   pray-impf-ptcp-n
замана-лълъи-л кудāко-б мучу-л   пуй-е-б-оха   къвапа енххе-л1и
time-nM.obl-erg strong-n wind-erg blow-pf-n-[pf]cvb hat   stream-topo7[loc]
торч1ч1-е идйа
throw-pf   cop
'And he removed his hat and laid it on the ground, at the moment of praying a strong wind arose, and it flung the cap into the river.'

(23) гьа-в   кавка в-ахъ-ен-ласс   енхха-л   къвапа хъама-а-б-оха
dem-M prayer m-end-pf-while.cvb stream-erg hat   carry_away-pf-n-[pf]cvb
б-оъ-ан идйа
n-go-pf cop
'The hat was carried away by the river until he finished to say his prayer.'

(24) гьадоъа-а   къвапа-л гьач1е квади   къолден-ел гьач1е къай-кь1а-р
head-topo3[loc] hat-add   cop.neg hands[loc] armour-add cop.neg home-topo2-all
в-оъ-ан-л1о-в   гьа-щув-а   данде в-окк-у   идйа рагьада
m-pf-fut.ptcp-M dem-m.obl-topo3[loc] together m-end_up-pf cop   in_the_morning
базар-кь1а   къолден б-агь-алъа в-охь-а   в-ук1а-в базарган жугьут1а-в
market-topo2[loc] armour n-buy-inf   m-come-pf m-be-pf-M merchant Jewish-M
'And the hat was not on his head, and the weapon was not in his hands, as he went
home he met the Jewish seller who had come to take the weapon at the market.'

(25) гьа-ги-в   гьаъ-ан-ла   жугьут1а-щу-л б-ац1ц1-ен идйа
dem-low-M see-pf-when.cvb Jewish-m.obl-erg n-ask-pf   cop
'After he saw him, the Jew asked:'

(26) къолден гьингв-ол гьинге-л бича-о-б-оле мен-а   гьо-б   къолден
armour -q   where-q sell-ptcp-n-q 2sg-erg dem-n armour
'Where is the armour, have you sold the armour?'

(27) гьа-щу-л   б-ас-ан   идйа жугьут1а-щув-а-р   б-ол1-о-б-ал
dem-m.obl-erg n-inform-pf cop   Jewish-m.obl-topo3-all n-happen-ptcp-n-other
дарамбазари-л1 х1ассил ахир   къвапа гьач1-оха   в-ухх-у-р-ел
trademarket-gen result   finally hat   cop.neg-[pf]cvb m-remain-pf-msd-add
'He told to the Jew the result of the series of buys and sells that happened in the end his
being without a hat. '

(28) базарган жугьут1а-щу-л кекь-ен идйа гьощта гагь-оха   мен къай-кь1а-р
merchant Jewish-m.obl-erg speak-pf cop   this_way do-[pf]cvb 2sg home-topo2-all
в-оъ-имар ило-л   мен эши-р   ит-ибич1е
m-go-cond mother-erg 2sg room[loc]-all let-fut.neg
'The Jewish seller said: having done this way, if you go home, your mother will not let
you in!'

(29) гьа-щу-л   кекь-ен идйа ило-л   дий-а-р   гьеде-г1аги=кье
dem-m.obl-erg speak-pf cop   mother-erg 1sg.obl-topo3-all something-indef=quot
г1айиб гагь-о-б   анлъер кекь-имич1е
mistake do-ptcp-n word   speak-fut.neg
'He said: mother will not speak a word about any mistake to me.'

4

(30) *гьорге к1ена-ло-б-да   къот1икъадар б-екк-у   идйа ила   къацан-е-йбар*
there both-hpl.obl-n-int agreement   n-end_up-pf cop mother quarrel-pf-cond
хан-щу-б   ирсси-л1   б-ехьв-а-б   ххелчван жугьут1а-щв-а
khan-m.obl-n inheritance-gen n-come-pf-n sabre   Jewish-m.obl-topo3[loc]
жугьут1а-щв-а   б-екк-алъа нагагь ила   къацан-е-ч1вар
Jewish-m.obl-topo3[loc] n-give-inf if   mother quarrel-pf-cond.neg
жугьут1а-щу-б хьване-л   хьваний-а   каъа идйа-б к1еда-л   ххами-л1   тай-л
Jewish-m.obl-n horse-add horse-topo3[loc] on   cop-n two-add fabric-gen foal-add
гьа-щув-а   б-екк-алъа
dem-m.obl-topo3[loc] n-give-inf
'There both came to an agreement: if your mother quarrels (you), then the sabre which came as part of the khan's inheritance, he shall give it to the Jew, if the mother does not quarrel him, then the Jew's horse and two foals of fabric that are on a horse cloth, will go to him.'

