Helma van den Berg

Dargi folktales

Oral stories from the Caucasus and an introduction to Dargi grammar

CNWS



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Oral Stories from the Caucasus
With an Introduction to Dargi Grammar

Helma van den Berg

Research School of Asian,
African, and Amerindian Studies
Universiteit Leiden
The Netherlands
2001

CNWS PUBLICATIONS
No. 106

CNWS PUBLICATIONS is a series produced by the Research School CNWS, Leiden University, The Netherlands.

Editorial board: M. Forrer; F. Hüsken; K. Jongeling; H. Maier; P. Silva; B. Walraven

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Dargi folktales. Oral stories from the Caucasus. With an introduction to Dargi grammar / Helma van den Berg - Leiden: Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies (CNWS), Universiteit Leiden. - (CNWS Publications, No. 106, ISSN 0925-3084).

ISBN: 90-5789-066-6

Subject headings: Caucasus; Daghistan; linguistics

Printing: Ridderprint, Ridderkerk
Front cover design: Nelleke Oosten.

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ахъушантас
aqušan-t-a-s
inhabitant.of.Akusha-PL-OBL-DAT
'for the villagers of Akusha'

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SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

The following signs are used:

Ø	zero morpheme
-	inflectional morpheme boundary
<>	infix
<>>	infix with suffixal gender agreement
=	derivational morpheme boundary
+	compound morpheme boundary

A dot (.) is used for more clarity in three cases:
a. with petrified compounds (duʕ.aʔ, ʕäyar.q'äna);
b. with petrified gender prefixes in compounds (kumek+b.ar);
c. morphonologically assimilated verb forms (ka.yx̂).
Boundaries of type b and c are represented by a colon (:) in the glosses.

The following abbreviations are used:

1	1st person
1p	1st person plural
2	2nd person
2p	2nd person plural
3	3rd person
A	Agent
ABS	absolutive
ABSTR	abstract
AG	agentive
ALL	allative
AOR	aorist
ASA	'as soon as'
asp	aspirated
ADJ	adjective
ADP	adjective plural
ADV	adverb
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
COMP	comparative
CONC	concessive
COND	conditional
CONT	contentive
DAT	dative
DIR	directive
ej	ejective
ELA	elative
EMPH	emphasis
EQ	equative
ERG	ergative
Exp	experiencer
F	feminine
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
hpl	3rd person human plural (gender marker)
ID	identitive
IJ	interjection
ILH	illative (into hollow space)
ILL	illative (into a mass)
IMP	imperative
IMPP	plural imperative
IMPF	imperfect
INDEF	indefinite
INDIR	indirect
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
INT	interrogative
IRR	counterfactual conditional (irrealis)
LIM	limitative
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MASD	deverbal noun (masdar)
N	neuter
NEG	negative
OBL	oblique
ON	sound-symbolic element
OPT	optative
ORD	ordinal
P	Patient
pl	plural (gender marker)
PL	plural (suffix)
POT	potential
PN	proper name
PRET	preterite
PROH	prohibitive
S	Subject
SUB	sublative
SUP	superlative
TH	'thither'
UNTIL	'until'
vcd	voiced
vcl	voiceless
WHEN	'when'
youP	you plural, 'you all'

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book presents 32 annotated Dargi folktales. Dargi is an East Caucasian language spoken in the republic of Daghestan, Russia. The texts originally formed the Dargi section of Akhlakov, A., and Khalilov, Kh., *Satira i jumor narodov Dagestana* [Satire and humor of the peoples of Daghestan], Makhachkala, 1976. The anthology presents humorous stories of the peoples of Daghestan, in particular, in Avar, Dargi, Lak, Lezgi and Kumyk, with a Russian translation. It is a concept that turned out to be particularly convenient for the study of Dargi, which is the single written Daghestanian language without a dictionary with Russian as the explanatory language. There are twelve stories in the Dargi section featuring Malla Nasradin, a well-known tale figure throughout the Arab and Anatolian world.

The texts were collected by Prof. Zagir Magomedov. He mentioned the original source of almost every text, the person who originally told the story, who wrote it down, and in some cases, an earlier published variant of the text is given as well. During the sessions with informants it turned out that the sources mentioned of a text can be disputed. Two explanations can be envisaged: first, oral stories like the texts under consideration, appeared in various (local) newspapers and journals and were borrowed from each other. Moreover, there is no doubt that some stories are part of the collective memory of the Dargi people, which is enforced by their publication.

The language of the texts was edited by the late Dr. Zapir Abdullaev. Unfortunately, his death has left us without the possibility of consulting him on some obscure points in the texts.

The preface contains an introduction into Dargi folklore by Dr. Fatima Abakarova and Dr. Fatima Alieva, specialists in Dargi folklore at the Institute for Language, Literature and Art in Makhachkala. The texts are preceded by a short grammatical sketch that provides the necessary linguistic background, and followed by a lexicon.

The texts are given first in Dargi orthography: interpunction has been retained, while sentence numbers have been added. A transliteration with interlinear glosses follows, as well as a translation in English.

The texts were analyzed with the help of Mr. Ali-Askhab Magomedov, editor of the Dargi newspaper in the Akusha district, and Mrs. Hadizhat Omarova, who has worked for most of her life in various positions in the educational system of the Akusha district. I had the opportunity of working with these people during my visit to the village of Akusha in the autumns of 1995 and 1998 and during Mrs. Omarova's visit to the Netherlands in the spring of 1997. Their time, patience and efforts to teach me their language are greatly appreciated.

My discussions of some problems in the analysis with Dr. Magomed-Shapi Isaev, senior researcher at the Institute in Makhachkala, led to more clarity, and in some cases to a solution. I am grateful for his introduction to the Akusha district

administration and to his friends in the Akusha district. Needless to say that I remain responsible for the final analysis, including uncertain or inaccurate points.

Gratitude is also due to Prof. Zagir Magomedov, nowadays the Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the Daghestanian State University in Makhachkala, for giving me permission to use the texts for analysis and publication.

Besides the aforementioned Dargi persons, I would like to thank my colleagues at the Institute for Language, Literature and Art in Makhachkala for their support and friendship, and, in particular, its director, Prof. Gadzhi Gamzatov for inviting me and providing me with logistic support. Dr. Abdurakhman Abdurakhmanov introduced me to Daghestanian folklore, explaining its beauty and wisdom with yet another folktale. The help of the librarians at the Institute and at the National Department of the Republican Pushkin Library in Makhachkala is much appreciated.

My host in Makhachkala for the past decade has been Dr. Magomedkhan Magomedkhanov, who is a living example of Daghestanian erudition, virtue and humor. I am grateful to him and his family who provided me with a home away from home.

The study presented in this book, and my research on the Dargi language between 1995-2000, has been made possible by the generous financial support of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research.

PREFACE: INTRODUCTION TO DARGI FOLKLORE

Dargi folklore is part of the multi-ethnic culture of Daghestan, together with the oral traditions of the Avar, Lak, Lezgi, Kumyk and other Daghestanian peoples. At the same time, it comprises the oral traditions of the various ethnic groups within Dargi (e.g. Tsudakhar, Akusha, Kubachi, Kaytag). Every Dargi subgroup created works in its own native dialect. The multi-dialectal situation of the Dargi people and the geographical isolation of the various subgroups led to the creation of various distinctive local folklore traditions and therefore the folklore of each group has specific concepts and artistic forms, depending on the local geographical circumstances, daily life, culture and language. In the Kubachi oral tradition, for example, songs of travelling artisans are widely represented, which are characterized in particular by the idealization of work. The folkore of Urakhi has a well-developed lyrical tradition. The geographical closeness to the Avar people is noticeable in the Tsudakhar oral tradition, where we frequently find the theme of the Caucasian war, and also texts of Avar origin, relating the mountaineers' struggle for freedom in the 19th century. In Akusha folklore the genre of small prose texts, like parables, anecdotes, or fables is well-developed. The Kaytag preserved ritual poetry and epic tales. Needless to say, every group contributed its own particular features to Dargi folklore as a whole and the characteristics of Dargi folklore would be different if one of these features were not part of the whole. Just as dialects unite into one language, all distinct genres in folklore form the solid base of the Dargi oral culture.

The Dargi oral tradition contains both poetry and prose, but the main role has been assumed by lyrical poetry. Through several ages, people created songs, of which only the very best were passed on to the next generation. The lyrical songs of the Dargi sparkle with emotion and passion; among them are marvelous examples expressing the mountaineers' longing for happiness. This is particularly true for Dargi love poetry, which is imbued with the common ideal of the woman-mountaineer - a gentle, tender, and good being. A Daghestanian woman is depicted as being capable of infinite love, but also of hate to the same extent. This image contradicts the opinion of some researchers who consider the woman-mountaineer an oppressed being without rights.

The achievements of Dargi folk poetry are synthesized in the small poetic genre of lyrical miniatures *habkub* (lit. *ħäb.kub* = three.word), which is a particular form of Dargi creative thinking. The *habkub* has four or eight verses, expressing some summarized laconic thought. Particularly interesting are the heroic miniatures, which express the rules for courageous behaviour in service of the homeland.

Another type of Dargi oral literature are ballads. The Dargi ballad, relating the dramatic fate of individuals, or feuds between families, share a number of traits with the Avar and Lak ballads. Dargi virtually lacks an epic genre: there are a few heroic songs based on historical events, like the attacks of Timur and Nadir-Shah, and the

Caucasian war, describing the passionate struggle for freedom and independence. The epic traditions of the Dargi, Lak and Avar are close both in concept and creative form, and can be regarded as one whole. Apparently, the wide language variation in Daghestan has not presented an obstacle to the exchange of spiritual values.

The main genre of Dargi prose folklore is folktales, however. The material gathered in different periods by various collectors (B. Dalgat, A.S. Aliev, S. Abdullaev, M.Z. Osmanov, Z. Magomedov etc.) shows the richness of the Dargi tale tradition. They represent the eternal themes of the struggle of good and bad, the search for happiness and truth, the fight for justice etc. Among the Dargi tales, the anecdote is most widespread. The main characters of these stories always display the qualities of a people's hero. Among Daghestanian anecdotes, a regular theme concerns the exposure of the clergy. The people noticed in their direct encounters with the ministers of religion, that their words were not in accordance with their lifestyle. Features like hypocrisy, greed, and treachery are exposed and ridiculed in various hilarious episodes, e.g.: "White alms", "The cadi and old lady", "Mullah Nasradin and the cadi", etc. The anecdotes express a dislike of the clergy and present a satirical depiction of the feudal society at the same time.

The analysis of the present state of the various genres of Dargi prose folklore shows that some genres are relatively active (fairy-tales, anecdotes) and that on their basis new works of literature arise. Animal tales are only partially preserved: those that no longer correspond with current aesthetic requirements and modern world view are being re-thought or just disappear. Other genres of Dargi folk prose like legends, parables, riddles, proverbs and sayings also form an inalienable part of Dargi spiritual life. They are original pieces of literature, which reflect the traditions and habits of the people. They have never lost their meaning - not even today. The interest in Dargi folktales increases with the increasing passage of time, a sign of the revival of interest in our native culture. Dargi folklore is not a relic phenomenon: it is kept alive and continues to live in the literature. It feeds the creativity of Dargi writers, to the extent that the saturation with elements of folklore has become a particular trait of Dargi literature. If we take into account the fact that Dargi literature developed for a long time in Arabic and was thus not accessible to the common people, then their particular interest in folklore, and the presence of folklore in modern Dargi literature, is quite understandable.

Dargi folk tales are a rich source of common wisdom, which represents the vitality of people's thinking. We are pleased that with the publication of this volume Dargi folktales become accessible to a Western audience as well.

Fatima Abakarova and Fatima Alieva[1]

[1] For more detailed information about Dargi folklore, see Abakarova & Alieva (1999).

PART I
INTRODUCTION TO DARGI GRAMMAR

CHAPTER 1
SOCIOLINGUISTIC INTRODUCTION

Dargi is one of the written languages of the republic of Daghestan (Russia); it belongs to the Daghestanian subgroup of the East Caucasian language family. According to the 1989 census[1], the number of speakers of Dargi in Daghestan was 280,400. They mainly live in the Akusha, Levashi, Sergokala, Kaytag and Dakhadaev districts. Together with some 72,900 Darginians living in the Stavropol' Krai, in Kalmykia, Chechnia, Ingushetia, and other places in Russia and with a small number of Darginians living in Central Asia and Ukraine, the total number of speakers was 365,800 throughout the former Soviet-Union. We can assume that, due to the economic and political developments in recent years, most Darginians will have returned to Daghestan by now.

The Dargi language shows a large dialect variety (Gasanova 1971:38-40); the main dialects are Akusha, Urakhi, Tsudakhar and Kaytag. Most dialects differ heavily from the written standard and from each other. Some of them, like Kubachi, Megeb and Chirag are often considered discrete languages.

The distinction between Standard Dargi[2] and the spoken varieties of Dargi is not always made in the literature. Standard Dargi is the standardized language used in writing. It has been developed on the basis of the Akusha dialect, but has incorporated several features of other dialects as well, especially of the dialect of Urakhi. This concerns mainly lexical differences; some structural divergences found between Standard Dargi and Akusha Dargi are discussed in the sketch or in the footnotes with the texts. There are no native speakers of Standard Dargi.

Standard Dargi is used in the media (radio, television, and the press). However, the discrepancies between the written language and most dialects complicate communication. Dargi is taught in school, though mainly in Dargi villages and to a far lesser extent in the cities of Makhachkala, Derbent, and Izberbash. When it is taught, it is the medium and object of instruction in the first four classes; in higher classes it is only the object of instruction. A Dargi language curriculum also exists at the university and the pedagogical institute in Makhachkala.

