

- (1) *це-б городий-а в-ук1-а идйа хан*
 one-n city-topo3[loc] m-be-pf cop khan
 ‘There was a khan in a town.’
- (2) *гво-щув й-ик1в-а идйа це-й йаше*
 dem-m.obl-M f-be-pf cop one-f girl
 ‘He had one daughter.’
- (3) *гво-б-да городий-а в-ук1-а идйа це-в намещик гву-щув в-ук1-а*
 dem-n-int city-topo3[loc] m-be-pf cop one-M landowner dem-m.obl[gen]-M m-be-pf
идйа ваиша
 cop son
 ‘In this same town live a landowner who had a son.’
- (4) *гво-бай б-ак1в-а идйа ч1икваро-бай халкџи-ч1о бакџи ц1ц1ери*
 dem-hpl n-be-pf cop beautiful-hpl people-topo1[loc] between name
анлъ-о-бай г1адан-ди
 hear-ptcp-hpl man-pl
 ‘They were part of the crowd of beautiful and famous people.’
- (5) *гвор-до-б б-ик1в-а идйа це-щув-к1ел це-б рокџи*
 dem.pl-hpl.obl[gen]-n n-be-pf cop one-m.obl-com one-n love
 ‘There were in love.’
- (6) *гвакџу-да решин-лџлџи-л гво-бай истолов-а*
 seven-int year-nM.obl-erg dem-hpl table-topo3[loc]
инк-уд-о-бгури-ч1е-б-ехва гваџ-а-м-ахва кџуса-бай це-б-елгури
 eat-impf-ptcp-nplace[loc]-neg-n-[pf]cvb see-pf-n only-hpl one-n-addplace[loc]
гваџ-ан-л б-ак1в-а-ч1е идйа
 see-pf-add hpl-be-pf-neg cop
 ‘For 7 years, they saw each other only in the dining room, they were not seen anywhere else.’
- (7) *це-б эши инк-уда ц1ц1ар-да б-ак1в-а идйа инарал ва*
 one-n room[loc] eat-impf drink-impf n-be-pf cop general coord
гво-щув-а б-алџлџо-май б-ечедо-бай г1адан-ди
 dem-m.obl-topo3[loc] hpl-similar-hpl n-wealthy-hpl man-pl
 ‘In the room, the general and the rich people like him ate and drank.’
- (8) *гвор-до-л бас-индйа б-ик1в-а идйа гва-ди-й г1адан-лџлџи-л1 ххабар*
 dem.pl-hpl.obl-erg tell-impf n-be-pf cop dem-sl-f person-nM.obl-gen news
ин-дов-а гво-й теџ-а-ч1е-лџерил1 х1акџалџыл
 logo-hpl.obl-topo3[loc] dem-f obtain-pf-neg about
 ‘They talked about this woman, that they didn’t get her.’

- (9) *гво-б замана-лълъи-л гворге кекъи гвор-до-ха-р андук-оха в-ук1-а*
 dem-n time-nM.obl-erg there under dem.pl-hpl.obl-topo4-all listen-[pf]cvb m-be-pf
идъа це-в къват1а-лал хахол
 cop one-M street boot
 ‘At that time, under the window, a street Russian (a random wanderer) was listening to them.’
- (10) *гво-в релъехх-а идъа гбу-лълъи-дов-а гво-б анлъ-е идъа*
 dem-M laugh-pf cop dem-hl-hpl.obl-topo3[loc] dem-n hear-pf cop
 ‘He laughed, they heard it.’
- (11) *гвингвар-хълъи-гал гъекъе-р б-ахх-ила в-ус-ан идъа ин-дов-а-гал*
 window-topo5-abl outside-all hpl-appear m-find-pf cop logo-hpl.obl-topo3-abl
релъехх-а-в-оха къват1а-лал хахол
 laugh-pf-M-[pf]cvb street boot
 ‘When they looked out of the window, they found the wanderer who was laughing at them.’
- (12) *гвор-до-л гва-в каъа-р к1к1а-ан идъа мен гълъа-л*
 dem.pl-hpl.obl-erg dem-M on-all call-pf cop 2sg why-q
релъехх-а-в-оха=къ б-ац1ц1-ен идъа
 laugh-pf-M-[pf]cvb=quot n-ask-pf cop
 ‘They shouted: why did you laugh, they asked.’