(31) *гьо-б къаг1ида-а   къот1икъадар-ел гагь-е-б-оха   ссиги   ссиги*
dem-n method-topo3[loc] agreement-add   do-pf-n-[pf]cvb in_front in_front
хан-щу-в   ваша хирхи-р   базарган жугьут1а-в б-ал1-е   идйа
khan-m.obl[gen]-M son   behind-all merchant Jewish-M   hpl-walk-pf cop
хан-щув-а   авал-кь1а-р
khan-m.obl-topo3[loc] house-topo2-all
'Having agreed this way : the khan's son in front, the Jewish seller behind went down to the khan's house.'

(32) *гьекъера гьингваро-хъ   андук-оха   жугьут1а-в-ел в-ощт-а-в-оха*
outside window-topo5[loc] listen-[pf]cvb Jewish-M-add m-leave-pf-M-[pf]cvb
хан-щу-в   ваша ило-ха-р   эши-р   в-оъ-ан идйа
khan-m.obl[gen]-M son   mother-topo4-all room[loc]-all m-go-pf cop
'Outside, having left the Jew, he listened through the window. The khan's son went to his mother's. '

(33) *ило-л   рац1ц1ерасан гагь-е ида ссор-е-оле   микъе б-ит1елъ-е-оле   дарам*
mother-erg enquiries   do-pf cop go_back-pf-q way   n-be_straight-pf-q trade
базар б-ит1елъ-е-оле
market n-be_straight-pf-q
'The mother asked: Welcome back, were you lucky, did the your sale go well? '

(34) *-б-оха=кье*
-n-[pf]cvb=quot
'she said.'

(35) *гьо-б къвар-лълъи-л   гьа-ги-в   ваша-щу-л   базари-л1 х1ал   х1укму*
dem-n moment-nM.obl-erg dem-low-M son-m.obl-erg market-gen strength decision
къолден хьвани-хъ   б-екк-ер   хьване унсо-хъ   хиса-а-р   унса
armour horse-topo5[loc] n-give-msd horse ox-topo5[loc] exchange-pf-msd ox

т1уко-хъ   *б-екк-ер*   *т1ука хъут1о-хъ*   *б-екк-ер*   *хъут1а къвапи-хъ*
goat-topo5[loc] n-give-msd goat   rooster-topo5 n-give-msd rooster   hat-topo5[loc]
б-екк-ер   *къвапа гьеч1е хиги*   *къай-кь1а-р*   *в-охь-а-л1анйигил кавка-да*
n-give-msd hat   most   behind home-topo2-all m-come-pf   pray-impf
в-ук1-а-в-оха   *гъарди*   *б-илъ-о-бгури-гал*   *мучу-л*   *пуй-е-б-оха*
m-be-pf-M-[pf]cvb earth[loc] n-put-ptcp-nplace-abl wind-erg blow-pf-n-[pf]cvb
енхха-л1и   *торч1ч1-ен бас-а-м-оха*
stream-topo7[loc] throw-pf   tell-pf-n-[pf]cvb

'(Then) the son told the story of the market, of the giving of the weapon in exchange for a horse, of the exchanging of the horse for an ox, of the giving of the ox for a goat, of the giving of the goat for a rooster, of the giving of the rooster for a cap, of the cap which was blown away by the wind into the brook from the place where it was laid on the ground while he prayed as he was on his way to his house towards the end.'

(36)   *хирхир*   *ила*   *ц1акъа-да й-еццехх-е*   *разилъ-е-й-оха*   *гьо-б-о̄р*
      afterwards mother very-int   f-be_happy-pf be_satisfied-pf-f-[pf]cvb dem-n
      ургъ-е-л   *гьач1е*   *ди-в*   *ваша дунел-лълъи-л1 бец1ц1ур канлъ-оха*   *гьек1ва*
      think-pf-add cop.neg 1sg-M son   -nM.obl-gen   cattle   lack-[pf]cvb man
      в-ухх-убич1е
      m-remain-fut.neg

      'Then the mother rejoiced, and being satisfied said: There is no concern, my son, you will not remain without wealth. '

(37)   *мен-да мучу-л-ал*   *енхха-хъ*   *в-оъ-ан в-ук1-а-хорор ден-а*   *гьеде-ол*
      2sg-int wind-erg-other stream-topo5[loc] m-go-pf m-be-pf-desid 1sg-erg something-q
      гагь-асс б-ик1в-а-б
      do-fut   n-be-pf-n

      'And if the wind had blown you away into the river, what would I do ?'