Dargi is used in almost all spheres of life, inside and outside the family, as long as both interlocutors are speakers of the same or a similar dialect. When

---

[1] The numbers of the 1989 census are taken from the *Dagestanskaja pravda*, July 24th 1990.

[2] Standard Dargi has been chosen as the translation of the Russian term *literaturnyj darginskij jazyk*.

comprehensibility is absent, interlocutors shift to Russian. Children of urbanized parents of different dialects are raised in Russian but may attend Dargi lessons at school or learn the language during the summer holidays spent with their relatives in the village. Note that even urbanized Darginians of the same dialect often use Russian inside the family. This situation presents a threat to the vitality of Dargi.

Until this century Dargi theological and juridical documents were written in a variety of dialects using the Arabic script. Between 1928 and 1938 Dargi was written in Latin script. From 1938 onwards Standard Dargi has been written using the Cyrillic alphabet. Some texts from this 1976 collection were published earlier; judging from the differences in spelling, there has apparently been an orthography reform in the 1960s.

This grammatical sketch presents the grammatical structure of Standard Dargi on the basis of the texts in part II of this book. The texts have been analyzed and discussed with speakers of the Akusha dialect of Dargi, the basis of the written standard. In principle, only the grammatical phenomena found in the texts have been described, with the addition of some other essential topics. As a result the grammatical sketch covers the main parts of Dargi morphosyntax. Examples from the texts are used as often as possible, with some additional examples taken from the literature or obtained by elicitation.

CHAPTER 2
PHONOLOGY AND ITS REFLECTION IN ORTHOGRAPHY

2.1. Consonants

The obstruents are:

	plosive			affricate			fricative	
	vcd	asp	ej	vcd	asp	ej	vcd	vcl
labial	*b*	*p*	*p'*					
alveolar	*d*	*t*	*t'*	*dz*	*c*	*c'*	*z*	*s*
palatal				*dž*	*č*	*č'*	*ž*	*š*
velar	*g*	*k*	*k'*				*ĝ*	*x̂*
uvular	*ɢ*	*q*	*q'*				*ğ*	*x*
pharyngeal	*ʕ*							*ħ*
glottal			*ʔ*					*h*

resonants: *m, n, l, r, w, y*

The bilabial stop /b/ has concomitant friction [β] in Urakhi (Abdullaev 1993a:109ff). For most speakers of the Akusha dialect there is an opposition between /z/-/dz/ and /ž/-/dž/. Minimal pairs for /z - dz/ are, e.g.: *baz* 'down (Ru. pux)' vs. *badz* 'moon, month'; *gaza* 'mare' vs. *gadza* 'pick (axe)'; *uz-i* 'M:work-IMPF3' vs. udzi 'brother'(Abdullaev 1954:23). These oppositions are not reflected in Dargi orthography, both /z/ and /dz/ being indicated by Cyrillic з, and /ž/ and /dž/ by ж. The opposition can be regarded as optional and perhaps for this reason is not distinguished orthographically.

Few Akusha Dargi speakers distinguish between the voiced velar fricative /ĝ/ and /g/. Both phonemes are indicated in the orthography by Cyrillic г, e.g. *ĝuli* 'sheepskin', *ĝumi* 'bridge', *daĝ* 'yesterday', *-arĝ* 'find'. The transliteration used in this book does not reflect the distinction either. Minimal pairs for /ĝ/-/g/ are, e.g.: *ĝ-a* 'give-IMP' vs. *ga* 'coal'; *-erĝ* 'eat' vs. *-erg* 'wrap' (Abdullaev 1993a:117ff).

/ʔ/ occurs in initial, medial intervocal and final position; it can also precede or follow a medial consonant. There is no opposition between the absence or presence of a glottal stop in initial position. In Standard Dargi the notation of glottal stops is quite inconsistent. In this book a glottal stop is transliterated in medial and final position, with the exception of the onset of the second part of a compound, e.g.: *чебаили* (9:12) is transliterated as *čebaʔili*, *узи-уршu* (9:15) as *udži+uršu*. In initial position a glottal stop is given only with the root *ʔ* 'say', e.g.: *илdu* (9:3) is transliterated as *ildi*, but *или* (9:12) as *ʔili* (*ʔ-i-li* 'say-AOR-GER').

Voiced consonants do not lose their voice in final position. Standard Dargi has neither tense, nor labialized consonants. For a discussion of the occurrence of these consonants in Dargi dialects, see Abdullaev (1993a:151-203).

2.2. *Vowels*

The following vowels occur:

i		u
	e	
	ä	a

/ä/ is a pharyngealized open low front vowel. At least until 1959 it was rendered by Cyrillic *а*, in 1976 and nowadays as *я*. The forms *бяхIили* (9:3), *мягIни* (9:6), *гIяхIдизурли* (9:7) were spelled in the 1959 version *бахIили*, *магIни*, and *ахIдизурли*. As *я* in initial position also represents /ya/ or /yä/, initial /ä/ is always rendered by Cyrillic *гIя*: I follow this tradition here. So current *гIяхI-cu*, former *ахI-cu*, in the transliteration *ʕäħ-si*, stands for */(ʔ)äħ-si/* 'good-ADJ'. Minimal pairs for /ä/-/a/ are, e.g.: *qär* 'pear' vs.*qar* 'up', *xä* 'dog' vs. *x-a* 'bring-IMP', *qä* 'oath' vs. *qa* 'layer of sheep's dung', *bäq* 'stroke' vs. *baq* 'many', *q'äm* 'bowl' vs. *q'am* 'kin' (Abdullaev 1954:30).

Although /a/ and /ä/ are phonemically distinct, there is some complementary distribution of /ä/ and /a/ with the causative suffix (see 7.3.) and various tense endings beginning with /a/ (see 6.6.3. and 6.9.3.).

2.3. *Morphophonology*

For morphophonemic alternations with the masculine gender marker, see 3.1.; for apophony connected with nominal number, see 4.1.2.; for apophony with aspect, see 6.3.

2.4. *Clitics*

Most Dargi particles lack their own stress and form one prosodical unit with the preceding or following word. Nominal particles are given in 4.5., sentence particles in 8.9-11. The auxiliary *sa<B>i* has a cliticized variant *sa-B* , see 6.5. The pronouns *il, iš* 'this', *se* 'what' and the numeral *ca* 'one' are often found as a proclitic, e.g.: *il+zamana* 'this time', *iš+q'äyda* 'this way', *se+payda* 'what use', *ca+kam-si* or *ca kamsi* 'a little', *se+yk'-usi-ri-w* (24:9) 'what did you say'. There is a minimal pair in: *iš barħi* 'this day' vs. *iš+barħi* 'today'.

CHAPTER 3
GENDER AND PERSON AGREEMENT

3.1. Gender agreement

Dargi nouns distinguish number and gender. In the singular we find masculine, feminine and neuter, including both animate and inanimate nouns. In the plural there is a distinction between human and non-human third person; first and second persons have a separate pattern of agreement.

Some neuter nouns indicating varieties of corn, plants, berries, fruit, illnesses, liquids, dry substances, minerals, elements, and abstracts trigger plural agreement. For a discussion whether these words have to be considered *pluralia tanta* and/or a relic of an extinct fourth class, see Abdullaev (1969:137ff).

Gender is indicated by prefixes with most verbal stems, with some adjectives and with some nouns[3]; by infixes with bipartite stems (see 6.2.1.), and the auxiliary *sa<B>i*[4] 'be'; by suffixes with local expressions (see 4.3., 5.7.) and some verbs (see 6.5.).

		plural	
singular		1, 2	3
M	*w*	*d-, -r-, -r*	*b*
F	*r*		
N	*b*	*d-, -r- -r*	

table 3.1: affixes for gender agreement

Gender agreement takes place according to an ergative pattern: with the S(ubject) of intransitive verbs (1) and P(atient) of transitive verbs (2). The S/P noun has the absolutive case-marking whereas the A(gent) of a transitive verb is expressed by the ergative case (see 4.2.2.).

(1) *dudeš* *w-ak'-ib-Ø* 'Father came.'
father:ABS M-come-AOR-3
neš r-ak'-ib-Ø 'Mother came.'
unc b-ak'-ib-Ø 'The ox came.'
nuša d-ak'-i-ra 'We came.'
ħuša d-ak'-i-raya 'You all came.'
urš-bi /rurs-bi b-ak'-ib-Ø 'The girls/boys came.'
unc-i d-ak'-ib-Ø 'The oxen came.'

[3] Examples from the texts are *-uqna* 'old person', and *-eʃ* 'owner'; see also Abdullaev (1967:510).
[4] A class marker in non-initial position is given as capital B, e.g.: sa<B>i.

(2) *il-i-ni* *urši* *w-it-ib-Ø* '(S)he beat the boy.'
this-OBL-ERG boy:ABS M-beat-AOR-3
il-i-ni rursi r-it-ib-Ø '(S)he beat the girl.'
il-i-ni unc b-it-ib-Ø '(S)he beat the ox.'

With the masculine affix /w/ the following morphonological variation is found. The initial sequence /w-u/ is realized as /u/, in compounds also as /w/, e.g.: *uz-ar* (w-uz-ar) [M:work-FUT3] '(he) works', cf. *r-uz-ar* '(she) works; *dura+uq-un-Ø* or *dura+wq-un-Ø* (dura+w-uq-un-Ø) [out+M:go-AOR-3] '(he) ran', cf. *dura+r-uq-un-Ø* '(she) ran'.

As an infix, the gender marker /w/ usually drops: /a<w>i/ surfaces as /a.y/, /e<w>a/ as /e/, and /a<w>a/ as /a/, e.g.: *ka.yk-ib-Ø* (ka<w>ik-ib-Ø) [fall:M-AOR-3] '(he) fell', cf. *ka<r>ik-ib-Ø* '(she) fell'; *sa.y* (sa<w>i) '(he) is', cf. *sa<b>i* '(they) are', *če?-ib-Ø* (če<w>a?-ib-Ø) [see:M-AOR-3] '(s)he saw him', *ka?-ib* (ka<w>a?-ib-Ø) [reach:M-AOR-3] 'he reached'.

In a few cases the plural infix /d/ drops as well: this seems to be typical for the Akusha dialect, e.g. *ka.yk-ib-Ø* (ka<d>ik-ib-Ø) [fall:pl-AOR-3] '(they) fell'.

3.2. Person agreement

Dargi is one of the few Daghestanian languages with person agreement. Person agreement in transitive verbs depends on the agentivity of P: person agreement is with P, when P is 1st or 2nd person. With a third person P, agreement takes place with A, whether speech act participant or not. Person markers follow the tense endings; person and tense are often combined in portmanteau suffixes. For the exception of person agreement with the topic in present progressive and perfect tenses, see 6.6.4. and 6.6.6.

	1P	2P	3P
1A	P	P	A
2A	P	P	A
3A	P	P	A/P

table 3.2: person agreement in transitive verb forms

(3) *nu-ni* *ħu* *r-it-i-ri* 'I beat you (F).'
me-ERG you:ABS F-beat-AOR-2
ħu-ni nu r-it-i-ra 'You beat me (F).'
dudeš-li nu r-it-i-ra 'Father beat me (F).'
nu-ni rursi r-it-i-ra 'I beat the girl.'
dudeš-li rursi r-it-ib-Ø 'Father beat the girl.'

CHAPTER 4
INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY: NOUNS

4.1. Formation of oblique and plural stems

Most Dargi nouns display the opposition of number. These nouns have four stems to which the case endings are added: the base stem, the oblique singular stem, the plural stem and the oblique plural stem. The system described for Chirag (Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990:253) also applies to Akusha. The plural stem is derived from the base stem by a plural suffix. From the base and plural stem, the absolutive is formed by means of a zero ending, which is never indicated. The oblique singular stem is formed from the base stem by adding the singular oblique suffix *-li* or changing the final part of the stem. The oblique plural stem is derived from the plural stem by the oblique morpheme *-a*. The ergative, genitive, dative, instrumental and local endings are added to the oblique stems.

Some 20 per cent of the nouns do not exhibit the opposition for number. Most of these nouns are singular only; these include abstract entities like, e.g. *himi* 'anger', *kumek* 'help', *payda* 'profit', *yäħ* 'patience', uncountable inanimate objects, e.g. *mura* 'hay', *rizq'i* 'cereals', *pulaw* 'pilaf', *warʔa* 'honey', religious concepts and objects, e.g. *barakat* 'prosperity', *q'urʃan* 'Koran', *sadaq'a* 'alms'. Some nouns are plural only, e.g. *ank'i* 'wheat', *ga* 'coal', *šin* 'water', *ħi* 'blood', *ɢel* 'trace', *murhi* 'gold', *meħe* 'brain(s)'. Despite their plural agreement a few nouns have a plural form as well, e.g. *paltar* 'clothes', PL *paltur-ti*.

4.1.1. Oblique formation

The most common procedure for deriving the singular oblique stam in Akusha Dargi is the addition of a stem-extending oblique morpheme *-li*. Stems ending in *l, li, la, n, ni, na*, however, change the final part of the stem into *y*, e.g.: *urcul* 'timber', OBL *urcuy-; x̂unul* 'woman', *x̂unuy-; sek'al* 'thing', *sek'ay-*; *qali* 'house', *qay-*; *dušman* 'enemy', *dušmay-; ɢiyan* 'difficulty', *ɢiyay-*. The oblique plural marker is *-a*, e.g.: *adam* 'person', PL *adam-ti*, PL-OBL *adam-t-a-*; *unc* 'ox', PL *unc-i*, PL:OBL *unc-a-*.

