

- (1) *в-ук1-а-йда в-ук1-а-ч1е-йда це-в ц1акъа-в ц1одоро-в хан*
 m-be-pf-impf m-be-pf-neg-impf one-M very-M intelligent-M khan
 ‘Once upon a time there was a very intelligent khan.’
- (2) *гъа-щув-а ц1ван-да-б б-ик1в-а-йда гъера дий-а-гал ц1одоро-в*
 dem-m.obl-topo3[loc] -impf-n n-be-pf-impf now 1sg.obl-topo3-abl intelligent-M
г1акълу ида-в гъек1ва-да ида-ла-хъ дуна-лълъий-а
 sense cop-M man-int cop-q-topo5 world-nM.obl-topo3[loc]
 ‘He wondered whether there existed someone more intelligent, having more spirit than him on this earth.’
- (3) *гъа-щу-л ин-щув-а рак1ва-л1и-р б-екк-у-б хийал б-ац1ц1-ен*
 dem-m.obl-erg logo-m.obl-topo3[loc] heart-topo7-all n-give-ptcp-n wish n-ask-pf
идъа же-щув-да вазир-щув-а-р в-ус-ансс-елахъ гъа-б
 cop logo-m.obl[gen]-M-int councillor-m.obl-topo3-all m-find-fut dem-n
замана-лълъи-л дий-а-гал ц1одоро-в г1акълу ида-в ден-а б-екк-о-б
 time-nM.obl-erg 1sg.obl-topo3-abl intelligent-M sense cop-M 1sg-erg n-give-ptcp-n
суъалий-а джаваб б-екк-алъа гин-д-о-в гъек1ва -б-ехва=къе
 question-topo3[loc] answer n-give-inf be_able-impf-ptcp-M man -n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘As he thought, he asked his advisor if there was anyone in the world smarter and quicker than I was who could answer my question.’
- (4) *вазир-щу-л кекъ-ен ида гъа-щув-а-р*
 councillor-m.obl-erg speak-pf cop dem-m.obl-topo3-all
 ‘The counsellor replied to him :’
- (5) *в-ус-анлъа хъолъ-ида дунал-лълъий-а це-щув-а-гал це-в ц1одоро-в*
 m-find-inf be_possible-impf world-nM.obl-pf one-m.obl-pf-abl one-M intelligent-M
гъек1ва б-охва=къе
 man n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘Maybe there’s someone smarter than anyone else in the world.’
- (6) *хан-щу-б рак1ва-а гъо-щу-л кекъ-о-м анлъер б-еъу-м-ч1е*
 khan-m.obl-n heart-topo3[loc] dem-m.obl-erg speak-ptcp-n word n-enough-n-neg
ида
 cop
 ‘The khan was not satisfied with this answer.’
- (7) *хъогъо-б ида гъошда б-ис-имар мен-а ц1ехха-а хири гъо-щдо-в гъек1ва*
 good-n cop this_way n-find-cond 2sg-erg look_for-imp[tr] after dem-such-M man
-б-ехва=къе кекъ-ен ида
 -n-[pf]cvb=quot speak-pf cop
 ‘Good, if it’s like this, you look for such a person for me, he said.’

- (8) *вазир кѡач1-а ида гѡ-цѡдо-в гѡек1ѡа ц1ехха-алѡа*
 councillor get_ready-pf cop dem-such-M man look_for-inf
 ‘The counsellor got ready to go look for such a person.’
- (9) *вазир кѡекѡела-а хѡване-л б-елѡ-а же-цѡу-б-ѡа чурхѡа ѡарагѡ-к1ел*
 councillor saddle-pf horse-add n-lead-pf logo-m.obl-n-int equipment weapon-com
гѡерч1ч1-е-ѡѡа гѡекѡе-р
 stand_up-pf-impf outside-all
 ‘The councillor saddled his horse, took all the equipment, and set out/began his journey.’
- (10) *в-оѡ-ан ида це-б гѡан-л1и-р*
 m-go-pf cop one-n village-topo7-all
 ‘He went to one village.’
- (11) *гѡорге б-ис-ан ида мак1-и б-агѡ-ѡа*
 there n-find-[pf]cvb cop child-pl n-play-impf
 ‘There children were playing.’