- (13) *гва-щу-л кекъ-ен идъа валлагъ бищдий-а-гал релъе б-аъ-а-в-оха*
 dem-m.obl-erg speak-pf cop 2pl-topo3-abl laughter n-reach-pf-M-[pf]cvb
релъехх-а
 laugh-pf
 ‘He replied: indeed, I was laughing at you.’
- (14) *бищдив-а-р гъенсс-ол гво-й теъ-а-ч1-о-й г1арсе ид-овар*
 2pl.obl-topo3-all why-q dem-f obtain-pf-neg-ptcp-f money
дий-а теъ-алъа ида гво-й=къе кекъ-ен идъа
 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc] obtain-inf cop dem-f=quot speak-pf cop
 ‘Why didn’t you get her? if I have money, I can get her, he said’
- (15) *гвар-до-л кекъ-ен идъа ищи-л дув-а г1арсе б-игъа-асс*
 dem.pl-hpl.obl-erg speak-pf cop 1pl.excl-erg 2sg-topo3[loc] money n-supply-fut
гвинцту-ъо къора-йбарел решино-ч1о гъини мен-а гво-й г1адан й-елъ-а
 -like whichever year-topo1[loc] inside[loc] 2sg-erg dem-f person f-lead-pf
й-елъ-ач1авар ищи-л мен к1к1ваб-алъа идъа
 f-lead 1pl.excl-erg 2sg kill-inf cop
 ‘They said to him, “We will give you as much money as you need, and you must marry her within a year, and if you do not marry, we will kill you.”’

- (16) *гъера хахол-щуп-л байбихъа-а идъа ц1ц1ар-алъа къам-алъа кеп гагъ-алъа*
 now boot-m.obl-erg start-pf cop drink-inf eat-inf happiness do-inf
 ‘Now the Russian began to drink, eat and be merry.’
- (17) *це-б замана-лълъи-л хахол ургъ-е идъа гъа-ди-б гъедела-а замана-л*
 one-n time-nM.obl-erg boot think-pf cop dem-sl-n thing-topo3[loc] time-add
б-оъ-ан-л1а идъа ден-а ц1ехха-алъа б-еккв-асс-ел-оха=къ б-ац1ц1-ен
 n-go-pf cop 1sg-erg look_for-inf n-must-fut-add-[pf]cvb=quot n-ask-pf
б-ас-ан идъа г1адан-ди-лов-а-р
 n-inform-pf cop man-pl-hpl.obl-topo3-all
 ‘At one time, the Russian thought, ah, time is already running out on that case, I have to start looking, and he made enquiries with people.’
- (18) *г1адан-ди хахол-щув-а релгъехх-а идъа*
 man-pl boot-m.obl-topo3[loc] laugh-pf cop
 ‘People laughed at him.’
- (19) *дъу-а гъаъ-инд-о-й г1адан гъач1е гъо-й гъо-й гъаъ-анлъа*
 2sg-topo3[loc] see-impf-ptcp-f person cop.neg dem-f dem-f see-inf
къора-а б-ис-имар мен в-оъ-ин пулано-в
 whichever-topo3[loc] n-find_oneself-cond 2sg m-go-imp[intr] some_kind_of-M
аибазий-а-р
 dining_room-topo3-all
 ‘You can’t see her, if you want to see her, you have to go to this dining room.’
- (20) *гъорди-р й-ехъ-уда гъо-й инкв-алъа*
 there-all f-come-impf dem-f eat-inf
 ‘She goes to eat there.’
- (21) *хахол гъорди-р в-оъ-ан идъа гъинц1ц1у-ч1о хиги к1ус-е идъа*
 boot there-all m-go-pf cop door-topo1[loc] behind sit_down-pf cop
же-щуб-да пурма-к1еллъоха
 logo-m.obl-n-int uniform
 ‘The Russian went there outside the door and sat down in his uniform.’
- (22) *ч1ух1о-б пайтун-ел рек1в-ан-й-ехва хан-щуп-й йаше й-ехъв-а идъа*
 beautiful-n -add sit_on-pf-f-[pf]cvb khan-m.obl-f girl f-come-pf cop
 ‘The Khan’s daughter arrived on a beautiful chaise.’