4.1.2. Plural formation

The following plural suffixes occur in Akusha Dargi (in alphabetical order): *-ani, -bi, -i, -mi, -ni, -ri, -rti, -ti, -ubi, -umi, -uni, -urbi*.[5] A few nouns form plural stems by apophony. The most frequently used suffixes are:

-ti follows almost exclusively bisyllabic nouns ending in a resonant; half of the nouns display apophony: *a* or (rarely) *i* preceding the resonant changes into *u*.

[5] The suffix *-lumi* does not occur in the texts; it would occur with abstract nouns ending in *-barq', -di,* or *=deš* (Abdullaev 1954:99 and Abdullaev 1993b:144-145).

E.g.: *dušman* 'enemy', PL *dušman-ti*; *ɢiyan* 'problem', *ɢiyan-ti*; *šayt'an* 'devil', *šayt'un-ti*; *kağar* 'letter', *kağur-ti*; *azbar* 'courtyard', *azbur-ti*; *šamxal* 'ruler', *šamxal-ti*; *ʕämal* 'trick', *ʕämul-ti*.

-bi follows nouns ending in a consonant or a vowel: the vowel drops in most cases. Apophony is found with stems with the vowel *a* or *e* preceding the stem-final consonant. E.g.: *näɢ* 'hand, PL *näɢ-bi*; *ʕinc* 'apple', *ʕinc-bi*; *rursi* 'girl', *rurs-bi*; *ned* 'eyebrow', *nud-bi*; *ħerk'* 'river', *ħurk'-bi*; *ɢäna* 'crow', *ɢun-bi*; *ʕäyar.q'äna*, *ʕäyar.q'äna-bi*.

-uni follows mainly bisyllabic nouns ending in a consonant, e.g.: *dudeš*, PL *dudeš-uni*; *gawlag* 'bag', *gawlag-uni*; *halmağ* 'friend', *halmağ-uni*; *awlaq* 'open field', *awlaq-uni*; *kesek* 'piece', *kesek-uni*; *ʕäbbasi* 'dime', *ʕäbbas-uni*.

Other suffixes are:

-ani follows mainly monosyllabic nouns ending in a consonant, e.g.: *dam* 'drum', PL *dam-ani*; *mer* 'place', *mer-ani*; *yurt* 'house', *yurt-ani*. Rather irregular is *qubzara* 'peasant', *qubzur-ani*.

-mi follows monosyllabic nouns with the structure CV, e.g.: *c'a* 'fire', PL *c'a-mi*; *qä* 'vow', *qä-mi*; *ši* 'village', *ši-mi*; and bisyllabic nouns ending in a vowel, which is dropped, e.g.: *haya* 'rope', PL *hay-mi*; *ʕära* 'hare', *ʕär-mi*; *lut'i* 'bottom', *lut'-mi*.

-ni follows nouns in a vowel, which is dropped, e.g.: *barda* 'axe', PL *bard-ni*; *ħewa* 'shirt', *ħew-ni*; *qulki* 'thief', *qulk-ni*; *t'aq'a* 'box', *t'aq'-ni*; *umx̂u* 'key', *umx̂-ni*.

-ri follows mainly monosyllabic nouns ending in a consonant; in most cases the stemvowels *a* or *e* change into *u*, e.g.: *k'ant'* 'drop', PL *k'unt'-ri*, *ɢaz* 'goose', *ɢuz-ri*; *t'ent'* 'fly', *t'unt'-ri*; *lac* 'wall', *luc-ri*. A stem-final vowel is dropped, e.g. *t'ama* 'sound', *t'am-ri*, *qali* 'room, house', *qul-ri*. Rather irregular are *xä* 'dog', *xu-ri* and *x̂unul* 'woman', *x̂un-ri* (!).

-ubi follows bisyllabic nouns ending in a vowel, which is dropped, e.g.: *galga* 'tree', *galg-ubi*; *liga* 'bone', *lig-ubi*; *unra* 'neighbour', *unr-ubi*.

Less frequently used suffixes are:

-i follows mainly nouns ending in a consonant; sometimes apophony occurs, e.g.: *buk'un* 'shepherd', PL *buk'un-i*; *murč'* 'twig', *murč'-i*; *bec'* 'wolf', *buc'-i*; *emħe* 'donkey', *umħ-i*.

-umi follows polysyllabic nouns; a stem-internal vowel often drops, e.g.: *biq'ri* 'witness', PL *biq'r-umi*; *tawra* 'bag', *tawr-umi*; *dukala* 'wing', *dukl-umi*; *quc'ari* 'shoulder', *quc'r-umi*.

-urbi follows mainly bisyllabic nouns ending in a vowel, e.g.: *anda* 'forehead', *and-urbi*; *luʕi* 'list', *luʕ-urbi*; *wac'a* 'forest', *wac'-urbi*; *däqi* 'wound', *däq-urbi*; *ʕinidz* 'source', *ʕindz-urbi*.

-rti follows bisyllabic nouns ending in an *u*, e.g.: *ħukmu* 'decision', PL *ħukmu-rti*, *ʕäq'lu* 'advice', *ʕäq'lu-rti* (and *ʕäq'lu-mi*).

Apophony occurs with a few nouns, e.g.: *gidgari* 'egg', PL *gidguri*; *nabadari* 'carrot', *nabaduri;* and from the texts *mučari* 'maize doughnut', *mučuri.* Irregular forms are, e.g.: *bek'* 'head', PL *burgi*, *murul* 'man', *muyli.*

4.2. Case

The syntactic cases are: absolutive (ABS) *-Ø*, ergative (ERG) *-Ø* or *-ni*, genitive (GEN) *-la*, dative (DAT) *-s*. The singular oblique suffix *-li* drops before *-la*; and is not indicated in the glosses. Zero endings are not indicated either.

ABS	*rursi* 'girl'	*x̂unul* 'woman'	*adam-ti* 'person-PL'
ERG	*rursi-ni rursi-li-Ø*	*x̂unuy-Ø*	*adam-t-a-Ø adam-t-a-ni*
GEN	*rursi-la*	*x̂una*	*adam-t-a-la*
DAT	*rursi-li-s*	*x̂unuy-s*	*adam-t-a-s*
OBL	*rursi-li-*	*x̂unuy-*	*adam-t-a-*

table 4.1: nominal inflection types

4.2.1. Absolutive

The absolutive is indicated by a zero ending following the absolutive stem. The absolutive typically denotes:

a. the S of intransitive verbs, see example (1) in chapter 3.
b. the P of transitive and affective verbs, see example (2) in chapter 3.
c. nominal part of the predicate, see 6.5.
d. attribute to a noun: *t'aq'a bek'* 'a head as a box (box head)', *buk'un xink'* 'shepherd's dumplings (shepherd khinkal)' (Abdullaev 1961:99-101), *abdal t'aq'a* (4:14) 'fool (stupid box)'.

4.2.2. Ergative

The ergative (ERG) is indicated by a zero ending following the singular and plural oblique stems, or by the ending *-ni*. The suffix *-ni* is found with pronouns, demonstratives, plural nouns and some singular nouns in a vowel. In general these singular nouns are animate (*rursi* 'girl', *urči* 'horse'), but Abdullaev (1954:119-123) mentions inanimate nouns as well (*barda* 'axe', *barxa* 'measure'). The ending *-ni* follows the base stem, the other case endings the oblique stem, e.g.: ERG *rursi-ni*, SUP *rursi-li-či.*

With plural nouns, we find both *-Ø* and *-ni* after the plural oblique suffix *-a,* e.g.: *adam-t-a-Ø* and *adam-t-a-ni* 'person-PL-OBL-ERG'. The forms with the ending *-ni* occur only as the A of transitive verbs.

The label 'ergative' has been used throughout for this case ending, even when a form does not denote the transitive agent. The ergative typically denotes:

a. the A of transitive verbs, see example (2) in chapter 3. This also holds for inanimate arguments, e.g.:

(4) ***il*** ***xabar-li-ra*** *talqan* *radzi+w-ar-i-li*
this story-OBL:ERG-and chief:ABS glad+M-do-AOR-GER
aḥen (15:7)
be.not
'This story did not make the chief happy either.'

(5) ***rurdž-usi*** ***šang-li-ra,*** ***šala-si***
boil-ADJ kettle-OBL:ERG-and light-ADJ
angi-li-ra, ... *q'urʔada-la* *urk'i-li-či-b*
fire.place-OBL:ERG-and teacher-GEN heart-OBL-SUP-N
tašmiš=deš *b-at-ur-li* *aḥen* (6:11)
hesitate=ABSTR:ABS N-leave-AOR-GER be.not
'The boiling kettle, the fire-place lit up ... left no doubt in the heart of the teacher.'

b. the adjunct with some intransitive verbs, see 8.2.3. and with the antipassive, see 8.3.2.

c. the instrument, e.g.:

(6) *tupang-la* ***gundag-li*** *Malla+Nasradin*
rifle-GEN butt-OBL:ERG PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS
w-it-i-li *sa.y* (29:17)
M-beat-AOR-GER be:M
'(He) beat Malla Nasradin with the butt of his rifle.'

(7) ***arc-li*** *tawra-ra* *b-ic'-i-li* *sa.y* (20:17)
money-OBL:ERG bag:ABS-and N-fill-AOR-GER be:M
'(He) filled the bag with money.'

(8) *ši-la* *xalq'-li* *Malla+Nasradin-na*
village-GEN people-OBL:ERG PNMalla+Nasradin-GEN
yurt ***c'a-li*** *ig-uli* *sa<b>i* (27:0')
house:ABS fire-OBL:ERG burn-GER be:N
'The people of the village burn the house of Malla Nasradin with fire.'

d. manner, e.g.:

(9) *iš* ***se+q'äyda-li*** *b-ut'-es* *ʕäʕni-si-w* (16:5)
this what+manner-OBL:ERG N-divide-INF necessary-ADJ-INT
'How do we have to divide this?'

(10) *Malla+Nasradin* ***arḥä-li*** *arq'-uḥeli,* ... (29:1)
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS journey-OBL:ERG leave-WHEN
'When Malla Nasradin was travelling ...'

e. reason, e.g.:

(11) *il* *džäwlil* ***gaša-li*** *b-ebk'-i-li* *sa<b>i* (25:18)
this already hunger-OBL:ERG N-die-AOR-GER be:N
'It died long ago of hunger.'

f. expressions of time (duration), e.g. (see also sentence (8:0):

(12) *iš* *ħänči* ***ca*** ***saʕät-li*** *b-ar-es* *w-ir-ar*
this work:ABS one hour-OBL:ERG N-do-INF M-can-FUT
'He can do this work in one hour.' (Abdullaev 1954:106)

4.2.3. Genitive

The genitive (GEN) ending *-la* follows the singular oblique suffix *-li* which drops and is not indicated in the glosses. With oblique stems in *y*, the genitive and a part of the stem form one portmanteau morpheme: *dušman*, OBL *dušmay*, GEN *dušma* 'enemy'. The genitive precedes the head noun and typically denotes:

a. attributes denoting possession, material, measure (of space, time), content: *ɢuz-r-a-la w-eʕ* (16:14) 'owner of the geese', *qa w-eʕ* (6:17) 'owner of the house', *di-la unc-i* (10:9) 'my oxen', *ħurmat-la adam* (2:11) 'honorable person', *q'adi-la x̂unul* (5:4) 'cadi's wife', *meh-la usta* (9:7) 'master of iron, blacksmith', *ħi-la k'ant'* (19:84) 'drop of blood', *werħ.el dus-la urši* '(6:2) a seven-year old boy', *yani-la zamana* (13:3) 'winter time', *xabur-t-a-la ʕinidz* (12:0) 'the source of stories', *k'ap'-r-a-la mer-li-či-r* (17:13) 'in the place of/ instead of leaves', *mirqi-la t'aq'a* (19:42) 'box of the bees, bee-hive', *meħur-t-a-la luʕi* (21:1) 'list of fools'.

b. the partitive (genitive used instead of the absolutive with transitive verbs):

(13) *nu-ni* ***čay-la*** *b-erdž-i-ra* (Abdullaev 1961:146)
me-ERG tea-GEN N-drink-AOR-1
'I drank (some) tea.'

For the genitive as the adjunct of *ʕe.r.d.uc'* 'imitate' and *ʕe.r.d.ar* 'pretend', see 8.2.3.; for the genitive with postpositions, see 5.7.1.

4.2.4. Dative

The dative (DAT) ending *-s* follows the oblique stem. The dative typically denotes:

a. the experiencer of the affective verb *dig* 'want, love', see 8.2.2.

b. the adjunct of transitive and intransitive verbs, see 8.2.3.

c. the benefactive, e.g.:

(14) *iša-b* *b-arg-i-li* *sa<b>i* *il-d-a-ni*
here-N N-find-AOR-GER be:hpl this-PL-OBL-ERG
ču-s *ʕäʕni-si* *urcul* (14:3)
self:PL:OBL-DAT necessary-ADJ timber:ABS
'Here they found the wood they needed.'

(15) ***Malla+Nasradin-ni-s*** *d-at-ur-li* *sa<r>i*
PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL-DAT pl-leave-AOR-GER be:pl
lig-ubi-cun (22:23)
bone-PL:ABS-LIM
'Only the bones were left for Malla Nasradin.'

d. expression of time, e.g. (see 6.8.6. for the dative of the suffix *-ħeli* WHEN):

(16) ***šala-li-s*** *ank'i* *d-elq'-i* *taman+d-iʔ-ub-li*
light-OBL-DAT wheat:ABS pl-grind-GER end+pl-be-AOR-GER
sa<r>i (6:23)
be:pl
'He finished grinding the wheat at dawn.'