- (12) *це-бай ч1еч1у-л1аѡ б-алѡ-е це-бай солосоло-л1аѡ б-алѡ-е це-бай кѡѡана*
 one-hpl stick-gen.pl hpl-play-pf one-hpl ball-gen.pl hpl-play-pf one-hpl hat
т1ан-ѡ-о-бай б-алѡ-е
 throw-impf-ptcp-hpl hpl-play-pf
 ‘Some played with a stick, some with a ball, others were throwing hats.’
- (13) *це-в мак1е паракѡат гѡарѡи-л к1ус-е мак1и-ло-л гажѡ-ид-о-б*
 one-M child quietly earth[loc]-add sit_down-pf child-hpl.obl-erg do-impf-ptcp-n
кеп ихтилати-ха-р в-ок1-ан-в-оха в-ук1-а ида
 happiness happiness-topo4-all m-look-pf-M-[pf]cvb m-be-pf cop
 ‘One child sat quietly and watched over the children’s happiness.’
- (14) *гѡера гѡоргал гѡерч1ч1-е-в-оха в-оѡ-ан ида це-б-ел гѡан-л1и-р гѡоргал*
 now there stand_up-pf-M-[pf]cvb m-go-pf cop one-n-add village-topo7-all there
це-б-ел-ал гѡан-л1и-р
 one-n-add-other village-topo7-all
 ‘From there he went to another village, and from there to another one still.’
- (15) *гѡ-цѡу-а гѡеч1ессиги-сс гѡан-л1и-ѡо же-цѡу-б-ѡа рак1ѡа*
 dem-m.obl-topo3[loc] at_first-atbz village-topo7-like logo-m.obl-n-int heart
б-акѡ-о-в г1аѡам в-ус-ан-ч1е ида
 n-suit-ptcp-M man m-find-pf-neg cop
 ‘He didn’t find a man he liked as in the first village.’
- (16) *гѡерал хиди ссор-о-в-оха гѡа-б-ѡа гѡан-л1и-р в-охѡ-а ида*
 again back turn-ptcp-M-[pf]cvb dem-n-int village-topo7-all m-come-pf cop
 ‘So he came back to that village.’

- (17) *сару-хир-ел в-ол1-о-в-хва гъа-ги-в мак1е-щув-а-р б-ац1ц1-ен ида*
 next-add m-walk-ptcp-M-[pf]cvb dem-low-M child-m.obl-topo3-all n-ask-pf cop
 ‘He walked up to the boy and asked him.’
- (18) *ваша ги-мич1-о-б-ол дув-а це-в хан-щул б-ац1ц1-о-м*
 son be_able-fut.neg-ptcp-n-q 2sg-topo3[loc] one-M khan-m.obl-erg n-ask-ptcp-n
лъаб-да суъалий-а джаваб б-екк-алъа
 three-int question-topo3[loc] answer n-give-inf
 ‘Hey, boy, would you be able to answer to three questions from your khan?’
- (19) *гий-ансс гъенсс-ол гий-ен-ч1-о-б*
 be_able-fut why-q be_able-pf-neg-ptcp-n
 ‘I can, why wouldn’t I?’
- (20) *б-ац1ц1-о-м гъедела-лълъий-а джаваб б-екк-алъа гин-д-о-бисимар мен*
 n-ask-ptcp-n thing-nM.obl-pf answer n-give-inf be_able-impf-ptcp 2sg
в-охъ-у ди-к1ел сару ден-а дув-а ссайгъатссалам ит-асс
 m-come-imp[intr] 1sg-com next 1sg-erg 2sg-topo3[loc] gift send-fut
 ‘If you can answer these questions, come with me, I’ll send you gifts.’
- (21) *хъогъо-б ида хири*
 good-n cop after
 ‘Good, let’s go.’
- (22) *къач1-а-йда к1енай-да-л хан-щуха-р б-аъ-анлъа*
 get_ready-impf both-int-add khan-m.obl-topo4-all n-go-inf
 ‘They got ready to go to the khan’s.’
- (23) *вазир-щул б-иъ-а-лда хан-щув-а-р*
 councillor-m.obl-erg n-know-caus khan-m.obl-topo3-all
 ‘The councillor informed the khan.’
- (24) *ду-б суъалий-а джаваб б-екк-алъа гъек1ва ида ден-а в-олъ-а-в-оха*
 2sg-n question-topo3[loc] answer n-give-inf man cop 1sg-erg m-lead-pf-M-[pf]cvb
 ‘I brought a man to answer your question.’
- (25) *хъогъо-б ида в-ус-имар ит-а эши-р*
 good-n cop m-find_oneself-cond let-imp[tr] room[loc]-all
 ‘Good, if that is so, let him in.’