(38)   *гьощта гагь-е-в-ха*   *ила*   *ваша-щу-б*   *бец1ц1ур б-ич1-ибар-ел*
      this_way do-pf-M-[pf]cvb mother son-m.obl[gen]-n cattle   n-die-cond-add
      бец1ц1ура-хъ   *рак1ва бух1-еч1ехва ваша ч1иквара-в-оха сагъсаламат*
      cattle-topo5[loc] heart   son   -M-[pf]cvb   in_good_health
      къай-кь1а-р   *в-охь-арийагал й-еццехх-е-й-оха*   *гьу-ги-щу-й*   *ила*
      home-topo2-all m-come   f-be_happy-pf-f-[pf]cvb   dem-low-m.obl-f mother
      гьанъ-анла базарган жугьут1а-в гагь-о-б   *къот1ий-а*   *б-акъ-е-б-оха*
      see   merchant Jewish-M   do-ptcp-n agreement-pf n-suit-pf-n-[pf]cvb
      гьекъера гьу-м-у-в-а хъване-л   *хъвани-ч1о*   *каъа рак1вари-хъ*   *ххами-л1ай*
      outside   horse-add horse-topo1[loc] on   heart-topo5[loc] fabric-gen.pl
      табди-л р-ещд-а-в-оха   *релъа хьо̄лъи гьор-дов-ал*   *гагь-оха*
      foal-add nH+-leave-pf-M-[pf]cvb good_night   dem.pl-hpl.obl-other do-[pf]cvb
      хиди   *в-оъ-ан ида*
      in_front m-go-pf cop

      'The mother having done this way, even though the son's wealth did not exist anymore,

her heart did not feel regret for it, since her son has come back home safe and sound, the mother was happy, when the Jewish seller saw this, according to the agreement, he tethered the horse to a trunk outside, he left the foals made of fabric on the horse and having wished them good night, he left.'

(39) *гьера гьекъе-р в-охь-о-в хан-щу-в ваша-щув-а гагь-о-б*
now outside-all m-come-ptcp-M khan-m.obl[gen]-M son-m.obl-topo3[loc] do-ptcp-n
къват1ий-а къот1ий-а б-акъ-е-б-оха хьване-л каъа
agreement-topo3[loc] agreement-topo3[loc] n-suit-pf-n-[pf]cvb horse-add on
ххами-л1ай табди-л р-ис-анла гьекъе-р к1к1а-ан ида ила
fabric-gen.pl foal-add nH+find outside-all sing-pf cop mother
''

(40) *гьера илов-а-ххил б-ас-ан идйа микъа-хъ данде в-окк-ала*
now mother-topo3-dir n-inform-pf cop way-topo5[loc] together m-end_up
жугьут1а-щу-к1ел б-ол1-о-б къват1икъадар
Jewish-m.obl-com n-happen-ptcp-n agreement
'Now he told his mother about the bet made with the Jew when they met on the road.'

(41) *гьо-лълъий-а б-акъ-е-б-оха гьа-б хьване-л гьа-б ххамек1ачел*
dem-nM.obl-topo3[loc] n-suit-pf-n-[pf]cvb dem-n horse-add dem-n cloth
ил1и минарк1ва-сс х1алало-б ил1и-б идйа
1pl.incl owner-atbz legal-n 1pl.incl-n cop
'According to this, the horse and its belongings are halal and belong to us.'

(42) *гьаъ-инд-оле ила бискин-ди-лов-а йазихъ-ди-лов-а кумак*
see-impf-q mother poor-pl-hpl.obl-topo3[loc] poor-pl-hpl.obl-topo3[loc] help
гагь-е-б-оха ден-а гьедела б-екк-ида-йингил мен зигар-д-о-й й-ик1в-а
do-pf-n-[pf]cvb 1sg-erg thing n-give-impf 2sg complain-impf-ptcp-f f-be-pf
'You see, mother, when I helped the poor, when I gave them something, you were complaining.'

(43) *гьера й-ек1-ин мен гьардир бискин-ди-лов-а ден-а б-екк-ибар-ил*
now f-look-imp[intr] 2sg here.all poor-pl-hpl.obl-topo3[loc] 1sg-erg n-give-cond
алла-щу-л дий-а-л б-екк-е х1ажалъ-е-р б-еккв-ала рак1ва
-m.obl-erg 1sg.obl-topo3[loc]-add n-give-pf n-end_up heart
б-ец1-о-б бец1ц1ур
n-filled-ptcp-n cattle
'Now you wait here, even if I gave this to poor people, Allah, gave me enough wealth when the heart was in need.'