(17) ***il*** ***zamay-s*** *nu* *guš+ir-us* (22:5)
this time:OBL-DAT me:ABS hungry+M:be-FUT1
'I will be hungry by that time'

e. the object which is exchanged for something else, e.g.:

(18) *ca* *qubzar-li* *čes-i-li* *sa.y* ***wec'.al***
one peasant-OBL:ERG promise-AOR-GER be:M ten
kepek-li-s ... *urcul* *kerd-es* (3:1)
copeck-OBL-DAT timber:ABS chop-INF
'One peasant promised to chop the timber for ten copecks.'

(19) ***ca*** ***iban.t'uleka*** ***b-ic'-ib-ti*** ***deq'-li-s,***
one thimble:ABS N-fill-AOR-ADP powder-OBL-DAT
ʕäbbasi (20:16)
dime:ABS
'One dime for a thimble filled with powder.'

4.3. Local cases

There are five series of local endings that can be followed by several directional suffixes. The five local endings are: superlative (SUP) *-či*, illative ('into a mass') (ILL) *-zi*, sublative (SUB) *-ʔu*, allative (ALL) *-ʕi* and illative ('into a hollow space') (ILH) *-ħi*.[6] These five endings have a lative meaning 'to an object'; some of them also have syntactic functions. Allative *-ʕi* and illative *-ħi* rarely occur in Akusha Dargi and in the texts. For an overview of the distribution of the local cases in the various dialects see Abdullaev (1961:48ff) and Gaprindašvili (1956ab, 1957).

The local endings can be followed by a gender suffix, and acquire an essive meaning as a result. After the gender affix, directional suffixes can be found, of which elative (ELA) *-ad* occurs most frequently. Other directional affixes in Standard Dargi are: *-kad* 'elative downwards',[7] *-sad* 'elative hither', *-bit* 'elative thither', *-äħ* 'in the direction of, towards' (DIR). The texts show a few instances of *-kad* and *-bit*, which are regarded as non-Akusha forms, e.g.: *huni-kad* (23:1) 'on the road, along the road', *bek'+bek'-kad* (19:44) 'on the head', and *miqir-li-či-b-bit* (6:10) 'over the chest'.

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[6] In the literature, the distinction has been made between the suffix *-zi* 'illative into massive objects' vs. *-ħi* 'illative into hollow objects' (Abdullaev 1954:124). However, this distinction is not clear from the texts, and is perhaps lost in the dialect of Akusha, see also 4.3.4.

[7] In dialects where *-kad* is elative downwards, elative *-ad* acquires the nuance of an upwards motion.

4.3.1. Superlative

The superlative (SUP) *-či* typically denotes:

a. local meanings 'on', 'to', and 'over': *ħäb-li-či* (5:3) 'to the grave', *bazar-li-či* (6:10) 'to the bazar', *anda-li-či* (7:3) 'on the forehead', *busurman-ta-či-b* (1:21) 'on the muslims', *qu-či-b* (2:2) 'in the field', *urk'i-li-či-b* (6:11) 'in the heart', *bazar-li-či-b-ad* (18:5) 'from the bazar', *tax-li-či-w-ad* (17:7) 'over the takhta', *adam-t-a-či-w-äħ* (5:5) 'in the direction of the people'.

b. the adjunct of intransitive and transitive verbs, see 8.2.3.

c. reason, e.g.:

(20) *il-a-la* ***t'ama.hama-li-či*** *ʕära* *b-ebš-i-li*
this-OBL-GEN noice-OBL-SUP hare:ABS N-run-AOR-GER
duʕ+ar<b>äq'-i *sa<b>i* (29:16)
wild+leave:N-GER be:N
'The hare run away from the noise.'

d. purpose, e.g.:

(21) *werħ.el* *halmağ* ... ***urcuy-či*** *wac'a-li-zi*
seven friend:ABS timber:OBL-SUP forest-OBL-ILL
ar<b>äq'-i *sa<b>i* (14:1)
leave:hpl-GER be:hpl
'Seven friends went to the forest for wood.'

4.3.2. Illative

The illative (ILL) *-zi* typically denotes:

a. local meaning 'in(to)', e.g.: *mižit-li-zi* (4:1) 'into the mosque', *bek'-li-zi* (9:13) 'into the head', *šahar-li-zi* (27:3) 'to town', *ši-li-zi-w* (5:1) 'in the village', *muʔer-li-zi-b* (17:16) 'in a dream', *ɢiyay-zi-w* (19:49) 'in trouble', *xan-na šay-zi-r-ad* (1:11) 'on behalf of the khan', *sabur-li-zi-w-ad* (2:4) 'out of his temper', *x̂un-r-a-zi-b-ad* (10:8) 'from the women'.

b. the adjunct of intransitive and transitive verbs, see 8.2.3., including causative verbs, see 8.3.1.

4.3.3. Sublative

The sublative (SUB) *-ʔu* has only a local meaning 'under'; it occurs just once in the texts, e.g. *c'ur-li-ʔu* (27a:2) 'under a heap'.

4.3.4. Allative -ʕi and illative (in a hollow space) -ħi

Both suffixes rarely occur in Standard Dargi and in the texts under consideration; speakers of Akusha only use them in fixed expressions. Abdullaev (1954:109) considers the suffixes to have the same meaning. The allative denotes the local meaning 'to'; the examples in the texts are exactly the single expressions occurring in Akusha: *qay-ʕi* '(to) home', *qay-ʕi-B* '(at) home'.

The suffix *-ħi* would denote a movement into a hollow space; however, as the occurrence of *-ħi* in the Akusha dialect is restricted, illative *-zi* seems to have taken over the semantics of illative for both massive and hollow objects. There are only a few occurrences of *-ħi* in the texts, e.g.: *urħla le<b>i-ħi-r* (6:12) 'in the presence of others'; *ʕäħ-cad-ħi* (25:6) 'for quite some time', *-aq-ħi* (3:6, 8:5) 'a long time', which points at a temporal rather than local meaning of the suffix.

4.3.5. Locative

The locative (LOC) suffix *-la* is added to the oblique marker *-li* which disappears and is not indicated. As a result, confusion with the genitive suffix *-la* is easily possible (see footnote with 5.7.1.) Locative *-la* however, can be followed by a gender marker and directional endings. The locative case occurs with inanimate nouns, e.g.: *mäq'-la* (3:2) 'at the side', *dub-la* (2:2) 'at the border', *mižit-la-b* (4:14) 'in the mosque', *azbar-la-w* (11:1) 'in the courtyard', *kari-la-r-ad* (12:2) 'from the bakery', and *ħänči-la* 'to work'.

4.3.6. Petrified local expressions

The texts under consideration show two petrified local elements, *-i* and *-ni*, e.g.: *burxa.ni (burux)* 'at the ceiling', *durqi (därq)* 'in the shed', *quli (qali)* 'home', *zaki (zak)* 'in the sky, *qänt'a.ni* (*qänt'a*) 'in the neck', *ɢada.ni (ɢada)* 'in the ravine', *ʕäy.ni* 'in the courtyard'. Other petrified expressions are: *dubri (dubur)* 'in the mountains' and *ʕinzi (ʕiniz)* 'at the well' (Abdullaev 1954:125).

4.4. Other cases

In addition to the syntactic and local cases, we find the comitative case *-čil*, contentive *-čila*, and instrumental *-či<B>li*. Synchronically they do not have to be considered combinations of superessive *-či* and other morphemes, though this might be a plausible historical analysis.

4.4.1. Comitative

The comitative (COM) ending *-čil* denotes:

a. comitative (often in combination with the postposition *-arx* 'with'): *emħe-li-čil* (32:1) 'with his donkey', *nuša-čil w-arx* (9:6) 'with us', *gawlag-un-a-čil* (27:13) 'with bags', *pikri-li-čil* (31:11) 'with the thought'.
b. instrumental: *t'erxu-b-a-čil* (18:17) 'with sticks', *xala-ti ħurp-r-a-čil* (21:3) 'with big letters'.
c. manner: *xari=deš-li-čil* (6:10) 'with importance', *ɢayği-li-čil* (6:23) 'with effort', *xala-l t'äʕäm-li-čil* (22:5) 'with a lot of taste'.

4.4.2. Contentive

The contentive (CONT) ending *-čila* denotes the object or content of one's thinking, talking or worrying: *sadaq'a-li-čila* (5:3) '(tell) about alms', *d-etaq-ni-li-čila* (10:9) '(tell) about the disappearance', *muʔer-li-čila* (17:21) '(remind) about the dream'.

4.4.3. Instrumental

The instrumental (INS) suffix *-či<B>li* denotes:

a. instrumental: *dukl-um-a-či<b>li* (16:8) 'with wings', *kumek-li-či<b>li* (1:6) 'with his help'.
b. reason: *il-i-či<b>li* (21:2) 'because of this'.

4.5. Nominal particles

The following particles follow any form of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, which together form one phonological unit.

4.5.1. Comparative

The comparative (COMP) particle *-(y)či.B* denotes the object of comparison. In the texts we find the following examples: *nab-či.w* (2:16) 'than me', *ħe-yči.w* (21:7) 'than you', *adam ubk'-ni-la-yči.b* (15:3) 'than about man's death'.

4.5.2. Equative

The equative[8] (EQ) particle *-cad* 'as much as, about' gives a comparison for quantity, e.g. *ǧa.l barxa-cad* (6:25) 'some twenty measures', *ʕäħ-cad zamana* (18:5) 'quite some time'.

4.5.3. Identitive

The identitive (ID) particle *-wan* 'as' gives a comparison for identity, e.g.: *adam-li-wan* (5:6) 'as a man', *us-u-si-wan* (30:4) 'as a sleeping person'.

4.5.4. Limitative

The limitative (LIM) particle *-cun* 'only' limits the possible number of references, e.g. *il-ħeli-cun* (1:14) 'only then', *nab-či-cun* (1:20) 'only upon me', *talqan-na-cun u* (21:3) 'the name of the chief only'.

[8] The terms equative and identitive are taken from Hjelmslev (1937:33-34).

CHAPTER 5
INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY: ADJECTIVES, PRONOUNS, NUMERALS AND ADVERBS

5.1. Adjectives

5.1.1. Marked and unmarked forms

Dargi adjectives occur in two forms: the root and an adjectival form, explicitly marked by an adjective (ADJ) suffix (*-a, -(i)l, -si,* ADP *-ti*).

Bare adjectival roots can only be used attributively and do not occur as a predicate or substantive. According to Abdullaev (1954:127) they have more emotional load and are used in fiction and poetry. Adjectival roots are also used in compound verbs, see 7.5.2. There are several instances of a bare root in the texts, e.g.: *sugur gurban* (19:0) 'blind Kurban', *di-la yäziq x̂unul* (19:59) 'my poor wife', *perger ħäl+t'abiʕät* (6:3) 'nice behaviour'.

The adjectival suffix *-si* is productive. Adjectives ending in *-a* or *-(i)l* always have a variant with *-si*, e.g.: *c'ub.a, c'ub-il, c'ub-si* 'white', *xala-l, xala-si* 'big', *-išt'a-l, -išt'a-si* 'small', *aq-il, aq-si* 'high'. They occur attributively, as a predicate, or as a substantive. Substantivized adjectives decline like nouns, e.g. *aq-si* 'high-ADJ', *aq-si-li* 'high-ADJ-OBL:ERG', *aq-si-la* 'high-ADJ-GEN', *aq-si-li-s* 'high-ADJ-OBL-DAT'. The adjectival suffix also forms adjectives from local expressions, e.g.: *mäq'-la-b-si* (1:1) 'near', *dubur-li-či-b-si* (19:59) 'on a mountain', *k'älʕä-li-zi-b-ti* (21:3) 'in the castle', *iša-b-si* 'here'. For the use of *-si* with participles, see 6.8.2.

5.1.2. Agreement for gender and number

Very few adjectives show agreement for gender, e.g. *-išt'a-si* 'small'.

Bare adjectival roots and adjectives in *-a* do not agree in number with their head noun, e.g.: *aq dubura* 'a high mountain', PL *aq dubur-ti, c'ub.a kağar* 'white paper', *c'ub.a kağur-ti.* Adjectives in *-si* and *-(i)l* do agree in number, e.g.: *way-si xabar* 'bad story', *way-ti xabur-ti* (15:8), *xala-l yurt* 'a big house', *xala-ti yurt-ani* (Abdullaev 1954:134).

5.1.3. Comparison

The adjective has no comparative form: the object of comparison is marked by the comparative (COMP) particle *-(y)čib*, see 4.5.1.

A very high degree is indicated by the form *-eʕ.la* (with gender agreement) or *b.eʕ.la* (without gender agreement) (< *(b)-eʕ-la* [N-head-GEN]), e.g.: *b.eʕ.la džaga-si rursi* (very beautiful-ADJ girl:ABS) or *r-eʕ.la džaga-si rursi* (F-very beautiful-ADJ

girl:ABS) 'the nicest girl'. In the texts we only find the petrified form *b.eʕ.la* without gender agreement.

5.2. Personal pronouns

First and second person plural pronouns are derived by a suffix *-ša* not found with nouns. *nu* 'me' has two oblique stems: *nab-* and *di-*; all endings are added to *nab-*, except for the genitive and the sublative: *di-la, di-ʔu.*

ABS	*nu* 'me'	*ħu* 'you'	*nuša* 'we'	*ħuša* 'you (all)'
ERG	*nu-ni*	*ħu-ni*	*nuša-ni*	*ħuša-ni*
GEN	*di-la*	*ħe-la*	*nuša-la*	*ħuša-la*
DAT	*nab*	*ħeɬ*	*nušab*	*ħušab*
OBL	*nab-, di-*	*ħe-*	*nuša-*	*ħuša-*

table 5.1: inflection of personal pronouns

There are no separate pronouns for the third person; demonstrative pronouns are used instead. The genitive of the personal and demonstrative pronouns are used to indicate possession.