- (26) *в-аъ-алда хан-щуха-р к1ус-елда къоцдий-а*
 m-reach khan-m.obl-topo4-all sit_down chair-topo3[loc]
 ‘He walked up to the khan, and sat down on a chair.’

- (27) *це-б рахъей-къ1а хан к1ус-елда це-б рахъей-къ1а хъащхъаро-б гъадоъа-л1*
 one-n side-topo2[loc] khan sit_down one-n side-topo2[loc] -n head-gen
б-ич1ач1а-б ракъ1аро-л1 гъа-ги-в илъато-в мак1е-л к1ус-елда
 n-ragged-n clothes-gen dem-low-M orphan-M child-add sit_down
 ‘The khan sat down on one side, the new comer, the orphan sat down on the other side
 in his ragged clothes.’
- (28) *хан-щу-л гъа-ги-в-ел гъарк1о-къи гъаъ-ан-ч1-о-в-оха*
 khan-m.obl-erg dem-low-M-add eye-topo8[loc] see-pf-neg-ptcp-M-[pf]cvb
й-ек1-и-л гъа-в-ол ди-б суъалий-а джаваб б-екк-алъа
 f-look-imp[intr]-add dem-M-q 1sg-n question-topo3[loc] answer n-give-inf
в-олъ-о-в-оха в-охъв-а-в гъек1ва-б-оха=къе гъаги-щув-а
 m-lead-ptcp-M-[pf]cvb m-come-pf-M man-n-[pf]cvb=quot there-m.obl-topo3[loc]
релъе б-ич1-а-б-оха мигажов-а це-б рекъ1а б-елъ-а
 laughter n-pf-n-[pf]cvb beard-topo3[loc] one-n hand n-lead-pf
 ‘The khan didn’t think much of the boy, he thought he brought someone just to answer
 to his questions, he smiled and ran his hand over his beard.’
- (29) *гъа-ги-в мак1и-щу-л-ел же-щуб-да гъадоъа-а рекъ1а б-елъ-а*
 dem-low-M child-m.obl-erg-add logo-m.obl-n-int head-topo3[loc] hand n-lead-pf
 ‘The boy also ran his hand over his head.’
- (30) *хири гъерч1ч1-о-в-оха б-агъ-е-б-ехва хан-щу-л хъохъабду чиран б-илъ-е*
 after stand_up n-take-pf-n-[pf]cvb khan-m.obl-erg file steel n-put-pf
устулий-а
 table-topo3[loc]
 ‘Then the khan took the file and put it on the table.’
- (31) *гъа-ги-в мак1е-щу-л-ел ешийарихъ в-ок1анк1-о-в-оха це-б*
 dem-low-M child-m.obl-erg-add m-look_out-pf-M-[pf]cvb one-n
сумовар-и-гал т1ар-о-б гъабу-л1 гъедела б-илъ-е чирано-к1ел сару
 samovar-topo6-abl fall-ptcp-n coal-gen thing n-put-pf steel-com next
 ‘The boy looked around and found a piece of coal from the somovar, and set it down
 beside his steel.’
- (32) *хири гъерч1ч1-о-в-оха хан-щу-л лълъенй-л1-ел б-ец1-а-б-ехва*
 after stand_up-pf-M-[pf]cvb khan-m.obl-erg water-gen-add n-filled-pf-n-[pf]cvb
це-б налбек б-илъ-е устулий-а
 one-n dish n-put-pf table-topo3[loc]
 ‘The Khan stood up and, after filling a dish with water, placed it on the table.’
- (33) *лълухъ гъерч1ч1-о-в-оха гъарди-гал-ел б-агъ-е-б-ехва*
 upwards stand_up-pf-M-[pf]cvb earth[loc]-abl-add n-take-pf-n-[pf]cvb

- гъа-гу-щуп* *це-б сума т1ам-е налбек-и* *ида-б лългений-а-р* *каъа-р*
dem-low-m.obl-erg one-n straw throw-pf dish-topo6[loc] cop-n water-topo3-all on-all
‘He got up, picked up one straw from the floor, and threw it into a saucer of water.’
- (34) *гъера хан-щуп* *байбихъа-а суъл* *джавабийа ваша ден-а* *мигажов-а*
now khan-m.obl-erg start-pf question answer son 1sg-erg beard-topo3[loc]
рекъ1а б-елъ-а-р-и-л1 *маг1на гъеде-ол*
hand n-lead-pf-msd-obl-gen meaning something-q
‘Now the Khan started his questions: Hey, boy, what is the point of my running my hand over my beard?’