(44) *гьера мен дий-а гьарк1к1е ха-алъа гьиндир й-еъ-анлъа-л*
now 2sg 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc] wife request-inf f-inf-add

сулакъ1-ибиссе
feel_shy-proh
'Don't feel shy to go there, to ask for a wife for me now.'

(45) *гьощда ваша-щу-л   ин-щу-б   мурад гьарк1к1ей-елъ-а-р б-ик1в-а-р*
        son-m.obl-erg logo-m.obl-n wish   wifef-lead-pf-all   n-be-pf-msd
б-ич1ч1-а-ала   ваша-щу-й   ила   гьекъе-р   гьерч1ч1-е
n-understand-pf son-m.obl-f mother outside-all stand_up-[pf]cvb
ваша-щув-а   й-елъ-ид-о-й   г1адан-й   ц1еххерехх-алъа
son-m.obl-topo3[loc] f-lead-impf-ptcp-f man-f   ask_around-inf
'Thus, the boy having spoken out his desire, marriage, the boy's mother set off to choose a person who will marry her son.'

(46) *гьо-б   замана-лълъи-л гьо-й й-еъ-ан гьор-до-ч1о   гьан-л1и   ида-в*
dem-n time-nM.obl-erg dem-f f-go-pf dem.pl-hpl.obl-topo1[loc] village-topo7 cop-M
це-в   г1акълу ида-в   гьек1ва-щу-ха-р   ваша-щув-а   гьем-ол-ахъ
one-M sense   cop-M man-m.obl-topo4-all son-m.obl-topo3[loc] who-q
ин-лълъи-л   й-елъ-асс-в-ха=кье   б-ац1ц1-анлъа
logo-nM.obl-erg f-lead-fut-M-[pf]cvb=quot n-ask-inf
'At that time, she went to the home of one intelligent man who was in their village to ask who she will take for her son.'

(47) *гьа-й   каъа-р й-ехъв-ала гьа-в   гьерк1ан-в в-охаро-в гьек1ва-щу-л   ц1акъа-да*
dem-f on-all f-come   dem-M elder-M   m-old-M man-m.obl-erg very-int
гьа-лълъи-л1   адабхатир гагь-е
dem-nM.obl-gen politeness do-pf
'When she arrived, this old man showed her respect.'

(48) *гьо-б   къвар-лълъи-л   гьо-лълъи-л   б-ас-ан   гьу-гу-в   гьерк1ан-в*
dem-n moment-nM.obl-erg dem-nM.obl-erg n-inform-pf dem-low-M elder-M
гьек1ва-щув-а-ххил ин-лълъи-л1   мурад
man-m.obl-topo3-dir logo-nM.obl-gen wish
'At that moment she told the old man her project.'

(49) *гьу-гу-в   гьек1ва-щу-л   кекь-ен гьа-лълъий-а-ххил дув-а   г1акълу*
dem-low-M man-m.obl-erg speak-pf dem-nM.obl-topo3-dir 2sg-topo3[loc] intelligence
б-екк-алъа дий-а   ги-мич1е   ди-ч1о-л   гьерк1ан-в ди-в
n-give-inf 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc] be_able-fut.neg 1sg-topo1-add elder-M   1sg-M
вацци ида гьади це-б-ал   эши   гьо-щу-ха-р   й-енъ-и   мен
brother cop there one-n-other room[loc] dem-m.obl-topo4-all f-go-imp[intr] 2sg
гьо-щу-л   малълъ-асс дув-а-р
dem-m.obl-erg advise-fut   -topo3-all
'The man said to her: I won't be able to advise you, and at home my older brother is in one of the rooms, go to him, he will advise you.'

(50) гьо-б   къвар-лълъи-л   гьу-гу-щу-л   кекь-о-м   це-б-ал
dem-n moment-nM.obl-erg dem-low-m.obl-erg speak-ptcp-n one-n-other
эши-р   й-енъ-айгил гьа-лълъий-а   в-унс-а гьуди эши   гьеч1ессиги
room[loc]-all f-go   dem-nM.obl-topo3[loc] m-pf   there room[loc] at_first
ин-лълъий-а   в-ус-ан-в   гьек1ва-щув-а-гал   квалъо-в-ел   мик1во-в
logo-nM.obl-topo3[loc] m-find-pf-M man-m.obl-topo3-abl even_more-M-add small-M
гагь-д-о-в   гьек1ва
do-impf-ptcp-M man
'At the moment, after she went into one of the rooms he had indicated, she found there
in the room a man smaller that the man she had first found.'