5.3. Demonstrative pronouns

Dargi has five different demonstrative pronouns: they vary as to difference in distance and level in comparison to the speaker: *iš* 'this (near the speaker)', *il* 'this (near the hearer)', *it* 'that', *ikʼ* 'that (higher than the speaker)', *ix* 'that (lower than the speaker)'. The plural marker is *-di*: *iš-di* 'this-PL'. The paradigm of the demonstrative pronouns shows a substitution of oblique *i* with *a* in the genitive.

ABS	*il* 'this'	*il-di* 'this-PL'
ERG	*il-i-ni*	*il-d-a-ni*
GEN	*il-a-la*	*il-d-a-la*
DAT	*il-i-s*	*il-d-a-s*
OBL	*il-i-*	*il-d-a-*

table 5.2: inflection of demonstrative pronouns

5.4. Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are, e.g.: *či* 'who?', *se* 'what?, *čina* 'where?', *sen* 'why?, how?'; the roots *čum* 'how much?', *čidi* 'which?' occur mostly in a petrified derived form *čum.al* and *čidi.l*. The inflection of interrogative pronouns is given in table 5.3., examples in 8.11.

ABS	*či* 'who'	*se* 'what'
ERG	*či-li*	*se-li*
GEN	*či-la*	*se-la*
DAT	*či-s*	*se-li-s*
OBL	*či-*	*se-li-*

table 5.3: inflection of interrogative pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are derived from interrogative pronouns by adding the indefinite (INDEF) suffix *-(a)lra*.[9] In combination with negative verbs they are usually described as negative pronouns. E.g.: *či-lra* 'someone', se-lra 'something', *čidi-lra* 'some kind'.

(22) *ħer.ʔ-a ...* ***či-lra*** *te-w-al*
look-IMP who:ABS-INDEF present-M-INDIR
agara-l (9:11)
absent:FUT3-INDIR
'Take a look, ... if there is someone or not?'

(23) *ħe-yči.w* *meħur* *nu-ni* *iša-w* ***či-lra***
you-COMP:M mad me-ERG here-M who:ABS-INDEF
ħe-rg-i-ra (21:7)
NEG-M:find-AOR-1
'I did not find anyone (found no one) more foolish than you around here.'

(24) *ħe-la* *saq'lay-zi-b-ad* ***se-lra***
you:OBL-GEN wool:OBL-ILL-N-ELA what:ABS-INDEF
ka<ħe>l-an (17:10)
stay:NEG-FUT3
'Nothing will remain of your material.'

The indefinite suffix is also found after nouns, personal pronouns and the number 'one', denoting exclusivity 'not a single, not even' with negation (25, 26) or 'at least' in affirmative sentences (27):

(25) ***ca-lra*** *ħe-r-arg-i-ra* (19:91)
one-INDEF NEG-F-find-AOR-1
'We found not a single one.'

(26) *... džawab* *b-ed-i-li* *sa.y* *bulqray,*
answer:ABS N-give-AOR-GER be:M Balkharian:OBL:ERG
ħuli-lra *link'+ħe-b-ar-i-li* (20:20)
eye:ABS-INDEF wink+NEG-N-do-AOR-GER
'...answered the Balkharian without even winking.'

(27) *haya-li-zi-r-ad* ***näG-bi-lra*** *d-ataʔ-a* (18:27)
rope-OBL-ILL-pl-ELA hand-PL:ABS-INDEF pl-release-IMP
'Release at least my hands from the rope.'

[9] The indefinite suffix *-(a)lra* is probably a petrified combination of *-(a)l-ra* (INDIR-and).

The indefinite suffix is also used to form the pronoun *le<B>i-lra* 'all' from the root *le<B>i* 'present': the root inflects for case and number, see the lexicon.
Indefinite pronouns can also be formed with the element *+b.i?.alra* (*či+b.i?.alra* 'someone', *se+b.i?.alra* 'something') or with the element *+digara* (*se+digara* 'whatever').

(28) *iš+dugi* ***či+b.i?.alra*** *lä<w>q'-än* (9:12)
this+night:ABS who:ABS+INDEF go:M-FUT3
'Someone will come tonight.'

(29) ***se+b.i?.al.ra*** *pikri+b.ir-is* (19:51)
what:ABS+INDEF thought+N:do-FUT1
'I'll think of something.'

5.5. Reflexive pronouns
The paradigm of *sa<B>i* '(s)he/it self' is:

	M	F	N	hpl	pl
ABS	*sa.y*	*sa<r>i*	*sa<b>i*	*sa<b>i*	*sa<r>i*
ERG	*sune-ni*			*ču-li*	
GEN	*sune-la*			*ču-la*	
DAT	*sune-s*			*ču-s*	
OBL	*sune-*			*ču-*	

table 5.4: inflection of reflexive pronouns

The function of reflexive pronouns in reflexivization and anaphoric co-reference is treated in 8.7.

5.6. Numerals
Dargi has the following numeral roots, which, except for *ca* and *azir*, almost never occur on their own: 1 *ca*, 2 *k'i*, 3 *ħäb*, 4 *aw*, 5 *šu*, 6 *ureg*, 7 *werħ* , 8 *geħ*, 9 *urč'em*, 10 *wec'*, 20 *ğa*, 100 *darš*, 1000 *azir*.

5.6.1. Cardinal numerals
Cardinal numerals other than *ca* 'one' and *azir* 'thousand' are formed by adding *-(V)l* to the root: 1 *ca*, 2 *k'.el*, 3 *ħäb.al*, 4 *aw.al*, 5 *š.el*, 6 *ureg.al*, 7 *werħ.el*, 8 *geħ.el*, 9 *urč'em.al*, 10 *wec'.al*, 20 *ğa.l*, 100 *darš.al*. The tens are formed by adding *-c'ali* 'ten' to the numeral root: 30 *ħäb.c'ali*, 40 *aw.c'ali*, 50 *šu.c'ali*, 60 *ureg.c'ali*, 70 *werħ.c'ali*, 80 *geħ.c'ali*, 90 *urč'em.c'ali*. The hundreds are formed by adding the root *darš* 'hundred' to the numeral root: 200 *k'i.darš*, 300 *ħäb.darš*, 400 *aw.darš*, 500 *šu.darš*, 600 *ureg.darš*, 700 *werħ.darš*, 800 *geħ.darš*, 900 *urč'em.darš*.

The numbers 11-19 and 21 onwards are complex. In complex numerals the order is from high to low, hundreds preceding tens, etc. In complex numerals thousands and hundreds take the ending *-lim* when they are followed by tens or the basic cardinals. The tens take the ending *-nu* when they are followed by a basic cardinal, which takes the ending *-ra*. When a thousand is followed by a hundred, a ten or a basic cardinal only, or when a hundred is followed by a ten or a basic cardinal only, the latter appears with the suffix *-(V)l*, except for *ca*. E.g.: 13 *wec'.nu ħäb.ra*, 23 *ğa.nu ħäb.ra*, 33 *ħäb.c'a.nu ħäb.ra*; 101 *darš.lim ca*, 110 *darš.lim wec'.al*, 111 *darš.lim wec'.nu ca.ra*, 859 *geħ.darš.lim šu.c'a.nu urč'em.ra*, etc.; 2000 *k'el azir*, 1001 *azir.lim ca*, 1010 *azir.lim wec'.al*, 1100 *azir.lim darš.al*, 1235 *azir.lim k'i.darš.lim ħäb.c'a.nu šu.ra*.

Nouns following numerals are in the singular, adjectives and verbs show plural gender agreement, e.g.:

(30)	*xala-ti*	*werħ.el+geħ.el*	*ħäli*	*d-u?-i-li*	*sa<r>i* (4: 6)
	big-ADP	seven+eight	lard:ABS	pl-be-AOR-GER	be:pl
	'There were seven or eight lards.'				

Substantivally used cardinal numerals have the oblique morpheme *-li* following the numeral root: OBL *k'i-li-*. Oblique forms of tens and complex numerals are formed directly from the stem: *ħäb.c'ali*, OBL *ħäb.c'ay-*.

5.6.2. Ordinal numerals

In these texts ordinal numbers are formed by adding *+?.es-il*, plural *+?.es-ti*[10] to the numeral stem or, with the tens and complex numerals, to the cardinal number, e.g. *ca+?.es-il* 'first', *k'i+?.es-il* 'second', *wec'.nu ca.ra+?.es-il* 'eleventh', *ħäb.c'ali+?.es-il* 'thirthieth' (Abdullaev 1954:137, Abdullaev 1993b:209).

5.6.3. Repetitive numerals

For repetitive numerals *-(y)na* is added to the numeral root: *k'i.na* 'twice'', *ħäy.na* 'three times', or to the full complex numeral, e.g.: *wec'.nu ca.ra.yna* 'eleven times'. The ordinal repetitives end in *-(y)na.ys; k'i.na.ys* 'second, the second time, then', *ħäy.na.ys* 'the third time'.

5.6.4. Collective numerals

Cardinal numerals combined with *-ra* 'and' denote collectivity and usually precede nouns, see *k'.el-ra* in example (31) and other sentences in text 16. There are only two inflected forms in the texts, e.g. the ergative *k'i<li>n-ra* and *k'i<li>l-ra* (text 6).

[10] The ordinal suffix is historically the potential participle of the verb *?* 'say', see 6.9.3.; another ordinal suffix, not occuring in the texts, is *+?.ib-il* , historically the past participle of *?*.

5.6.5. Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals are formed by reduplication: *ca+ca* 'one each', *k'i+k'.el* 'two each', *ħäb+ħäb.al* 'three each', etc.

(31) *k'.el-ra* *urši-li-s* *ɢaz-la* ***ca+ca*** *q'äš* (16:8)
two-and boy-OBL-DAT goose-GEN one+one leg:ABS
'For the two boys one goose leg each.'

5.7. Adverbs

Adverbs are formed by adding the adverbial (ADV) ending *-li* to the adjectival root, e.g.: *ǧam-li* 'near', *aq-li* 'high', *pašman-ni* 'sadly', *džaga-li* 'beautifully', *c'ub-li* 'white', *ħunt'en-ni* 'red'.

5.7.1. Local adverbs

The local adverbs *iša* 'hither to the speaker', *ila* 'hither to the hearer', *ita* 'thither', *ik'a* 'thither up', *ixa* 'thither down' show the same directional diversity as the demonstrative pronouns (see 5.3.1.).

Gender affixes and directional endings can be added, e.g.: *ila-B* 'there with the hearer', *ixa-B-ad* 'from down there' (see 4.3.). That also holds for other local adverbs, like *čedi* 'above', *udi* 'under', *hala* 'in front of', *ʕela* 'behind', *urga* 'in the middle', *-uħna* 'inside', *dura* 'outside', e.g.: *urga-B* 'in the middle', *čedi-B-ad* 'from above', *hala-B-äħ* 'in the direction of the front'. These local adverbs occur in verbal compounds as well, see 7.5.2.

Most local adverbs can be used as postpositions, and require the genitive:[11] *sune-la yurt-la čedi-b* (28:3) 'over his house', *ɢarɢa-la udi* (22:15) 'under the stone', *di-la qa hala-b* (26:5) 'in front of my house', *undza-la ʕela* (19:55) 'behind the door'.

5.7.2. Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs are formed from demonstrative pronouns and adjectival roots by adding the verbal suffix *-ħeli* WHEN (see 6.8.6), e.g. *il-ħeli* 'then', *džah-ħeli* (26:5) 'when (s)he was young'.

5.7.3. Postpositions

Other postpositions are, e.g.: *-arx* [+COM] 'together with' (see 4.4.1. for examples), *bahandan* [+ABS] 'because', *ʕergi* [+GEN] 'after', [+DAT] 'behind' (Abdullaev 1961:172).

[11] As the genitive and locative case endings look similar, one cannot decide whether it is the genitive or the locative that is required by the postposition. I follow Abdullaev (1961:93-175) in his assumption that it is the genitive.

CHAPTER 6
INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY: VERBS

6.1. General overview

The order of morphemes in a Dargi verb form is:

1a.	local prefix	*če-* 'on' *u-* 'under' *ha-* 'front' *ʕe-* 'behind'
1b.	gender affix	*-B*
2.	directional prefix	*ka*$_1$- 'downwards' *a-* 'upwards' *sa-* 'hither' *-et-* 'thither' *ka*$_2$- 'thither'
3.	negative/prohibitive prefix	*ħe-* NEG *ma-* PROH
4.	gender prefix	*B-*
5.	root	
6.	causative suffix	*-aq/-äq* CAUS
7.	tense endings	see 6.6.
8.	person/tense marker	see 6.6./3.1.

table 6.1: order of Dargi verbal morphemes

The meaning of verb consisting of a root and a local or directional prefix can usually not be derived (anymore) from the various elements. Therefore I regard this combination of root and prefixes as fixed: the bipartite stem consists of the elements 1, 2, and 5. In that case the negative/prohibitive prefix and the gender prefix become infixes. See section 6.2.1. for a further description of bipartite stems.

Gender prefixes are discussed in section 3.1. Number is expressed in combination with gender or person agreement; for person agreement, see 3.2. The person markers and the combinations of person and tense markers in portmanteau suffixes are treated with the various tenses in section 6.6.

Dargi verb stems display an opposition perfective vs. imperfective aspect, which is described in 6.3. Section 6.4. discusses negation and prohibition. Causative derivation is treated in 7.3. The auxiliary *sa<B>i* and existential verbs like *le-B* are discussed in 6.5.