- (35) *мен-а мигажов-а* *рекъ1а гъа-б мигажов-а* *ида-б лълунй б-иц1ц1-ен*
2sg-erg beard-topo3[loc] hand dem-n beard-topo3[loc] cop-n hair n-count-pf
минаминаро-б г1акълу *ида-в ден дий-а* *джавабий-а*
other-n intelligence cop-M 1sg 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc] answer-topo3[loc]
в-олъ-а-в-оха *в-охъ-а-в* *гъек1ва й-ек1-ин* *-б-оха=къе*
m-lead-pf-M-[pf]cvb m-come-pf-M man f-look-imp[intr] -n-[pf]cvb=quot
‘You (having run) your hand on your beard, I having an unusual intelligence having counted the hair on this beard, look at the man who was brought to (give) answers to me, this meant. The meaning of your passing your hand over your beard means that I am smart enough to answer my questions, look who you brought.’
- (36) *ден-а-л* *рекъ1а б-елъ-а гъадоъа-а*
1sg-erg-add hand n-lead-pf head-topo3[loc]
‘I ran my hand over my head.’
- (37) *мигажов-а* *ида-б лълунй б-иц1ц1-ен* *минаминаро-б г1акълу* *ду-ч1о*
beard-topo3[loc] cop-n hair n-count-pf unusual-n intelligence 2sg-topo1[loc]
б-ис-имар *гъадоъа-а* *ида-б лълунй б-иц1ц1-ен г1акълу*
n-find_oneself-cond head-topo3[loc] cop-n hair n-count-pf sense
це-ба-ло-ч1о-л *б-ик1в-алъа хълъ-ида-л1а-л* *-б-оха=къе*
one-hpl-hpl.obl-topo1[loc]-add n-be-inf be_possible-impf-add -n-[pf]cvb=quot
‘If you have as much intelligence as the hair in your beard, then others can have as much intelligence as the hair on their head.’
- (38) *хирхи-р* *ден-а* *чиран гъелъа-л б-илъ-о-б* *устулий-а*
behind-all 1sg-erg steel why-q n-put-ptcp-n table-topo3[loc]
‘Then, why did I put the file on the table?’
- (39) *мен-а* *чиран б-илъ-е* *устулий-а* *ден гъа-б* *чиран-годо-в* *къванк1о-в*
2sg-erg steel n-put-pf table-topo3[loc] 1sg dem-n steel-like-M hard-M
къора-б *гъедела б-окъ-алъа* *х1алк1одо-в* *гъек1ва* *ида -б-оха=къе*
whichever-n thing n-decide-inf powerful-M man cop -n-[pf]cvb=quot
‘You put the file on the table to show that you are as hard as steel, any matter can be decided by a powerful man.’

- (40) *ден-а-л гво-лълъи-к1ел сару гъабу б-илъ-е*
 1sg-erg-add dem-nM.obl-com next coal n-put-pf
 ‘And I put the coal next to it.’
- (41) *гво-б чиран къванк1о-б б-ис-имар гъа-б гъабу-л ц1айи-л*
 dem-n steel hard-n n-find_oneself-cond dem-n coal-add fire-erg
б-иц1-а-б-охва лълъенийи-годо-б гагъ-ида -б-хва=къе
 n-melt-pf-n-[pf]cvb water-n do-impf -n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘If the steel is hard, the coals in the fire can melt the steel.’
- (42) *хири ден-а устулий-а лълъенийи-л1 б-ец1-о-б налбек б-илъ-е гъелъа-л*
 after 1sg-erg table-topo3[loc] water-gen n-filled-ptcp-n dish n-put-pf why-erg
б-илъ-о-б
 n-put-ptcp-n
 ‘Then I put a dish of water on the table, why did I put it?’
- (43) *мен-а устулий-а лълъенийи-л1 налбек б-илъ-е ден гъа-б дунийа-лълъи-л1*
 2sg-erg table-topo3[loc] water-gen dish n-put-pf 1sg dem-n world-nM.obl-gen
мисо-ч1о гъини релъа-годо-в одо-в къ1ема-в г1ат1идо-в гъек1ва ида
 room-topo1[loc] inside[loc] sea-like-M deep-M wide-M free-M man cop
-б-оха=къе
 -n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘You put a dish of water on the table, saying that in life (lit. room of the world), you (lit. I) are deep, wide, and free like the sea.’