- (23) *хирхир-да гъо-лълъи-л1 къ1аб-о-в гъек1ва-л в-охъ-а идъа*
 dem-nM.obl-gen love-ptcp-M man-add m-come-pf cop
 ‘The man she loves came after her.’

- (24) *гъо-бай ч1ух1о-бгъури гъеч1ессиги к1ус-е идйа гъа-ги-в*
 dem-hpl beautiful-nplace[loc] at_first sit_down-pf cop dem-low-M
намищик-щу-в ваша-щу-л к1к1а-ан идйа дий-а-л
 landowner-m.obl[gen]-M son-m.obl-erg call-pf cop 1sg.obl-topo3[loc]-add
гъа-лълъий-а-л гъурущий-а къамер б-агъ-а
 dem-nM.obl-topo3[loc]-add ruble-topo3[loc] food n-take-imp[tr]
 ‘They sat down in this beautiful place, and the landowner’s son called: ”Bring us for one rouble.”’
- (25) *-б-ехва=къе*
 -n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘
- (26) *гъа-ги-дов-а хахол-щу-л к1к1а-ан идйа дий-а*
 dem-low-hpl.obl-topo3[loc] boot-m.obl-erg call-pf cop 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc]
лъаб-да гъурущий-а къамер б-агъ-а -б-ехва=къе
 three-int ruble-topo3[loc] food n-take-imp[tr] -n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘The Russian shouted: And bring me food for three roubles.’
- (27) *гъо-б замана-лълъи-л гъа-ги-в намещика-щу-в ваша-щу-б ссиге*
 dem-n time-nM.obl-erg dem-low-M landowner-m.obl[gen]-M son-m.obl[gen]-n anger
б-агъ-а идйа
 n-reach-pf cop
 ‘At this time, the landowner’s son became angry.’
- (28) *элъел къам-ибар ал1и къам-алгъа гъедела гъач1-о-в хахол-щу-л*
 today eat-cond tomorrow eat-inf thing cop.neg-ptcp-M boot-m.obl-erg
ин-щу-к1ел жак1да гъа-о-б-дахгъа к1к1а-ан хири -б-ехва=къе
 logo-m.obl-com competition do-ptcp-n call-pf after -n-[pf]cvb=quot
ал1иба-лел гъа-ди-б-да замана-а инкв-алгъа б-ахъв-а идйа
 next_day dem-sl-n-int time-topo3[loc] eat-inf hpl-come-pf cop
 ‘If he eats today, there will be nothing to eat tomorrow, the Russian called this way to start competing with me, he said, and the next day at this time they came to eat again.’
- (29) *гъа-ди-б-да гъа-в хахол-ел гъа-ди-в в-очедо-в гъек1ва-щу-в ваша-щу-л*
 dem-sl-n-int dem-M boot-add dem-sl-M m-wealthy-M man-m.obl-M son-m.obl-erg
к1к1а-ан идйа ин-щув-а-л гъа-лълъий-а-л лъаб-да
 call-pf cop logo-m.obl-topo3[loc]-add dem-nM.obl-topo3[loc]-add three-int
гъурущий-а къамер б-агъ-а-б-ехва=къе
 ruble-topo3[loc] food n-take-imp[tr]-n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘In the same place, this Russian and that rich man’s son called: ”Bring me and her food for three rubles.”’

- (30) *гъа-ги-б-ел кѣам-е-б-охва гъа-ги-бай б-аъ-ан идѣа*
 dem-low-n-add eat-pf-n-[pf]cvb dem-low-hpl hpl-go-[pf]cvb cop
 ‘When they had eaten this, they left.’
- (31) *лѣаб-да-п1о-б зебу-лѣлѣи-л-ел гъа-ги-б-да замана же-щу-б-да*
 three-int-ord-n day-nM.obl-erg-add dem-low-n-int time logo-m.obl-n-int
мак1вай-кѣ1а гъинѣ1ѣ1у-ч1о хиги хахол-ел к1ус-е идѣа
 place-topo2[loc] door-topo1[loc] behind boot-add sit_down-pf cop
 ‘And on the third day, at the same time in the same place behind the door, the Russian sat down.’
- (32) *гъу-ди-да гъу-ду-бай-л к1ус-е уда*
 dem-sl-int dem-sl-hpl-add sit_down-pf cop
 ‘There, the same ate.’