6.2. The verb stem

There are four stem types:

a. pure roots like, e.g. *-ak'/-aš* 'come', *-äč/-älč* 'break', *-elk'/luk'* 'write', *-ar/-ir* 'make, do', *-i?/-ir* 'be, can'.
b. bipartite stems, see 6.2.1.
c. compound stems: they are discussed in 7.5.
d. petrified compounds, which historically consist of a verb root and a nominal, adjectival, adverbial or sound-symbolic element, but which synchronically behave as bipartite stems: they are discussed in 7.5.5.

6.2.1. Bipartite stems

Bipartite stems historically consist of a verb root and a local or directional prefix[12]. The local prefixes *če-* 'on', *u-* 'under', *ha-* 'front', *ʕe-* 'behind' can be followed by a gender affix to render an elative meaning. In combination with a root with a gender prefix, this results in two adjacent gender affixes. For instance: the bipartite stem *če<B>at/če<B>alt* 'add' consists of the prefix *če-* and the root-*at/-alt*; the verb *če<B><B>at/ če<B><B>alt* 'take off (clothes)' consists of the same root, but here the prefix displays an additional gender affix, i.e. *če-B*. With stems in which the verb root does not have a gender prefix itself, double brackets are used on the right side of the infix, to make the morphological structure clear, e.g.: *če<B>>as/če<B>>is* 'take off (a hat)' consists of the root *as/is* and the prefix *če-B*.[13]

The directional prefixes are *ka-* 'downwards', *a-* 'upwards', *sa-* 'hither', and *-et-* 'thither'. Very few verbs combine local and directional prefixes, see 6.2.2.

Examples of bipartite stem are, e.g.: *a<B>a?/a<B>i?* 'reach (upwards)', *ka<B>a?/ ka<B>i?* 'reach (downwards)', *sa<B>a?/sa<B>i?* 'reach', *-eta?/-eti?* 'reach (forwards)', *če<B>at/če<B>alt* 'add', *če<B><B>at/ če<B><B>alt* 'take off (clothes)', *ka<B>ix̂/ ka<B>ilx̂* 'put down', *ka<B>ix̂/ka<B>irx̂* 'lie down', *a<B>it'/a<B>ilt'* 'dig, pull out', *ka<B>it'/ka<B>ilt'* 'take out', *a<B>iz/a<B>ilz* 'rise', *ka<B>iz/ka<B>ilz* 'put oneself in a position', *ka<B>uš/ ka<B>urš* 'kill', *kaq'/kalq', -etaq'/-etalq', čeq'/čelq'* 'strew'; *čeh/čelh* 'put on (clothes)'. The verbs *as/is* 'buy, take', *kas/kays* 'take', *sas/says* 'take' and *čes/čeys* 'promise' are bipartite as well, as can be seen from their negative forms (e.g. *ka<ħe>s*).[14]

There is a small number of frequently used verbs with a prefix *ar-* 'away', hitherto unmentioned in the literature. These are *ar<B>uq', ar<B>äq'/arq', ar<B>aš* 'leave', *ar<B>ux/ar<B>ix, arx* 'take away', *ar<B>uk/ar<B>ik, ark* 'lead away'.

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[12] The local prefixes should not be confused with the local adverbs of the same roots, as *čedi, udi, hala, ʕela*. These preverbs can occur in compound verbs, see 7.5.

[13] The non-human plural forms of the gender affix are decisive in these cases, as they have different allomorphs in initial and medial vs. final position; see 3.1.

[14] These roots are prefixed again in *če<B>>as/če<B>>is* 'take off (a hat)', *u<B>>as/u<B>>is* 'take away', *ha<B>>as/ha<B>>is* 'dig, take apart' and *ke<B>>as/ke<B>>is, ke<B>>kas/ke<B>>kays* 'take away' with a prefix *ke-B*, which does not occur elsewhere.

6.2.2. Combinations of local and directional prefixes

The local and directional prefixes are usually regarded in the literature as prefixes that can freely combine with verb roots and with each other: the local prefixes precede the directional ones (Abdullaev 1993c:163ff). In fact, the affixes rarely combine with each other, at least in the Akusha dialect. The single most regularly occurring combination is a local prefix with a directional prefix *ka-*. For semantic and grammatical reasons this prefix *ka-* has to be regarded as a prefix different from *ka-* 'downwards', i.e. ka_1- 'downwards', ka_2- 'thither'.

The prefix ka_2- combines with verb roots more frequently than ka_1-. It does not only occur in bipartite stems, but also in compound verbs (see 7.5.) and petrified compound verbs (see 7.5.5.), in which we never find the prefixes *a-, sa-* or *-et-*. Moreover, ka_2- can always be omitted from a compound verb, without drastically changing the semantics of the verb, e.g. *ħädur+B-i?/B-ir* and *ħädur+ka-B-i?/B-ir* 'be ready'. With bipartite stems usually a variant with and without ka_2- exists, e.g. *qumart, qumkart* 'forget', *leħaq/leħiq, leħ.kaq/leħ.kayq* 'be silent, listen'. A few verbs however, show a clear semantic difference, on the basis of which the meaning of the prefix can be determined, e.g.: *ʕelaq/ʕeliq* 'put on one's own back' vs. *ʕela.kaq/ʕela.kayq* 'put on someone's back', *-ata?/-ati?* 'release' vs. *-atka?/-atkay?* 'send to heaven [in condoleances only]'.

6.2.3. Use of the bare verb stem

Verbal roots without any ending are sometimes used as optatives, mainly in idiomatic expressions:

(32) *ħe-la* *qali* *ma-d-u?!* (16:6)
you:OBL-GEN house:ABS PROH-pl-destroy
'May your house be blessed (lit. may your house not be ruined).'

Nominal use of the bare stem, as in *b-elk'* 'letter' (Abdullaev 1954:143; Abdullaev 1967:515) has not been attested in the texts.

6.3. Aspect

Dargi morphology of aspect is rather complex: there are several ways of deriving an imperfective stem from a perfective stem. As it is not predictable which process applies to which verb, both stems should be given in the lexicon. One of the following formations applies:

1. Change of *a, ä, e* of the perfective stem into *i*, e.g.: *-abg* (perfective)/*-ibg* (imperfective) 'harness (to a cart)', *abx̂/ibx̂* 'open', *-ar/-ir* 'do, make', *as/is* 'buy, take', *-ärʕ/-irʕ* 'cool off, get cool', *-ebš/-ibš* 'run', *a<B>ac'/a<B>ic'* 'ascend, climb', *duʕ.a?/duʕ.i?* 'send, exile', *-etaq/-etiq* 'disappear', *p'äc'as/p'äc'is* 'sound', *x̂ar<B>a?/x̂ar<B>i?* 'ask'. This change also occurs as *y*-insertion (historically *i* following a prefix or preverb), e.g.: *kas/kays* 'take', *čes/čeys* 'promise', *dura?/duri?* or *duray?* 'lead out, remove'.

2. *l*-insertion (after all vowels) in the imperfective stem, e.g.: *-ac/-alc* 'plough', *-ax/-alx* 'feed', *-äč/-älč* 'break', *čeh/čelh* 'put on (clothes)', *-eʕ/-elʕ* 'plant', *-iʕ/-ilʕ* 'steal', *a<B>it'/a<B>ilt'* 'dig, pull', *če<B>at/če<B>alt* 'add', *-eh̄<B>iz/-eh̄<B>ilz* 'scold', *ka<B>uq/ka<B>ulq* 'start vehemently'.
3. *r*-insertion (after *a, e, i, u*) in the imperfective stem, e.g.: *-ic/-irc* 'sell', *-ic'/-irc'* 'fill (oneself)', *ih/irh* 'hit', *-uc/-urc* 'catch, hold', *-ut'/-urt'* 'distribute, divide', *če<B>ix̂/če<B>irx̂* 'put on', *han<B>ik/han<B>irk* 'remember', *ka<B>uš/ka<B>urš* 'kill'. Two verbs have an additional change of *ä>i*, e.g.: *-äq/irq* 'hit', *-äh̄/-irh̄* 'fight, begin'.
4. Change of *a, e* of the perfective stem into *u*, e.g.: *-ams/-ums* 'be(come) tired', *-arĝ/-urĝ* 'find', *-arx̂/-urx̂* 'send', *-ebk'/-ubk'* 'die', *-emdž/-umdž* 'heat', *-erk'/-urk'* 'spend', *-eyʕ/-uyʕ* 'count'.

Lesser used ways are:

5. Replacement of *er, el* by *u*, e.g.: *-erc'/-uc'* 'fry', *-erdž/-udž* 'drink', *-erk/-uk* 'eat', *-elč'/-uč'* 'read'. The verb *-erd/ud* 'tear' also drops the gender prefix.
6. Replacement of the gender prefix + V (*a, ä, e*) + *l* by *lu*, e.g.: *-alc'/luc'* 'gather (harvest)', *-älʕ/luʕ* 'cut (hair)', *-elh/luh* 'slaughter', *-elk'/luk'* 'write', *-elG/luG* 'be satisfied'. The verb *g/lug* 'give (hither)' adds *lu* to a monoconsonantal root.
7. Drop of the gender prefix, e.g.: *-ig/ig* 'burn', *-it/it* 'hit', *-ušk/ušk* 'sweep'. In some cases a medial *r* is dropped in addition, e.g.: *-irb/ib* 'sew', *-irc/ic* 'wash', *-urd/ud* 'wear'.

Little used ways are:

8. Change of final *ʔ* into *r, l*, e.g.: *-iʔ/-ir* 'be, can', *-irxaʔ/-irxar* 'believe', *ka<B>iʔ/ka<B>ir* 'sit down', *-uskaʔ/-uskal* 'fall asleep'.
9. Replacement of the gender prefix + V (*a, e*) by *ru*: *-arG/rurG* 'bring up', *-erx̂/rurx̂* 'paint', *-erg/rurg* 'wrap'.
10. Exceptions are, e.g.:
    a. Change of final C: *ak'/-aš* 'come', *-ah/-al* 'know'.
    b. Addition of *l* + V + gender prefix to the stem: *k/le<B>k* 'lead', *x/le<B>x* 'bring', *-äq', -uq'/lä<B>q'* 'go'.
    c. Stem-internal changes with insertion of *w*: *alʔ/awl* 'cut', *kal/kawl* 'stay', *kerd/kawd* 'chop'.
    d. Suppletion: *ʔ/ir* 'say'.
    e. Compounding: *-ed/-ed+lug* 'give (thither)'.
    f. Stems prefixed with *ar-* have either a vowel change or drop the gender prefix + V: *ar<B>uk/ar<B>ik* and *ark* 'lead away', *ar<B>ux/ar<B>ix* and *arx* 'take away', *ar<B>äq'* and *ar<B>uq'/arq'* 'leave'.

A few stems are both perfective and imperfective, e.g.: *-ih̄* 'keep', *umc'* 'check, look for', *-ur* 'say', *-uʔ* 'be, stay', *qumart, qumkart* 'forget'. A small number of intransitive stems are imperfective only: *dig* 'want, love', *idz* 'hurt', *-ik'* 'say' (also in compound verbs), *luq'* 'turn', *rurdž* 'boil', *-uh* 'tell', *-ulg* 'pray', *-ulq* 'dance', *-us* 'sleep', *-uz* 'work'.

6.4. Negation and prohibition

Negation is expressed in the verb by the negative (NEG) prefix *ħe-* or the prohibitive (PROH) prefix *ma-*. The auxiliary *sa<B>i* and the existential verb *le-B* have the corresponding negative counterparts *aħ* and *ag*, see 6.5.

The prefix *ħe-* is used in all verb forms, except for the Optative and Imperative, e.g. *ħe-b-al-ul-ri* 'you don't know', *ka<ħe>l-an* '(s)he/it will not stay', *čar+ħe-b-ar-ib-Ø* '(s)he did not return it'.

Note the following morphonological changes: the gender prefix *w-* and a following vowel drop after the negative prefix *ħe-: ħe-bk'-ib-Ø* (ħe-w-ebk'-ib-Ø) [NEG-M:die-AOR-3] 'he did not die', *če<ħe>ʔ-ib-Ø* (če<ħe><w>aʔ-ib-Ø) '(s)he did not see him'. The sequence */ħe-w-i/* becomes */ħe-y/*: *ħe-yr-ar* (ħe-w-ir-ar) [NEG-M:can-FUT3] 'he cannot'.

We often find reduplication of the first (C)VC of the stem, *b-uz+ħe-b-uz-usi* 'not working', *b-ax+ħe-b-ax-un-Ø* '(s)he did not feed', especially in cases where morphonological changes have affected the stem: *w-alt+ħe-lt-adi* '(they) would not leave you', *w-ak'+ħe-k'-ib-Ø* 'he did not come'.

The prefix *ma-* is used with the Optative, e.g. *ma-w-at-aba* 'May (s)he/you not leave me', *dura<ma>s-abaya* 'May you not take it out'. The negative Imperative form also has the prefix *ma-*, but in combination with the second person Future tense form: *b-älč-en* 'break it' - *ma-b-älč-ad* 'don't break!' (not **ma-b-älč-en*), *w-aši* 'come' - *ma-w-aš-id* 'don't come!' (not **ma-w-aš-i*). The sequence */ma-w-i/* becomes */ma-y/*, e.g. *pikri+ma-yk'-ud* 'don't worry!'. Note that the Future tense has its own negation with the prefix *ħe-*, e.g. *ħe-b-älč-ad* 'you won't break it'.

6.5. The auxiliary sa<B>i and the existential verb le-B

Dargi has two sets of auxiliaries: *sa<B>i* 'be' and *le-B* 'be present'. The form *sa<B>i* belongs to Standard Dargi and most probably originates from the Urakhi dialect. In Akusha however, we find the shortened and cliticized form *sa-B*, which also occurs in inflected forms of Standard Dargi.