- (44) *мен в-ус-имар дуна-лълъи-л1 релъа-годо-в гъек1ва ден-ел ида релъа*
 2sg m-find_oneself-cond world-nM.obl-gen sea-like-M man 1sg-add cop night
каъа гама-годо-в гъек1ва къорокъора-б гури-р хъиба релъай-к1ел в-оъ-анлъа
 on boat-like-M man whichever-n place-all among night-com m-go-inf
х1алк1одо-в б-охва=къе кекъ-ен ида гъа-ги-в хъаишъаро-в мак1е-щуп-л
 powerful-M n-[pf]cvb=quot speak-pf cop dem-low-M bald-M child-m.obl-erg
 ‘If you are a man like the sea on the earth, I am also like a ship on this water, able to go to any place in the middle of the night. That’s what the bald boy said.’
- (45) *гъе-б-ел суъалий-а гъа-ги-щуп-л б-екк-о-б джавабий-а*
 every-n-add question-topo3[loc] dem-low-m.obl-erg n-give-ptcp-n answer-topo3[loc]
мук1урелъ-е-б-оха ин-щуп-ч1о в-уш-ана гъаги-щув-а маладец
 agree-pf-n-[pf]cvb logo-m.obl-topo1[loc] m-win there-m.obl-topo3[loc] attaboy
-б-оха=къе хъогъо-б ссайгъатссалам г1арсе-л б-екк-е идъа
 -n-[pf]cvb=quot good-n gift money-add n-give-pf cop
 ‘Agreeing to the answers given by him to all questions, having deafeted him, he said attaboy, I’ll give him gifts and money.’

- (46) *гъера б-ол1-е б-ик1в-а-б гъедела гъарк1к1ов-а-р б-ас-ан ида*
 now n-happen-pf n-be-ptcp-n thing wife-topo3-all n-tell-pf cop
 ‘Now he told his wife what happened, it seems.’
- (47) *гъарк1к1о-л релъехх-а-б-оха кекъ-ен ида хан-щув-а-р*
 wife-erg laugh-pf-n-[pf]cvb speak-pf cop khan-m.obl-topo3-all
ин-лълъи-л-ал б-екк-асс б-ик1в-а гъо-щув-а це-б масала
 logo-nM.obl-erg-other n-give-fut n-be-pf dem-m.obl-topo3[loc] one-n problem
мен-а изну б-екк-ибар
 2sg-erg authorization n-give-cond
 ‘His wife, smiling, said to the Khan, “And I would give him a task if you let me.”’
- (48) *б-екк-а ду-б-да гъо-щуп-л ден в-огъ-ан-в-дахъа мен-ел*
 n-give-imp[tr] 2sg-n-int dem-m.obl-erg 1sg m-be_defeated-caus-ptcp 2sg-add
й-егъ-анс хири
 f-be_defeated-fut after
 ‘Ask, he’ll defeat you too.’
- (49) *гъера хан-щуп-й гъарк1к1о-л в-олъ-а ида ин-лълъий-а-да*
 now khan-m.obl-f wife-erg m-lead-pf cop logo-nM.obl-topo3[loc]-int
эши-р к1ус-е ида устулий-а
 room[loc]-all sit_down-pf cop table-topo3[loc]
 ‘Now the Khan’s wife brought him to her room and sat down on the table.’
- (50) *б-ехъв-а ида хан-щуп-й гъарк1к1о-л гъакъуда к1арк1ан*
 n-come-pf cop khan-m.obl-f wife-erg seven egg
 ‘The khan’s wife brought 7 eggs.’
- (51) *гъа-б гъакъуда-л к1арк1ан мен-а б-екъ-а ил1ий-а*
 dem-n seven-add egg 2sg-erg n-share-imp[tr] 1pl.incl-topo3[loc]
лъаб-и-лов-а-да рекъема-а-б-ехва
 three-coll-hpl.obl-topo3[loc]-int make_equal-pf-n-[pf]cvb
 ‘Alright, divide these 7 eggs equally among us three.’