(51) гьо-б   замана-лълъи-л гьа-лълъи-л   тамаша гагь-е гьуди це-б-ал   эши
dem-n time-nM.obl-erg dem-nM.obl-erg wonder   do-pf there one-n-other room[loc]
ида-в гьек1ва-щу-л ин-щу-в   гьерк1ан-в вацци -б-оха=кье   -оха=къ
cop-M man-m.obl-erg logo-m.obl-M elder-M   brother -n-[pf]cvb=quot -[pf]cvb=quot
'At that moment, she wondered: '

(52) ден гьа-в г1олохъан гьек1ва-щу-ха-р   гьелъа-ла-хъ ит-а -б-оха=кье
1sg dem-M youth   man-m.obl-topo4-all why-q   let-pf -n-[pf]cvb=quot
'– Why then has he [the man in one of the rooms] sent me to this young man? saying
he was his older brother.'

(53) ид-о-р-и-л гьа-ги-щув-а-ххил-ел   б-ас-ан   гьа-ги-лълъи-л ин-лълъи-л
         dem-low-m.obl-pf-dir-add n-inform-pf -low-nM.obl-erg logo-nM.obl-erg
мурад
wish
'Anyway, she told him about her project.'

(54) гьо-б   бас-а-м-оха   хирхир гьа-ги-щу-л-ел   джаваб б-екк-е   гьуди
dem-n tell-pf-n-[pf]cvb afterwards dem-low-m.obl-erg-add answer n-give-pf there
це-б-ал   эши   ида-в мик1о-в ваццо-л-цехъада гьо-лълъий-а
one-n-other room[loc] cop-M small-M brother-erg   dem-nM.obl-topo3[loc]
дув-а   г1акълу б-екк-алъа дий-а   ги-мич1е
2sg-topo3[loc] sense   n-give-inf 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc] be_able-fut.neg
'After her story, he answered : I won't be able to give you advice on that as my little
brother who is in another room said.'

(55) дий-а-гал-ел   гьерк1ан-в вацци ид-о-в гьади лъаб-да-л1о-б эши   мен
1sg.obl-topo3-abl-add elder-M   brother -ptcp-M there three-int-ord-n room[loc] 2sg
гьорди-р й-енъ-и   гьо-щу-л   малълъ-асс дув-а   г1акълу
there-all f-go-imp[intr] dem-m.obl-erg advise-fut   2sg-topo3[loc] sense
'My older brother is there in the third room, go there, he will give you advice.'

(56) *гьо-б замана-лълъи-л гьа-ги-щу-л кекь-е-н-ихъ лъаб-да-л1о-б*
dem-n time-nM.obl-erg dem-low-m.obl-erg speak-pf-msd-topo5[loc] three-int-ord-n
эши-р й-енъ-а гьаги
room[loc]-all f-go-pf there
'At that time, she went to the third room as he had said.'

(57) *гьорге в-унс-а гьа-лълъий-а це-в мик1во-в г1олохъан гьек1вагодо-в*
there m-find-pf dem-nM.obl-topo3[loc] one-M small-M youth man-M
це-в гьек1ва миса б-ец1-е-р-оха мак1и-л гьощта-да це-й гьарк1к1о-й
one-M man house n-filled-pf-nH+-[pf]cvb child-erg this_way-int one-f feminine-f
г1адан-ел
person-add
'There she found one man who looked like a small young man, a house full of children (lit. children filling the house) and a woman too.'

(58) *гьа-й ин-щув-а каъа-р й-ехъв-айнгил гьа-щу-л ц1акъа-б*
dem-f logo-m.obl-topo3[loc] on-all f-come dem-m.obl-erg very-n
адабхъатир гагь-алъа къасс гагь-е
politeness do-inf intention do-pf
'When she came to him, he intended to be polite.'

(59) *гьера гьу-ду-бай це-в-ал-ова-ххил-цахъада гьа-щув-а-ххил-ел б-ас-ан*
now dem-hpl one-M-other-dir dem-m.obl-pf-dir-add n-inform-pf
ин-лълъи-л1-да мурад
logo-nM.obl-gen-int wish
'And she told her project to him as (she had told) the other.'