- (33) *ѣах1 б-екк-у-б-ехва гъу-ду-щу-л к1к1а-ан идѣа дий-а-л*
 patience n-give-pf-n-[pf]cvb dem-sl-m.obl-erg call-pf cop 1sg.obl-topo3[loc]-add
гъа-лѣлѣий-а-л гъаѣ1а-да гъурущий-а кѣамер
 dem-nM.obl-topo3[loc]-add ten-int ruble-topo3[loc] food
б-агъ-а-б-ехва=кѣе
 n-take-imp[tr]-n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘Still competing, he called out: bring me food for 10 roubles.’
- (34) *гъа-ги-д-о-б кѣам-е-б-хва б-ахъ-ѣнѣла хахол-щу-л к1к1а-ан идѣа*
 eat-pf-n-[pf]cvb hpl-end boot-m.obl-erg call-pf cop
дий-а лѣаб-да туманий-а кѣамер
 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc] three-int ten_rubles-topo3[loc] food
б-агъ-а-б-ехва=кѣе
 n-take-imp[tr]-n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘When they were done eating the Russian called out: bring me food for thirty roubles.’
- (35) *гъо-б замана-лѣлѣи-л гъа-ги-щу-л кекъ-ен идѣа ин-щу-ѣ-да кѣ1аб-о-ѣ*
 dem-n time-nM.obl-erg dem-low-m.obl-erg speak-pf cop logo-m.obl-f-int love-ptcp-f
г1адан-лѣлѣий-а-р гъа-б гъакъу-да решиин идѣа ди-б дув-а хирхи-р
 person-nM.obl-topo3-all dem-n seven-int year cop 1sg-n 2sg-topo3[loc] behind-all
ехадал ден ду-ха-р в-охъ-алѣа изну б-екк-а -б-ехва=кѣе
 evening 1sg -topo4-all m-come-inf authorization n-give-imp[tr] -n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘At that time, this guy said to his beloved: “I have been courting you for seven years, give me permission to come to you tonight.”’
- (36) *гъа-ги-лѣлѣи-л кекъ-ен идѣа ссаг1ат гъаѣ1а-л к1е-да-а*
 dem-low-nM.obl-erg speak-pf cop hour ten-add two-int-topo3[loc]
в-охъ-у -б-ехва=кѣе
 m-come-imp[intr] -n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘She said: come at 12am’

- (37) *гво-б замана-лгълѣи-л хахол в-ук1-а идѣа андук-о-в-оха*
 dem-n time-nM.obl-erg boot m-be-pf cop listen-pf-M-[pf]cvb
 ‘The Russian was listening.’
- (38) *гво-щув-а гво-б-ел анлъ-е идѣа*
 dem-m.obl-topo3[loc] dem-n-add hear-pf cop
 ‘He heard this.’
- (39) *гворгал гьерч1ч1-оха хахол в-оѣ-ан идѣа ссаг1ат-аба-л1 г1адулу*
 there stand_up-[pf]cvb boot m-go-pf cop hour-pl-gen order
гегъ-ид-о-в гъек1ва-щув-ха-р ссаг1ат гъац1а-л це-б т1об-а-рил1и
 pick-impf-ptcp-M man-m.obl-topo4-all hour ten-add one-n
гъац1а-л к1е-да ч1ч1вар-ерихъ гъинц1ду-ѣо-л ха-асс мен-а
 ten-add two-int hit -like-add request-fut 2sg-erg
 ‘From there, the Russian went to the clock master to ask how much he would charge for changing the clock, when it would be 11 o’clock, so that it would be 12 o’clock, how much would you ask?’
- (40) *-оха=къ*
 -[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘,
- (41) *гву-гу-щув-л лѣаб-да гъуруц ха-а идѣа*
 dem-low-m.obl-erg three-int ruble request-pf cop
 ‘He asked for 3 roubles.’
- (42) *хъату-би-и ссаг1ат-ел б-илъ-овоха гъац1а-лк1е-да гъинда-л-ахъе*
 hand-pl-topo6[loc] hour-add n-put ten-addtwo-int when-erg
т1оба-йда -оха=къ в-ук1-а гво-в
 complete-impf -[pf]cvb=quot m-be-pf dem-M
 ‘Holding the watch in his hands, he wondered when it would strike 12 o’clock.’