- (52) *хан-щуп-й гъарк1к1ов-а-л гъараваиш-лълъий-а-л*
 khan-m.obl-f wife-topo3[loc]-add servant-nM.obl-topo3[loc]-add
ин-щув-а-да-л гъа-щуп-л б-агъ-е-б-ехва лъаб-да к1арк1ан
 logo-m.obl-topo3[loc]-int-add dem-m.obl-erg n-take-pf-n-[pf]cvb three-int egg
хан-щуп-й гъарк1к1о-ч1о ссиги б-илъ-е ида лъаб-да к1арк1ан
 khan-m.obl-f wife-topo1[loc] in_front n-put-pf cop three-int egg
гъараваиш-лълъи-ч1о ссиги б-илъ-е ида це-б к1арк1ан
 servant-nM.obl-topo1[loc] in_front n-put-pf cop one-n egg
ин-щуп-ч1о-да ссиги б-илъ-е ида
 logo-m.obl-topo1[loc]-int in_front n-put-pf cop
 ‘To the Khan’s wife, her servants, and to himself, he put three eggs in front of the

Khan's wife, 3 eggs in front of the servant, and one egg in front of him.'

- (53) *гъера к1арк1ан-ди рекъенлъ-е-р-оха уда ил1ий-а*
 now egg-pl be_equal-pf-nH+-[pf]cvb cop 1pl.incl-topo3[loc]
лъаб-и-лв-а-да б-иъв-а б-ич1-а-алъа
 three-coll-hpl.obl-topo3[loc]-int n-break-caus n-die-caus-inf
хьолъ-ид-о-рай гъа-рай-ил гъач1е-йгил ил1ий-а к1арк1ан-ди
 be_possible-impf-ptcp-nH+ dem-nH+ cop.neg 1pl.incl-topo3[loc] egg-pl
гъера рекъенлъ-е-р-оха уда -онха=къ
 now be_equal-pf-nH+-[pf]cvb cop=quot=quot
 'Now the eggs are equal, the three of us can't break them, and they got spread equally.'
- (54) *иций-а лъаблъаб-и б-ик1-уд-о-б дув-а це-б-ч1е*
 1pl.excl-topo3[loc] threethree-topo6 n-be-impf-ptcp-n 2sg-topo3[loc] one-n-neg
б-ик1в-а-ч1-о-б гъинида-л хири гъа-рай рекъенлъ-ид-о-рай
 n-be-pf-neg-ptcp-n how-q after dem-nH+ be_equal-impf-ptcp-nH+
 'Ah, you gave us three and you only got one, how is this equal?'
- (55) *гъардир й-ек1-ин мен гъа-б лъаб-да дув-а гъач1-оле гъа-б*
 here.all f-look-imp[intr] 2sg dem-n three-int 2sg-topo3[loc] cop.neg-q dem-n
лъаб-да гъараваш-лълъгий-а гъач1-оле гъа-б це-б-ел к1е-да ди-б-дал
 three-int servant-nM.obl-pf cop.neg-q dem-n one-n-add two-int 1sg-n-int-add
лъаб-да дий-а-л б-акъ-е-ч1-о-ле
 three-int 1sg.obl-topo3[loc]-add n-suit-pf-neg-ptcp-q
 'Look here, these three eggs are yours, these the servant's, one here, and two of my own make three.'
- (56) *р-аъв-а р-ич1-а-алъа хьолъ-ид-о-рай гъа-рай-ил гъач1е-йингил*
 nH+-break nH+-die-caus-inf be_possible-impf-ptcp-nH+ dem-nH+ cop.neg
ил1ий-а лъаб-и-лов-а-да б-ит1а-е-б-ехва
 1pl.incl-topo3[loc] three-coll-hpl.obl-topo3[loc]-int n-straighten-pf-n-[pf]cvb
лъаблъаб-и к1арк1ан б-аъ-уда
 threethree-topo6 egg n-reach-impf
 'You can't break or spoil them either, and the three of us get exactly three each.'
- (57) *ха ха=къве гуда-бай-да релъехх-алъа-л релъехх-а данде ч1ч1авар-е валлагъ*
 =quot all-hpl-int laugh-inf-add laugh-pf together -pf
гъа-щу-л ил1и ц1акъа б-егъ-ан б-охва=къве къам-а ц1ц1ар-алъа
 dem-m.obl-erg 1pl.incl very n-be_defeated-pf n-[pf]cvb=quot eat-caus drink-inf
гъедела-л б-екк-оха хан-щу-л б-екк-оха каъа-р квалъо-б-ел
 thing-add n-give-[pf]cvb khan-m.obl-erg n-give-[pf]cvb on-all even_more-n-add
ссайгъат-ел б-екк-оха микъ-а-р ит-а уда ц1ц1е-в
 gift-add n-give-[pf]cvb way-topo3-all let-pf cop friend-M
 'Everyone laughed, clapping their hands (saying haha), he defeated us; after feeding him, after giving him more gifts, the khan sent him on his way.'