(60) *ид-ор-ел хан-щу-в ваша-щув-а це-й хьогьо-й бечеда-й г1адан*
-add khan-m.obl[gen]-M son-m.obl-topo3[loc] one-f good-f wealthy-f person
къор-а-й-оха идйа гьарк1к1е-лъехва й-ик1-уд-о-й
want-pf-f-[pf]cvb cop wife f-be-impf-ptcp-f
' No matter how, the khan's boy wants one good and rich female to become his wife. '

(61) *гьо-лълъий-а мен-а гьеде-ол дий-а г1акълу*
dem-nM.obl-topo3[loc] 2sg-erg something-q 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc] sense
б-екк-ид-о-б
n-give-impf-ptcp-n
'What do you advise me?'

(62) *гьо-б къвар-лълъи-л гьа-щу-л кекь-ен ин-щу-й-да*
dem-n moment-nM.obl-erg dem-m.obl-erg speak-pf logo-m.obl-f-int
гьарк1к1во-а-ххил й-ел1-и мен ч1агой–ххвой гьа-й ц1ц1е-й-лълъий-а
wife-topo3-dir f-walk-imp[intr] 2sg alivef- dem-f guest-f-nM.obl-pf

б-окъ-алъа це-б   хъармуз   б-агь-алъа й-еъ-ин   мен
n-_cut-inf one-n watermelon n-take-inf f-go-imp[intr] 2sg

'At this moment, he said to his wife: go my child, may you always be alive. Go buy one watermelon to cut it for the guest.'

(63)   кунт1о-л   кекь-о-м   ссаг1ат лъалухъ-ел гьерч1ч1-е-й-хва   й-енъ-а гьа-й
husband-erg speak-ptcp-n hour   -add   stand_up-pf-f-[pf]cvb f-go-pf dem-f
ц1ц1е-й-лълъий-а б-окъ-алъа хъармуз   б-агь-алъа це-б-ал   эши-р
guest-f-nM.obl-pf n-_cut-inf watermelon n-take-inf one-n-other room[loc]-all

'Having stood up at the very moment when the man spoke, she went to the other room to take a watermelon to cut for the guest.'

(64)   гьуди-гал хъармуз-ел   б-агь-е-й-оха   й-ехьв-ала гьа-лълъи-л
there-abl watermelon-add n-buy-pf-f-[pf]cvb f-come   dem-nM.obl-erg
ин-лълъи-л1-да   кунт1о-ха-р б-екк-е
logo-nM.obl-gen-int   n-give-pf

'She brought the watermelon from there, she came to her husband and gave it.'

(65)   мен ч1аго-вуххув ц1ц1е-й-лълъий-а б-окъ-алъа гьа-б   хъармуз
2sg   guest-f-nM.obl-pf n-_cut-inf dem-n watermelon

'There, my dear , cut this watermelon for the guest.'

(66)   гьа-ги-щу-л   гьащто-б бегье-ч1е-б-оха
dem-low-m.obl-erg -n   -neg-n-[pf]cvb

'He did not accept it (Not accepting it:)'

(67)   це-б-ел   хьогьо-б терщо-б б-агь-алъа й-еъ-ин   -й-оха=кье
one-n-add good-n   ripe-n   n-buy-inf f-go-imp[intr] -f-[pf]cvb=quot
кан-ц1е-л1о-й-ел ит-а   гьуди эши-р
-ord-f-add   send-pf there room[loc]-all

'Go buy another one good and ripe, he said, and he sent her there to the room for a second time.'

(68)   гьерал й-ехьв-а гьа-ги-б-да   къаг1идйа хъармуз-ел   бегь-е-й-оха
again   f-come-pf dem-low-n-int method   watermelon-add -pf-f-[pf]cvb

'And as before (lit. in the same way) she came again having taken a watermelon.'

(69)   гьа-ги-щу-л   квади-р-ел   бегь-е-б-оха
dem-low-m.obl-erg hands[loc]-all-add -pf-n-[pf]cvb

'He took it in his hands: '

(70)   ден-а   дув-а-ххил кекь-ен   б-ик1в-а хьогьо-б б-агь-а   -б-оха=кье
1sg-erg -topo3-dir speak-pf n-be-pf good-n   n-take-imp[tr] -n-[pf]cvb=quot

'I told you buy a good one, I said'

11

(71) це-б   квалъо-б   гьа-лълъий-а-гал   гьерк1а-м хьогьо-б б-агь-е-й-оха
one-n even_more-n dem-nM.obl-topo3-abl big-n   good-n   n-buy-pf-f-[pf]cvb
й-ехь-у   гьа-й   ц1ц1е-й-лълъий-а б-окъ-алъа
f-come-imp[intr] dem-f guest-f-nM.obl-pf   n-_cut-inf
'one a little bigger than this one. Go buy a big and good one to cut for the guest.'