- (43) *гво-щув-б миса-л б-ик1в-а идѣа гъат1анов-а-гал ч1ч1ида*
 dem-m.obl[gen]-n house-add n-be-pf cop -topo3-abl far
 ‘His house was no further than Hatan.’
- (44) *гъа-гу-в хахол в-оѣ-ан идѣа гьерк1а-м магазений-а-р гворгал б-агъ-е идѣа*
 dem-low-M boot m-go-pf cop big-n shop-topo3-all there n-buy-pf cop
гъа-гу-в бечеда-в гъек1ва-щув-лгълѣий-а б-алгълѣо-м ракъ1ар
 dem-low-M wealthy-M man-m.obl[gen]-nM.obl-pf n-similar-n clothes
 ‘This Russian went to a big store, and there he bought clothes that were the same as the rich man’s.’

- (45) *х1амам-и-р-ел в-оъ-ан-в-оха черххе-л б-уч-ан идйа миц1ц1а-б*
bathroom-topo6-all-add m-go-pf-M-[pf]cvb body-add n-wash-pf cop sweet-n
хъванй-и-л гагъ-е идйа
smell-topo6[loc]-add do-pf cop
‘He bathed in the bath and perfumed himself.’
- (46) *ч1ух1о-б пайтун-ел б-икк-оха х1адур в-ук1-а идйа*
beautiful-n sofa-add n-hold-[pf]cvb ready m-be-pf cop
‘He hired a nice chaise and was ready.’
- (47) *ссаг1ат гъац1а-лце-б т1оба-йла гъац1а-лк1е-да ч1ч1вар-е идйа б-елъ-а*
hour ten-addone-n complete ten-addtwo-int hit-pf cop n-lead-pf
пайтуни-к1ел гъа-ги-й г1адан-лълъи-ха-р в-оъ-ан идйа хахол
sofa-com dem-low-f person-nM.obl-topo4-all m-go-pf cop boot
‘When 11 o’clock struck, Hatani struck 12, taking a chaise to the woman, he went.’
- (48) *гъа-ги-й хъогъо-б къамеро-к1ел миц1ц1а-б ц1ц1ар-д-о-б гъедела-лълъи-к1ел*
dem-low-f good-n food-com sweet-n drink-impf-ptcp-n thing-nM.obl-com
х1адур й-ик1в-а идйа
ready f-be-pf cop
‘She was ready with good food and delicious drinks.’
- (49) *гъа-в гъинц1ц1у-къи-р в-аъ-ила данде й-ехъв-а идйа*
dem-M door-topo8-all m-reach together f-come-pf cop
‘As soon as he entered the courtyard, she came out to meet him.’
- (50) *гъа-цу-л кекъ-ен идйа гъо-рай гъац1а-рай лампи-ди ин-щув-а*
dem-m.obl-erg speak-pf cop dem-nH+ white-nH+ lamp-pl logo-m.obl-topo3[loc]
р-акъ-ида-ч1е г1ачо-рай лампи-би р-илъ-а -ехва=къ
nH+-suit-impf-neg green-nH+ lamp-pl nH+-put-imp[tr] -[pf]cvb=quot
‘He said to her, “Those white lights don’t suit me, put the green lights.”’
- (51) *гъо-б замана-лълъи-л гъо-лълъи-к1ел сару кеп ихтилатий-а*
dem-n time-nM.obl-erg dem-nM.obl-com next happiness happiness-topo3[loc]
инк-уда ц1ц1ар-да в-ук1-а идйа
eat-impf drink-impf m-be-pf cop
‘At this time, they ate and drank together, having a good time.’
- (52) *б-екк-у б-екк-уд-о-б-ел це-б къ1ек1у-сс-ел гагъ-е ида*
n-end_up-pf n-give-impf-ptcp-n-add one-n more-atbz-add do-pf cop
‘They did everything proper and more.’
- (53) *гагъ-е-б-ехва ссаг1ат б-оъ-ан идйа*
do-pf-n-[pf]cvb hour n-go-pf cop
‘An hour passed.’