- (58) *гъера къвани ссайгъат гъу-гу-щув-а* *теъ-ала рак1ва*
 now much dem-low-m.obl-topo3[loc] obtain heart
бух1а-е-б-ехва хан-щув-а вазир къач1-а ида
 deplore-pf-n-[pf]cvb khan-m.obl[gen]-M councillor get_ready-pf cop
гъаги-щув-а хирхи-р в-оъ-анлъа ин-щув-а-да-л
 there-m.obl-topo3[loc] behind-all m-go-inf logo-m.obl-topo3[loc]-int-add
квалъо-б-лъибарил гъедела гъа-ги-щув-ч1о-гал теъ-алъа-оха=къ
 even_more-n thing dem-low-m.obl-topo1-abl obtain-inf-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘Seeing that he had received many gifts, and regretting it, the Khan’s adviser prepared to follow him, thinking perhaps to get something from him.’
- (59) *хан-щув-а-р-ел б-ац1ц1-онха гъа-в къач1-а ида хирхи-р*
 khan-m.obl-topo3-all-add n-ask dem-M get_ready-pf cop behind-all
 ‘After asking the Khan, he prepared to follow him.’
- (60) *хан-щув-л гъа-щув-а-р кекъ-ен ида в-оцд-а в-ук1-а ду-в-да ида-б*
 khan-m.obl-erg dem-m.obl-topo3-all speak-pf cop m-be-pf -M-int cop-n
хъване йарагъов-а-гал-ел минара-вха-гвала мен в-охъв-асс
 horse weapon-topo3-abl-add detach 2sg m-come-fut
 ‘The Khan said to him, ”leave him, can you stay here without your horse and your equipment?’”
- (61) *валлагъ ди-б рак1ва б-ик1-убич1е хирхи-р в-оъ-ан-ч1е-б-охва -оха=къ*
 1sg-n heart n-be-fut.neg behind-all m-go-pf-neg-n-[pf]cvb -[pf]cvb=quot
къач1-а ида вазир гъа-щув-а хирхи-р
 get_ready-pf cop councillor dem-m.obl-topo3[loc] behind-all
 ‘As if it had never happened, my heart would not rest, and if I did not follow him, the councillor gathered after him.’
- (62) *ил1и-б мигъе-л б-ещд-о-в-оха гъуги-до-б мигъи-л1и хирхи-р*
 1pl.incl-n field-add n-leave-pf-M-[pf]cvb there-hpl.obl-n field-topo7[loc] behind-all
гъвам-е ида вазир
 catch_up-pf cop councillor
 ‘Leaving our fields on them, the advisor caught up with him.’
- (63) *ваша це-б гъедела б-ихх-у ида б-ац1ц1-ин-ч1е-б-ехва*
 son one-n thing n-remain-pf cop n-ask-imp[intr]-neg-n-[pf]cvb
зах1малъ-ибар-ел мен гъерал хиди ссор-алъа в-окк-уда ида
 become_difficult-cond-add 2sg again in_front go_back-inf m-must-impf cop
 ‘Oh boy! There was one more left to ask, but no matter how hard it is, here you’ll probably want to come back.’
- (64) *ден ссунгъ-онвоха ида лъалорда гъулъи-р-ел гъарди-р-ел в-ол1-о-в-оха*
 1sg be_tired cop on_foot there-all-add there-all-add m-walk-ptcp-M-[pf]cvb

- ц1ек1а-би-л р-акъ1-ида*
foot-pl-add nH+-hurt-impf
‘I’m tired, my feet hurt from walking here and there on foot.’
- (65) *мен-а рек1в-анлъа хъване б-екк-ибар хиди ссор-алъа-л хъолъ-ида*
2sg-erg sit_on-inf horse n-give-cond in_front go_back-inf-add be_possible-impf
унч1овар дий-а в-ол1-алъа гин-да-ч1е
otherwise 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc] m-walk-inf be_able-impf-neg
‘If you give me a horse, maybe I’ll come back, but I can’t walk.’
- (66) *хъогъо-б ида б-екк-асс ду-ха-р хъване*
good-n cop n-give-fut 2sg-topo4-all horse
‘Alright, I’ll give you a horse.’