(72) гьерал лъаб-ц1е-л1о-й-ел хиди   ссор-е-й-ехва   гьуди эши-р-ел
again   three-ord-f-add   in_front turn-pf-f-[pf]cvb there room[loc]-all-add
й-еъ-ан-й-оха   хъармуз-ел   б-агь-е-й-оха   й-ехьв-а   гьаги
f-go-pf-f-[pf]cvb watermelon-add n-take-pf-f-[pf]cvb f-come-pf there
'Again she went into the room, she came back there for the third time, and she came
having taken the watermelon.'

(73) г1айиб   гагь-ибиссе мен ч1аго-вуххув гьуди бекъаро-ххил б-екк-у   б-ик1в-а идйа
mistake do-proh   2sg   there corner-dir   n-end_up-pf n-be-pf   cop
гьа-б   гьера-лълъи-л   квади-р   теъ-а-ч1е   дий-а   гьа-б
dem-n now-nM.obl-erg   hands[loc]-all obtain-pf-neg 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc] dem-n
'Don't blame me, my dear, there in a corner it was hiding, I could not reach it. '

(74) гьа-б   ида мен-а   кекь-е-н-ихъ   гьеч1е хьогьо-б хъармуз
dem-n cop 2sg-erg speak-pf-msd-topo5 most   good-n   watermelon
'This one is best watermelon as you said.'

(75) гьера гьа-ги-б   хъармуз-ел   квади-р   б-агь-е-б-оха   гьа-ги-в
now   dem-low-n watermelon-add hands[loc]-all n-take-pf-n-[pf]cvb dem-low-M
гьек1ва-щу-л   кекь-ен   же-щу-ха-р   й-ехьв-а-й   хан-щу-й
man-m.obl-erg speak-pf logo-m.obl-topo4-all f-come-pf-f khan-m.obl-f
гьарк1к1вов-а-ххил
wife-topo3-dir
'And now having taken this watermelon, this man said to the khan's wife who had
come to his place: '

(76) гьа-б   хъармуз   гьаъ-инд-о-б-оле   дув-а
dem-n watermelon see-impf-ptcp-n-q 2sg-topo3[loc]
'Can you see this watermelon?'

(77) гьерайч1во гьац1а-да зебу ссиги   базар-кь1а-р   в-оъ-ан-ла   ден-а
ago   ten-int   day in_front market-topo2-all m-go-pf-when.cvb 1sg-erg
базар-кь1а-гал   хъизаний-а   б-окъ-алъа б-огь-о-б   хъармуз   идйа гьа-б
market-topo2-abl wife-topo3[loc]   n-_cut-inf   n-take-ptcp-n watermelon cop   dem-n
кь1ек1у ди-ч1о   авал-кь1а   хъармуз-ел   б-ик1в-а-ч1е
more   1sg-topo1 house-topo2[loc] watermelon-add n-be-pf-neg
'Ten days ago when I went to the bazar I bought this watermelon for my wife, there are
no other watermelons in the house.'

(78) *гьо-б гьач1е-лъерел дий-а ц1акъа б-иъ-ид-о-б б-ик1в-а*
dem-n cop.neg 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc] very n-know-impf-ptcp-n n-be-pf
'I knew very well there were no other. '

(79) *гьинита ид-ор-ел чамварда-гвал микъа-л гьа-б б-егь-ибиссе гьу-ду-б б-агь-а*
how -add a_few-even way-erg dem-n n-take-proh dem-sl-n n-take-pf
хьогьо-б б-агь-а ц1акъа-б б-агь-а-б-оха=къе ден-а хиди хиди
good-n n-take-pf very-n n-take-pf-n-[pf]cvb=quot 1sg-erg in_front in_front
ссор-а-й-ехва ит-ибар-ел гьарк1к1о-л гьеде-г1аги дий-а
turn-pf-f-[pf]cvb let-cond-add wife-erg something-indef 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc]
данде джаваб гагь-е-ч1е-й-охва кекь-ен-ихъ гьуди-гал хъармуз-ел
together answer do-pf-neg-f-[pf]cvb speak-pf-topo5 there-abl watermelon-add
б-агь-е-й-охва й-ехьв-а
n-take-pf-f-[pf]cvb f-come-pf
'No matter what I said, no matter how many times I told her "don't take this one, take a good one, take a better one, sending her here and there, my wife did not reply anything and she came back with the watermelon.'