- (54) *гъера гъац1а-лк1е-да бит1ē т1обари-л1и* *гъу-дъ-в*
 now ten-addtwo-int just completemoment-topo7[loc] dem-sl-M
ин-лълъи-л1-да къ1аб-о-в гъек1ва в-охъ-а идъа гъинц1ц1у-къи-р
 logo-nM.obl-gen-int love-ptcp-M man m-come-pf cop door-topo8-all
 ‘When 12 struck, her lover entered the yard.’
- (55) *гъо-б замана-лълъи-л эши* *ида-в хахол-щъ-л* *кекъ-ен идъа гъа-ги-в*
 dem-n time-nM.obl-erg room[loc] cop-M boot-m.obl-erg speak-pf cop dem-low-M
гъекъе-р в-охъ-а-в гъек1ва в-ук1-алъа в-окк-уда гъа-ди-в суни
 outside-all m-come-pf-M man m-be-inf m-must-impf dem-sl-M yesterday
ашбазий-а в-ук1-а-в хахол й-еъ-ан-й-ехва гъа-ги-б т1арссе
 dining_room-topo3[loc] m-be-pf-M boot f-go-pf-f-[pf]cvb dem-low-n basin
ч1еб-а-а гъу-гъу-щъ-в-а каъа-р
 spill-caus-pf dem-low-m.obl-topo3[loc] on-all
 ‘At that time, the Russian in the room said: It seems that the Russian sitting in the dining room yesterday came into the yard, and they brought a basin of slop to him.’
- (56) *гъа-лълъи-л ин-до-б-да* *б-учанчур-о-б т1арссе каъа-р ч1еб-а идъа*
 dem-nM.obl-erg logo-hpl.obl[gen]-n-int n-wash-ptcp-n basin on-all spill-pf cop
 ‘She poured out the basin all over him.’
- (57) *гъа-ги-в-ел бикъ1е б-ик1в-а-в-оха* *хиди ссор-е идъа*
 dem-low-M-add bad n-be-pf-M-[pf]cvb back turn-pf cop
 ‘He got angry and left.’
- (58) *гъо-б релъа-лълъи-л кван-лълъиласс хан-щъ-й йаше-лълъи-к1ел-ел*
 dem-n night-nM.obl-erg khan-m.obl-f girl-nM.obl-com-add
в-ук1-а-в-оха рагъада хахол хиди в-оъ-ан-л1а в-ук1-а идъа
 m-be-pf-M-[pf]cvb in_the_morning boot back m-go-pf m-be-pf cop
 ‘That evening, having been with the Khan’s daughter until the morning, the Russian left in the morning.’
- (59) *гъа-ги-лълъи-л ссайгъати-л1 ин-лълъи-л1-да меседи-л1 лъиц1елащун-ел*
 dem-low-nM.obl-erg gift-gen logo-nM.obl-gen-int silver-gen ring-add
б-екк-е идъа хахол-щъ-в-а
 n-give-pf cop boot-m.obl-topo3[loc]
 ‘And she gave him her gold ring.’
- (60) *ал1уба-л гъа-ди-б-да замана-л ашбазий-а-р инкв-алъа хан-щъ-й*
 next_day-add dem-sl-n-int time-add dining_room-topo3-all eat-inf khan-m.obl-f
йаше-л й-ехъ-в-а идъа ва гъо-лълъи-л1 ссиги-да в-ук1-а-в къ1аб-о-в
 girl-add f-come-pf cop coord dem-nM.obl-gen previous-int m-be-pf-M love-ptcp-M
гъек1ва-л в-охъ-а идъа
 man-add m-come-pf cop
 ‘The next day, at the same time, the Khan’s daughter and her former lover came to the

dining room to eat.’

- (61) *гъа-ги-лълъи-ха-р мугъул-ел ссор-о-в-оха к1ус-е ида гъа-в*
dem-low-nM.obl-topo4-all back-add turn-ptcp-M-[pf]cvb sit_down-pf cop dem-M
‘He sat down with his back to her.’
- (62) *гъа-лълъий-а рак1ва-а-р ц1ва-ан идйа же-й инжита-алъа*
dem-nM.obl-topo3[loc] heart-topo3-all remember-pf cop logo-f dishonor-inf
ургъ-е в-ук1-а-йда гъа-в лъарахъ ин-лълъи-к1ел мурад т1оба-алъа элъл
think-pf m-be-pf-impf dem-M last_night logo-nM.obl-com wish complete-inf today
т1ура-йда-б-оха=къе
get_angry-impf-n-[pf]cvb=quot
‘It occurred to her that he only wanted to humiliate her, that he had been with her last night, and that now he’s upset.’