- (67) *вазир руцт1-ан хъваней-а-гал хъашихъарий-а рек1в-анлъа хъване*
councillor climb_off-pf horse-topo3-abl scabby-topo3[loc] sit_on-inf horse
теъ-а
obtain-pf
‘The councillor dismounted, and the scoundrel mounted his horse.’
- (68) *къ1ебереида-бохва б-ал1-е це-б квалъо-лълъи-л гъера милъе-л*
slowly hpl-walk-pf one-n even_more-nM.obl-erg now sun-add
б-окъ-е анссалъ-е б-ик1в-ала
n-be_hot-pf heat-pf n-be
‘They walked slowly for a short time, now the sun had become very warm.’
- (69) *вазир дув-а санаг1ат гъач1е-б-ехва ида гъо-б ххелчван йарагъ*
councillor 2sg-topo3[loc] possibility cop.neg-n-[pf]cvb cop dem-n sabre weapon
каъа-гал б-охъ-е-б-ехва гъарди къекъело-л гъадоъа-а-р гъенсс-ол мен-а
on-abl n-take-pf-n-[pf]cvb there saddle summit-topo3-all why-q 2sg-erg
гъо-б ххелчван йарагъ т1ам-е-ч1-о-б
dem-n sabre weapon throw-pf-neg-ptcp-n
‘Hey councilman, you’re not doing well, why don’t you put your weapons on the saddle?’
- (70) *гъу-лъ-и-р в-аъ-ида-йгил ду-б-да йарагъ каъа б-акъ1-а-в-оха в-ол1-алъа*
dem-pl-all m-reach-impf 2sg-n-int weapon on n-wear-pf-M-[pf]cvb m-walk-inf
‘When we get close (to the village), you can wear them again.’
- (71) *ункъе ц1ва-м-ехва вазир-цу-л ххелчван йарагъ къекъелъ-а-р*
take_seriously-n-[pf]cvb councillor-m.obl-erg sabre weapon saddle-topo3-all
т1ам-е
throw-pf
‘Following this, the councilor put his weapons on the saddle.’

- (72) *бигъагебоха квалъо-б ссиди-хъ б-аъ-а-ла хъаишхъари-л*
 calmly even_more-n in_front-topo5[loc] n-go-pf-when.cvb scabby-erg
вазир-щув-а зѣбухъолъи гагъ-е
 councillor-m.obl-topo3[loc] goodbye do-pf
 ‘As they started moving forward slowly, the boy said good-bye to the councillor.’
- (73) *ин-щув-а це-б г1едег1а-б гагъ-алъа-л1о-б гъедела б-ик1в-а б-ечеч-а*
 logo-m.obl-M one-n urgent-n do-inf-fut.ptcp-n thing n-be-pf n-forget-pf
б-ихх-у-б-охва же-в гъо-б гагъ-алъа хиди ссвер-алъа в-окк-уда уда
 n-remain-pf-n-[pf]cvb logo-M dem-n do-inf in_front turn-inf m-must-impf cop
 ‘Saying that he had an urgent matter that he had forgotten about and he needed to go back.’
- (74) *мен-а г1айиб гагъ-е-биссе мен къ1еберещдоха в-охъ-алъа хъолъ-уда*
 2sg-erg anger do-pf 2sg slowly m-come-inf be_possible-impf
-б-оха=къе хъване-л хъам-е йарагъ-ел хъам-оха хъаишхъар ссигал
 -n-[pf]cvb=quot horse-add seize-pf weapon-add seize-[pf]cvb scabby in_front
в-от-а
 m-escape-pf
 ‘Don’t be angry, you can walk quietly, he said, he seized the horse, seized the weapons, and the scoundrel ran away.’
- (75) *вазир-щув-а б-иъ-ид-о-б б-ик1в-а-ч1е гъа-щув-б*
 councillor-m.obl-topo3[loc] n-know-impf-ptcp-n n-be-pf-neg dem-m.obl[gen]-n
миса-л гъа-щув-б има ила-л йалъибар гъа-щув-б ц1ц1ери-л
 room-add dem-m.obl[gen]-n father mother-erg or dem-m.obl[gen]-n name-add
 ‘The councillor didn’t know his house, nor his parents, or even his name.’
- (76) *хъаишхъарий-а давла теъ-а вазир-щув-а г1акъуба теъ-а*
 scabby-topo3[loc] wealth obtain-pf councillor-m.obl-topo3[loc] sufferings obtain-pf
 ‘The boy got wealth, the councillor got suffering.’