(80) *чан-ц1е й-ехь-убар-ел кекьи-сс рахъе каъа-р каъа-сс рахъе кекьи-р*
much-mult f-come-cond-add under-atbz side on-all on-atbz side under-all
ссор-а-а-б-оха це-б-да хъармуз-ел б-агь-е-й-оха й-ехьв-а гьо-й
turn-caus-pf-n-[pf]cvb one-n-int watermelon-add n-buy-pf-f-[pf]cvb f-come-pf dem-f
'No matter how many times she came back, turning the lower side upwards, or the upper side downwards, she came back with the exact same watermelon.'

(81) *мен-а-л ваша-щув-а й-елъ-ид-о-й г1адан дий-а*
2sg.erg-add son-m.obl-topo3[loc] f-lead-impf-ptcp-f person 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc]
гьа-й-годо-й мут1иг1о-й кунт1о-б адаб ида-й ц1ехха-а
dem-f-like-f faithful-f husband-n politeness cop-f look_for-imp[tr]
'Look for a wife for you son who is polite to her husband, faithful and similar to me.'

(82) *бечелъер дуна-лълъи-л1 бец1ц1ур гьо-б же-бе-да каъа-р б-ехьв-асс*
wealth world-nM.obl-gen well_being dem-n logo-n-int on-all n-come-fut
'Wealth and sustenance will come on their own.'

(83) *гьа-ги-в гьеч1е кел1и ида-в гьек1ва гьу-гу-в идйа ищи-в гьеч1е*
dem-low-M most in[inter] cop-M man dem-low-M cop 1pl.excl-M most
мик1во-в вацци гьац1а-б мигажо-л1 в-охаро-в гьарди-р в-окк-у-в-годо-в
small-M brother white-n beard-gen m-old-M earth[loc]-all m-end_up-pf-M-like-M
'This man who is beneath is our younger brother, with a grey beard and old as if exhausted.'

(84) *к1е-да-л1о-в гьо-в-ел идйа дий-а-гал мик1во-в б-акьихъисс*
two-int-ord-M dem-M-add cop 1sg.obl-topo3-abl small-M n-intermediary
'The second is smaller than me.'

(85) гьо-в-ел   гьо-б-да   къаг1идйа в-ахарлъ-е   идйа
dem-M-add dem-n-int method   m-get_old-pf cop
'He, too, got old.'

(86) ден гьор-до-в   гьеч1е гьерк1ан-в ва   гьор-до-л1и   гьеч1е
1sg dem.pl-hpl.obl[gen]-M most   elder-M   coord dem.pl-hpl.obl-topo7[loc] most
ресмах1ал ида-в бечеда-в   идйа
possibility cop-M wealthy-M cop
'I am the tallest and I am rich having the more wealth among them. '

(87) гьо-б ди-б гьунар гьач1е гьо-б идйа дий-а   б-екк-о-б
dem-n 1sg-n deed cop.neg dem-n cop 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc] n-give-ptcp-n
талих1 гьа-й гьарк1к1о-л1 хьолъер
luck   dem-f wife-gen   goodness
'This is not my feat, this is luck given to me, the goodness of this wife.'

(88) гьа-й гьо-што-й хьогьо-й ди-б-ел   дий-а   кекьи каъа-р
dem-f dem-such-f good-f 1sg-n-add 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc] under on-all
б-ахъв-а-бай   г1адан-ди-ло-б адабхъатир ида-й дий-а
n-come-ptcp-hpl man-pl-hpl.obl-n politeness   cop-f 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc]
мут1иг1о-й й-ик1в-а-р сабаб-лъебоха ден гьинда-г1аги в-оццехх-о-в-да
faithful-f   f-be-pf-msd   1sg when-indef m-be_happy-ptcp-M-int
в-оццехх-е   разираки в-ук1-уда
m-be_happy-pf happy   m-be-impf
'Because she is good, respectful to me and my guests (lit. my people who come as guests to me), because she is obedient to me, I am always happy, I do not stop being happy.'

(89) гьо-лълъий-а   б-илъ-оха   ден гьа-б ссаг1ат-ел г1олохъан
dem-nM.obl-topo3[loc] n-put-[pf]cvb 1sg dem-n hour-add   youth
гьек1ва-цехъа-да идйа
man-simil-int   cop
'Thanks to her, I am like a young man now.'

(90) гьо-бай дув-а   ида-б ди-б г1акълу
dem-hpl 2sg-topo3[loc] cop-n 1sg-n advice
'This is my advice to you.'