The existential verb *le-B* belongs to a group of auxiliaries which displays orientation: *le-B* 'be present here', *k'e-B* 'be present higher', *xe-B* 'be present lower', *te-B* 'be present over there'; *le-B* occurs far more frequently than the other verbs of the series.

The auxiliary *sa<B>i* has the following conjugational possibilities: it can be followed by the person endings *-ra, -ri, -Ø* in the Present tense and by Preterite *-ri*; there is a gerund *sa-B-li*, a deverbal noun *sa-B-ni*, and a subordinate form *sa-B-ħeli* (see 6.8.6.). *sa<B>i* forms a nominal predicate (see below) and is used as the third person marker in the Present progressive and Perfect tenses (see 6.6.4. and 6.6.6.) and in complex verb forms with participles (6.7.1.).

Its negative counterpart is the root *aħ/aħen*: *aħen* can be followed by the person endings *-ra, -ri, -Ø* in the Present tense and by Preterite *-ri*; it is also the basis for the

participial forms *aħen-si,* plural *aħen-ti.* The gerund is *aħ-i.*[15] Examples of *sa<B>i/ aħen* in nominal predicates are:

(33) *nu* *ħuša-ni* *arx-uti* *wayäħ-la*
me:ABS youP-ERG bring-ADP belongings-GEN
w-eʕ *sa.y-ra* (30:9)
M-owner:ABS be:M-1
' "I am the owner of the things you are carrying," said Nasradin.'

(34) *ħu* *b.eʕ.la-ra* *meħur* *sa.y-ri* (21:12)
you:ABS very-and mad be:M-2
'You are the biggest fool.'

(35) *sadaq'a* *debali* *xala-si* *c'aq'-la* *sek'al* *sa<b>i* (4:1)
alms:ABS very big-ADJ strength-GEN thing:ABS be:N
'Alms are a thing of great strength.'

The person markers and preterite ending that follow *sa<B>i* can also directly be added to the nominal part of the predicate (Abdullaev 1954:144, 166), e.g.:

(36) *nu* *buk'un* *sa.y-ra* (Abdullaev 1961:98)
me:ABS shepherd:ABS be:M-1
'I am a shepherd.'

(36') *nu* *buk'un-ra* (Abdullaev 1961:98)
me:ABS shepherd:ABS-1
'I am a shepherd.'

Like *sa<B>i, le-B* has a Present tense in *-ra, -ri, -Ø*; a Preterite in *-ri*; a gerund *le-B-li*; a deverbal noun *le-B-ni*; a subordinate form *le-B-ħeli;* in addition it has a conditional *le-B-alli*, and the participial form *le-B-si,* plural *le-B-ti.* The auxiliary *sa<B>i* shows suppletion with the root *-iʔ* 'be' in those cases.

The negative counterpart of *le-B* is the root *ag/agar*, which has a conjugation of its own (Abdullaev 1954:164-165):[16]

	present		imperfect	
	singular	plural	singular	plura;
1	*ag-us*	*ag-eħe*	*ag-asi*	*ag-eħeri*
2	*ag-ud*	*ag-udaya*	*ag-adi*	*ag-adari*
3	*agara*		*ag-i*	

table 6.2: conjugation of *ag*

There are no occurrences of the first and second person forms of *ag* in the texts. The root *agar* is the basis for the participial form *agar-si,* plural *agar-ti,* and the gerund

[15] The form *aħi* 'or' is probably a petrified form of this root.

[16] The Present tense shows endings of the intransitive Future tense (see 6.6.3.). However, the form *agara* is irregular and is analyzed as one whole: *agara* 'absent:FUT3'.

agar-li; the deverbal noun is *ag-ni.* The negative root *ag/agar* is sometimes preceded by a morpheme *-ug*, which renders emphasis (EMPH), e.g. *b-ug-agara* 'it definitely is not there'. The verb *le-B/agar* is mainly used as a predicate, but it occurs as an auxiliary in some complex tense forms as well.

(37) *ca* *adam* *le-w-ri* (19:38)
one person:ABS present-M-PRET
'There was a man...'

6.6. Finite indicative verb forms

Some finite verb forms are made from both imperfective and perfective stems: the Aorist, however, can only be formed from a perfective stem, and the Imperfect and Future only from an imperfective stem. Though the morphological formation is equal, the combination of a perfective or imperfective stem with the gerund ending and a person or tense marker results in different tenses.

endings	perfective *-ak'* 'come', *-elč'* 'read'	imperfective *-aš* 'come', *-uč'* 'read'
-ib, -ur, -un, -ub + person markers from table 6.4	Aorist *w-ak'-ib-Ø, b-elč'-un-Ø*	-
table 6.5	-	Imperfect *w-aš-i, b-uč'-i*
intransitive: table 6.6-9 transitive: table 6.10-11	-	Future *w-aš-ar, b-uč'-a*
gerund + person markers from table 6.12	Perfect *w-ak'-i-l sa.y* *b-elč'-i sa.y*	Present progressive *w-aš-ul sa.y* *b-uč'-ul sa.y*
gerund + *-ri*	Pluperfect *w-ak'-i-l-ri* *b-elč'-i-ri*	Preterite progressive *w-aš-ul-ri* *b-uč'-ul-ri*

table 6.3: perfective and imperfective verb forms

6.6.1. Aorist

The four Aorist endings *-ib, -ub*[17], *-un,* and *-ur* follow the perfective stem. Their distribution is lexically determined: the Aorist ending should be given with each perfective verb stem in the lexicon; some 60 percent of the stems have the ending *-ib.* The Aorist ending is followed by the person markers from table 6.4. The final consonant of the suffix *-ib* drops when it is followed by a non-zero person marker, e.g.: *w-ak'-i-ra* (< *w-ak'-ib-ra*) [M-come-AOR-1] 'I (M) came'; between a stem-final *r*

[17] The ending *-ub* occurs with a very small number of verbs in Standard Dargi; it seems to be missing in the Urakhi dialect (Abdullaev 1969:91).

and the *r* of the person marker, the *i* drops in colloquial speech: *b-ur-ra* (< *b-ur-i-ra* < *b-ur-ib-ra*) [N-say-AOR-1] 'I said it'.

	singular	plural
1	*-ra*	
2	*-ri*	*-ra(ya)*
3	*-Ø*	

table 6.4: person markers in the Aorist

The Dargi Aorist denotes a single event in the past presented as an unanalyzed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state: it is thus a prototypical perfective form. It is also used in an enumeration of events to create a lively style of story-telling.

(38) *Šahwali-ni, ...* *urči* ***b-uc-ib-Ø*** *wa*
PNShahwali-ERG horse:ABS N-catch-AOR-3 and
sune-la *durqi* ***b-uħna?-ib-Ø*** (2:4)
self:OBL-GEN in.shed N-chase.into-AOR-3
'Shahwali caught the horse and chased it into his own stable.'

(39) *quli-b* *nu-ni* ***b-at-ur-ra*** *pulaw-ra,* *b-erc'-ib-si*
home-N me-ERG N-leave-AOR-1 pilaf:ABS-and N-fry-AOR-ADJ
ʕärʕä-ra, *undza* ***ʕek'-i-ra,*** *umx̂u* *undza-la*
hen:ABS-and door:ABS lock-AOR-1 key:ABS door-GEN
mäq'-la-b-si *ɢarɢa-la* *udi* ***ka<b>ix̂-i-ra*** (22:15)
side-LOC-N-ADJ stone-GEN below put:N-AOR-1
'I left the pilaf at home and a fried chicken, I locked the door and put the key under the stone near the door.'

6.6.2. *Imperfect*

The Imperfect endings are portmanteau morphemes combining tense and person: they follow the imperfective stem.

	singular	plural
1	*-asi*	*-eħeri*
2	*-adi*	*-adari*
3	*-i*	

table 6.5: Imperfect endings

The Imperfect denotes a habitual event in the past. For the Imperfect in the main clause of an counterfactual conditional clause, see 6.9.4.

(40) *q'ap'a* *bi?alli* *har* *dus* *ca* ***is-i*** (8:14)
hat:ABS however every year:ABS one buy-IMPF3
'He bought a hat every year however.'

6.6.3. Future

The Dargi Future tense makes a distinction between intransitive and transitive future endings. They are portmanteau morphemes combining tense and person. Their distribution is lexically determined: with every imperfective verb stem the appropriate future ending is given in the lexicon.

Future endings containing the vowel /a/ change it to /ä/ after a stem-final ʕ or *q'*, or after a verb stem containing the stem-vowel *ä*, e.g. *kal-an* 'it will stay (stay-FUT3)' vs. *lä<w>q'-än* 'he will go (go:M-FUT3)'.

The four intransitive endings are given in tables 6.6-6.9: the sets in *-ar* and *-ur* are most frequent.

	singular	plural
1	*-us*	*-eħe*
2	*-ud*	*-udaya*
3	*-ar*	

table 6.6: itr. Future endings, type *-ar*

	singular	plural
1	*-us*	*-eħe*
2	*-ud*	*-udaya*
3	*-ur*	

table 6.7: itr. Future endings, type *-ur*

	singular	plural
1	*-as*	*-eħe*
2	*-ad*	*-adaya*
3	*-an*	

table 6.8: itr. Future endings, type *-as, -ad, -an*

	singular	plural
1	*-us*	*-eħe*
2	*-ud*	*-udaya*
3	*-an*	

table 6.9: itr. Future endings, type *-us, -ud, -an*

The transitive endings of the Future tense are given in table 6.10-11: the endings are lexically determined as well, with some 60 percent of the transitive stems having the series in *-u*.

	singular	plural
1	*-is*	*-eħe*
2	*-id*	*-idaya*
3	*-u*	

table 6.10: transitive Future endings, type *-u*

	singular	plural
1	*-as*	*-eħe*
2	*-ad*	*-adaya*
3	*-a*	

table 6.11: transitive Future endings, type *-a*

There is a complication in the transitive Future tense with regard to person agreement: whereas other tenses show the same endings whether the A or P agrees with the verb (see 3.2.), the Future tense has different endings for first and second person P vs. first and second person A combining with a third person P. This is shown in table 6.12 and example (41).

	1P	2P	3P
1A	*-a-ra* *-u-ra*	*-a-ri* *-u-ri*	*-as* *-is*
2A	*-a-ra* *-u-ra*	*-a-ri* *-u-ri*	*-ad* *-id*
3A	*-a-ra* *-u-ra*	*-a-ri* *-u-ri*	*-a* *-u*

table 6.12: person agreement in the transitive Future

(41) *nu-ni ħu r-ilt-a-ri* 'I shall beat you (F).'
me-ERG you:ABS F-beat-FUT3-2
ħu-ni nu r-ilt-a-ra 'You will beat me (F).'
you-ERG me:ABS F-beat-FUT3-1
dudeš-li nu r-ilt-a-ra 'Father will beat me (F).'
father-OBL:ERG me:ABS F-beat-FUT3-1
nu-ni rursi r-ilt-as 'I shall beat the girl.'
me-ERG girl:ABS F-beat-FUT1
dudeš-li rursi r-ilt-a 'Father will beat the girl.'
father-OBL:ERG girl:ABS F-beat-FUT3

The Dargi Future tense has future time reference (42), but also denotes (present) habitual and generic aspect (43); the second person Future tense is used in the negative imperative, see (44) and 6.4.

(42) *iš+dugi či+b.iʔ.alra* ***lä<w>q'-än*** (9:12)
this+night:ABS who:ABS+INDEF go:M-FUT3
'Someone will come tonight'.

(43) *il-i-ni ħuša-la b-ebk'-ib-ti udzi+urši-la*
this-OBL-ERG youP-GEN hpl-die-AOR-ADP brother+boy-GEN
bunah+xat'a ***ic-u*** (4:2)
sin+deviation:ABS wash-FUT3
'It (i.e. alms) washes the sins of your late relatives.'

(44) ***qum<ma>rt-id*** *it.il dunya-li-či b-arx*
forget:PROH-FUT2 that.other world-OBL-SUP N-with
yağlaw-ra kas-es, allah-li čar+b-ar-ib-si
frying.pan:ABS-and take-INF God-OBL:ERG return+N-do-AOR-ADJ
buqmuy ***b-uc'-eħe...*** (11:5)
fat.tail:ABS N-fry-FUT1p
'Do not forget to take your frying pan with you to the other world as well, and we shall fry the fat tail given back by God.'

6.6.4. Present progressive

The Present progressive is made up from the imperfective gerund in *-uli* (see 6.8.1.) and the person markers from table 6.13.

	singular	plural
1	*-ra*	
2	*-ri*	*-ra(ya)*
3	*sa-B*	

table 6.13: person markers in the Present and Perfect

The Present progressive and Perfect tenses display a pecularity in their agreement with third person A and P. Besides the neutral agreement with A (45a, 46a), we also regularly find agreement with P, when it is foregrounded as a topic (45b, 46b). In that case we usually find a different word order, with P in initial position (45b', 46b').

(45a) *dudeš-li* *džuz* *b-uč'-ul* *sa.y*
father-OBL:ERG book:ABS N-read-GER be:M
'Father reads a book.'

(45b) *dudeš-li* *džuz* *b-uč'-ul* *sa-b*
father-OBL:ERG book:ABS N-read-GER be-N
'The book is read by father; as for the book, father reads it.'

(45b') *džuz* *dudeš-li* *b-uč'-ul* *sa-b*
book:ABS father-OBL:ERG N-read-GER be-N
'The book is read by father; as for the book, father reads it.'

(46a) *dudeš-li* *xä* *b-uc-i-l* *sa.y*
father-OBL:ERG dog:ABS N-take-AOR-GER be:M
'Father caught the dog.'