- (63) *гъа-щув-а-р рак1ва-а-р ц1ва-ан идйа гъакъуда решин-лълъи-л*
dem-m.obl-topo3-all heart-topo3-all remember-pf cop seven year-nM.obl-erg
же-в къам-алъа къуса-в гъа-лълъий-а же-в къор-а в-ук1-а-ч1е ида
logo-M eat-inf only-M dem-nM.obl-topo3[loc] logo-M want-pf m-be-pf-neg cop
‘And he thought, for seven years she only wanted to use him.’
- (64) *гъа-щул-ккъ-ен идйа дий-а гъуруций-а къамер*
dem-m.obl-erg speak-pf cop 1sg.obl[gen]-topo3[loc] rouble-topo3[loc] food
б-агъ-а -б-ехва=къе гъа-ги-б зебув-а-р р-аъ-шласс
n-take-imp[tr] -n-[pf]cvb=quot dem-low-n day-topo3-all nH+-reach
дий-а-л гъа-лълъий-а-л -б-ехва=къе ккъ-инд-о-б
1sg.obl-topo3[loc]-add dem-nM.obl-topo3[loc]-add -n-[pf]cvb=quot speak-impf-ptcp-n
б-ик1в-а идйа
n-be-pf cop
‘And he said: Bring me food for one rouble (until this day he would always say ”me and her”).’
- (65) *гъера хахол-щул-к1к1а-ан идйа гъинц1ц1у-ч1о хи-гал устул-а*
now boot-m.obl-erg call-pf cop door-topo1[loc] behind-abl table-topo3[loc]
хъату-л ч1ч1вар-е-б-ехва гъерц1-а-а рекъ1а-л б-икк-е-б-ехва
hand-add hit-pf-n-[pf]cvb rise-caus-pf hand-erg n-hold-pf-n-[pf]cvb
дий-а-л гъа-ди-й хан-щу-й йаше-лълъий-а-л лъаб-да
1sg.obl-topo3[loc]-add dem-sl-f khan-m.obl-f girl-nM.obl-topo3[loc]-erg three-int
тумений-а къамер б-агъ-а -б-ухва=къе
ten_rubles-topo3[loc] food n-take-imp[tr] -n=quot
‘And now the Russian shouted from behind the door, striking the table and raising his hand: ”Bring me and the khan’s daughter for 30 roubles of food.”’

- (66) *гъера й-ек1-инйа гъа-ги-лълъий-а гъаъ-ан идйа ин-лълъи-л1*
 now f-look dem-low-nM.obl-topo3[loc] see-pf cop logo-nM.obl-gen
лъиц1елащун хахол-щун-ч1о лъиц1елов-а
 ring boot-m.obl-topo1[loc] finger-topo3[loc]
 ‘When she looked, she saw her ring on his finger.’
- (67) *гъера б-иъ-а идйа гъа-ги-лълъий-а же-й хахол-щун-л мекъса*
 now n-know-pf cop dem-low-nM.obl-topo3[loc] logo-f boot-m.obl-erg incorrectly
й-еккв-а-а-лъер
 f-end_up-caus-pf
 ‘Then it dawned on her that the Russian waylaid her.’
- (68) *гъа-лълъи-л хъвар-е-б-хва кагъат т1ам-е идйа хахол-щув-а*
 dem-nM.obl-erg write-pf-n-[pf]cvb letter throw-pf cop boot-m.obl-topo3[loc]
ссиги-р хахол-щув-а гъо-б ц1ц1ала-алъа б-иъ-а-ч1-о-б
 in_front-all boot-m.obl-topo3[loc] dem-n read-inf n-know-pf-neg-ptcp-n
б-ик1в-а ида
 n-be-pf cop
 ‘She wrote a letter and threw it to the Russian, the Russian didn’t know how to read.’
- (69) *гъа-ги-б кагъат це-в ссодинт-щув-а гъаъ-ан идйа ц1ц1ала-алъа-б-ехва=къе*
 dem-low-n letter one-M student-m.obl-pf see-pf cop read-inf-n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘He showed the letter to a student so he’d read it.’
- (70) *ссодинт-щун-л кекъ-ен идйа ссаг1ат гъац1а-лк1е-да в-охъ-у*
 student-m.obl-erg speak-pf cop hour ten-addtwo-int m-come-imp[intr]
-б-ехва=къе идйа -б-ехва=къе
 -n-[pf]cvb=quot cop -n-[pf]cvb=quot
 ‘The student said: at 12 tonight, come, he said.’
- (71) *ссаг1ат гъац1а-лк1е-да т1обари-л1и хахол же-щун-б-да*
 hour ten-addtwo-int completemoment-topo7[loc] boot logo-m.obl-n-int
пурма-к1ел ва же-щун-б-да ракъ1еро-к1ел в-оъ-ан идйа гъа-ди-й
 uniform-com coord logo-m.obl-n-int clothes-com m-go-pf cop dem-sl-f
хан-щун-й йаше-лълъи-ха-р
 khan-m.obl-f girl-nM.obl-topo4-all
 ‘As 12 o’clock struck, the Russian in his uniform went to the khan’s daughter’s.’
- (72) *гъа-в в-охъ-ула б-охъ-е-б-ехва нихило-л1и-р таманча б-ит1-а идйа*
 dem-M m-come n-take-pf-n-[pf]cvb chest-topo7-all rifle n-tear_apart-pf cop
мен-а же-й сура-а гъера мен-а же-й й-елъ-а й-елъ-ач1овар ин-лълъи-л
 2sg-erg logo-f shame-pf now 2sg-erg logo-f f-lead-pf f-lead logo-nM.obl-erg
мен к1к1ваб-алъа идйа
 2sg kill-inf cop
 ‘As soon as he entered, she pointed a gun at her chest: “You’ve shamed me, now you

have to marry me, if you don't marry me, I'll kill you.”

- (73) *хахол в-оццехх-е идйа гьо-б б-игьа-б гьедела ида-л*
 boot m-be_happy-pf cop dem-n n-easy-n thing cop-add
 ‘He rejoiced, it was easy.’
- (74) *хан-щу-й йаше й-елъ-а идйа*
 khan-m.obl-f girl f-lead-pf cop
 ‘He married the khan’s daughter.’
- (75) *гьо-лълъи-к1ел кепий-а хахол-щу-б замана б-ол1-е идйа*
 dem-nM.obl-com happiness-topo3[loc] boot-m.obl[gen]-n time n-happen-pf cop
 ‘With her, time passed happy for the Russian.’
- (76) *гьера гьу-дү-бай инарал-щув-а ва гьу-щү-бай гьалмагъ-ди-лов-а*
 now dem-sl-hpl general-m.obl-pf coord dem-m.obl-hpl comrade-pl-hpl.obl-topo3[loc]
гагъ-о-б кьот1и-л замана б-аъ-а идйа
 do-ptcp-n agreement-add time n-reach-pf cop
 ‘Now the time has come for that general and his friends.’
- (77) *гьар-до-л гьа-в к1к1а-ан идйа*
 dem.pl-hpl.obl-erg dem-M call-pf cop
 ‘They called him.’
- (78) *гьорди-р в-оъ-ан-л1а-йнгил сару ин-щү-й-да гьарк1к1е-л й-елъ-а-в-оха*
 there-all m-go-pf together logo-m.obl-f-int wife-erg f-lead-pf-M-[pf]cvb
в-оъ-ан ида
 m-go-pf cop
 ‘He went there with his wife.’
- (79) *ин-дов-а-гал хахол в-уш-а-н-ий-а хахол в-уш-анлъя г1арсе*
 logo-hpl.obl-topo3-abl boot m-win-pf-msd-obl-topo3[loc] boot m-win-inf money
б-екк-у-р-ий-а гьа-ги-бай-ил мук1урлъ-е идйа
 n-pf-msd-obl-topo3[loc] dem-low-hpl realize-pf cop
 ‘They acknowledged that the Russian defeated them and earned money.’
- (80) *хан-щү-й йаше хахол-щув-а-л теъ-а идйа*
 khan-m.obl-f girl boot-m.obl-topo3[loc]-add obtain-pf cop
 ‘The khan’s daughter went to a Russian.’