(46b) *dudeš-li* *xä* *b-uc-i-l* *sa-b*
father-OBL:ERG dog:ABS N-take-AOR-GER be-N
'The dog was caught by father; as for the dog, father caught it.'

(46b') *xä* *dudeš-li* *b-uc-i-l* *sa-b*
dog:ABS father-OBL:ERG N-take-AOR-GER be-N
'The dog was caught by father; as for the dog, father caught it.'

When A and P belong to the same gender, foregrounding can only be detected by a different word order. Examples from the texts with a foregrounded topic are:

(47) *it-a-la* *durq-bi* *umc'-ur-li* *sa<r>i* *wa*
that-OBL-GEN shed-PL:ABS check-AOR-GER be:pl and
unc-i ***d-arg-i-li*** ***sa<r>i*** (10:10)
ox-PL:ABS pl-find-AOR-GER be:pl
'(They) checked his sheds and (they) found the oxen (lit. the sheds were checked and the oxen were found).'

(48) *xalq'-li* *gurba* *χunul* ***ka<r>uš'-i-li***
people-OBL:ERG Kurban:GEN wife:ABS kill:F-AOR-GER
sa<r>i (19:100)
be:F
'The people killed Kurban's wife.'

The Dargi Present tense is one of the two progressive tenses: it denotes an event in progress at the speech moment.

(49) *čina* ***arq'-u-l-ra-w*** *ħuša* (22:10)
where leave-GER-2p-INT youP:ABS
'Where are you going?'

6.6.5. Preterite progressive

The Preterite progressive, made up from the imperfective gerund in *-uli* (see 6.8.1.) and the Preterite marker *-ri*, denotes an event in progress at a certain moment in the past.

(50) ***b-ur-ul-ri*** *xalq'-li-zi-b* (10:8)
N-say-GER-PRET people-OBL-ILL-N
'It was being said among the people.'

6.6.6. Perfect

The Perfect is made up from the perfective gerund in *-li* or *-i* (see 6.8.1.) and the person markers from table 6.13. above. Note the agreement with a topicalized P discussed in 6.6.4. The Perfect is an inferential or narrative past tense. It occurs rather frequently in the texts, some of which are (almost) completely in the Perfect tense (e.g. texts 7, 8, 14, 16).

6.6.7. Pluperfect

The Pluperfect, made up from the perfective gerund in *-li* or *-i* (see 6.8.1.) and the Preterite marker *-ri*, renders an event in the past in relation to a reference point in the past. There is one instance of the pluperfect in the texts, e.g.:

(51) *iš-d-a-ni* *q'as+b-ar-i-l-ri* *urχu-li-zi*
this-PL-OBL-ERG decision+N-do-AOR-GER-PRET sea-OBL-ILL
lay+w-ak'-es *hala-w* *Nasradin* *c'irk'-ti*
ONthrow+M-aux-INF before-M PNNasradin:ABS thin-ADP
murč'-a-čil *w-it-es* (27:29)
twig-PL:OBL-COM M-beat-INF
'They had decided to beat Nasradin with thin sticks before throwing him into the sea.'

6.7. Complex tenses in the indicative mood

6.7.1. Resultative tenses

Present and past participles (see 6.8.2.) also occur with the endings of table 6.13 and with the Preterite marker *-ri*, denoting a result in the present or past. This result is durative or progressive with present participles, or perfective with past participles. These complex tenses stand midway between a nominal predicate and a fully grammaticalized resultative form: the participle is usually considered to be an attribute to the argument; person agreement is often defective, see (53) and (54). The participles regularly occur in interrogative sentences, and usually lack the third person auxiliary in those cases, see 8.11.1. In a few cases the progressive resultative has a future time reference (56).

(52) *Nasradin-ni* *har* *barħi* *il* ***b-alx-usi-ri*** (25:2)
PNNasradin-OBL:ERG every day:ABS this N-feed-ADJ-PRET
'Nasradin fed it every day.'

(53) *ħu-ni* *b-aqal* *adam-ti* ***če<b>a?-ib-ti***
you-ERG hpl-much person-PL:ABS see:hpl-AOR-ADP
sa<b>i (15:2)
be:hpl
'You saw a lot of people.'

(54) *ħu-ni* ***ħe-b-al-usi-w*** *nu* *či*
you-ERG NEG-N-know-ADJ-INT me:ABS who:ABS
sa.y-ra-l (2:10)
be:M-1-INDIR
'Don't you know who I am?'

(55) *sen* *ħu* ... *zaki* ***a.y?-ib-si-ri-w*** (24:11)
why you:ABS in.sky ascend:M-AOR-ADJ-2-M
'Why did you sit up there in the sky?'

(56) *iš* *dunya-li-či-b* *b-iʕ-un-si* *sek'al* *it.il*
this world-OBL-SUP-N N-steal-AOR-ADJ thing:ABS that.other
dunya-li-či-b *allah-li* *čar+b-ar-i-li*
world-OBL-SUP-N God-OBL:ERG return+N-do-AOR-GER
lug-usi ***sa<b>i*** (11:3)
give-ADJ be:N
'God will give a thing stolen in this world back in the other world.'

6.7.2. Habitual tenses

Habituality is not only expressed by the Imperfect or Future tenses, but also periphrastically by the combination of an imperfective gerund or participle and an Imperfect or Future tense form of the verb *-iʔ/-ir* 'be', e.g.:

(57) *Malla+Nasradin-ra* *talqan-ra* *hala+hala*
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS-and chief:ABS-and before+before
ɢarši+b-ik-ni-li-čila *iš+q'äyda* ***b-ur-uli***
meet+hpl-aux-MASD-OBL-CONT this+manner N-say-GER
b-ir-ar (24:1)
N-be-FUT3
'The very first meeting of Malla Nasradin and the chief is usually spoken about in the following way'

6.7.3. Evidential tenses

The verb *-u?* 'apparently be, stay' is used as an additional auxiliary in the Present or Perfect tenses to denote evidentiality: the activity is inferred from general knowledge or from hearsay.

(58) *ɑɑ* *ǧabza-li* *meh-la* *usta=deš*
one fellow-OBL:ERG iron-GEN master=ABSTR:ABS
d-ir-uli *ħälal-li* *uz-uli* *bidzi-li*
pl-do-GER honest-ADV M:work-GER delicious-ADV
uk-uli *ʕämru* ***d-urk'-uli*** ***u?-i-li*** ***sa.y*** (9:1)
M:eat-GER life:ABS pl-live-GER M:be-AOR-GER be:M
'One fellow apparently lived his life working honestly as a blacksmith, and eating well.'

(59) *le<b>i-lra* *il-di ...* *č'äbar-li-či* ***ka<b>i?-i-li***
present:hpl-INDEF this-PL floor-OBL-SUP sit.down:hpl-AOR-GER
b-u?-i-li ***sa<b>i*** (24:4)
hpl-be-AOR-GER be:hpl
'They apparently all sat down on the floor.'

The evidential of *le-B* renders the idiomatic phrase 'once upon a time', e.g.:

(60) ***le-b-li*** ***b-u?-i-li*** ***sa<b>i*** *...* *k'.el*
present-hpl-GER hpl-be-AOR-GER be:hpl two
ʕäyar.q'äna (7:1)
hunter:ABS
'Once upon a time there were two hunters.'

6.8. Infinite verb forms in the indicative mood

Some infinite suffixes follow the bare perfective or imperfective stem (e.g. the infinitive, deverbal noun). Other suffixes follow both the perfective Aorist or the imperfective stem, and in that case the following allomorphy occurs: suffixes following an imperfective stem are preceded by *u*. For example, the participle suffix *-(u)si* is *-si* after the perfective Aorist (b-ar-ib-si 'N-do-AOR-ADJ'), *-usi* after an imperfective stem (b-ir-usi 'N-do-ADJ'). The suffixes *-mad, -madan* 'as soon as' (ASA) and *-ayči* UNTIL follow perfective stems only.

6.8.1. Gerund

The gerund suffix *-li* follows the (perfective) Aorist for the perfective gerund, the allomorph *-uli* follows imperfective stems, forming the progressive gerund. Perfective verbs with the Aorist in *-un* take the gerund suffix *-i*, e.g. *w-aš-uli* 'coming', *b-al-uli* 'knowing', *b-uč'-uli* 'reading', *w-ak'-i-li* 'having come', *b-i?-ub-li* 'having been', *b-ah-ur-li* 'having learned', but *b-elč'-i* 'having read', *b-uk-i* 'having eaten'. In the Akusha dialect the gerund suffix lost its final vowel and is *-(u)l*, see examples (45), (46). The gerund is used in subordinate clauses (see 8.4.1.) and serves as the basis for the Perfect, Pluperfect, and Progressive tenses, see 6.6.4.-7.

6.8.2. Participles

The adjective suffix *-si* (plural *-ti*) also serves as the participle suffix; it follows the (perfective) Aorist for the past participle; the allomorph *-usi* follows imperfective stems, forming the present participle. Present and past participles occur in resultative tense forms (see 6.7.1.) and in relative clauses (see 8.6.). For the potential participle in *-e-si/-es-ti*, see 6.9.3.

6.8.3. Infinitive

The infinitive (INF), marked by the suffix *-es*, occurs in complement clauses with modal verbs (see 8.5.) and in purpose clauses, e.g.

(61) *unc-i* ***dura+ħe-d-uq=aq-es*** *därq-li-či*
ox-PL:ABS out+NEG-pl-aux=CAUS-INF shed-OBL-SUP
če<d>irx̂-usi-ra (10:4)
put.on:pl-ADJ-1
'I shall put it (the lock) onto the shed so that the oxen can't get out.'

6.8.4. Supine

The supine is formed by adding the gerund suffix *-li* to the infinitive. It explicitly denotes the purpose of an action.

(62) *carħil-t-a-ni* *ħe-zi* *barx̂=deš*
other-ADP-OBL-ERG you:OBL-ILL true=ABSTR:ABS
ħe-b-ur-es-li *iša-b-si* *di-la* *u*
NEG-N-say-INF-GER here-N-ADJ me:OBL-GEN name:ABS
luk'-as (21:23)
write-FUT1
'Then I would write my name down, ... so that others would not tell you the truth.'

6.8.5. Deverbal noun

The deverbal noun, also called masdar (MASD), is formed by adding the suffix *-ni* to imperfective and perfective stems. Examples: *b-erk-ni* 'the eating', *d-äq-ni* 'the

hitting', *ɢarši+b-ik-ni* 'meeting', *ħe-b-irc-ni* 'the non-selling'. For (long-distance) agreement with deverbal nouns, see 8.4.3.

6.8.6. Other subordinate endings

The subordinate suffix WHEN *-(u)ħeli* denotes an event during or after which another event takes place. There may be a causal relationship between the events. For its role in reference-tracking, see 8.4.2.

(63) *mižit-li-zi* *b-aqal* *xalq'* *b-ak'-i-li*
mosque-OBL-ILL N-much people:ABS N-come-AOR-GER
če<b>aʔ-ib-ħeli, *q'adi* *il-d-a-či*
see:N-AOR-WHEN cadi:ABS this-PL-OBL-SUP
duha.iz-ur-li *sa.y:...* (4:1)
turn.to:M-AOR-GER be:M
'When/as a cadi saw that a lot of people had come to the mosque, he addressed them (with the words):...'

(64) *quli* ***čar+b-ulq-uħeli*** *il-di* *ca* *lag-li-zi*
home return+hpl-aux-WHEN this-PL one ascent-OBL-ILL
a<b>aʔ-i-li *sa<b>i* (32:10)
reach:hpl-AOR-GER be:hpl
'When they returned home, they reached a hill.'

(65) *di-la-ra* *kari-la-r* ***sa-r-ħeli*** *w-ik'-u-si-ra* (12:3)
me:OBL-GEN-and bakery-LOC-F be-F-WHEN M-say-ADJ-1
'Because mine is at the bakery too, I asked you.'

This suffix shows (petrified) inflection, with a dative *-ħe.y.s* (see 4.2.3.), e.g.:

(66) *il* ***šala.d.ik-ib-ħe.y.s*** *w-ebk'-i-li*
this become.light:pl-AOR-WHEN:DAT M-die-AOR-GER
sa.y (19:38)
be:M
'By the time it got light, he had died.'

The suffix *-mad, -madan* 'as soon as' (ASA) follows the (perfective) Aorist; for examples, see sentences (18:7), (22:71), (28:2); the suffix *-ayči* UNTIL follows perfective stems only; for examples, see sentences (3:8), (14:6), (15:9, (28:8). Temporal subordinate clauses consisting of a relative clause with the word *zamana* 'time' are treated in 8.6.

6.9. Non-indicative moods

6.9.1. Imperative

The Imperative (IMP) endings distinguish between singular *-a, -i, -en* and plural *-aya, -iraya*, and *-enaya*. The distribution depends on aspect, transitivity and the Aorist ending, see table 6.14. The negative imperative was discussed in 6.4.

perfective stems	Aorist in *-ib, -ub*	transitive	*-a(ya)*
		intransitive	*-i(raya)*
	Aorist in *-ur*		*-i(raya)*
	Aorist in *-un*		*-en(aya)*
imperfective stems			*-en(aya)*

table 6.14: imperative endings

Examples are: *b-ic-a* 'sell it', *w-ak'-i* 'come', *b-ah-iraya* 'know it', *b-uz=aq-en* 'make it work', *pikri+d-uq-enaya* 'think about it'.[18]

6.9.2. Optative

The Optative (OPT) is formed by adding the endings of table 6.15 to the imperfective or perfective stem.

	singular	plural
1	*-aba*	
2	*-abi*	*-abaya*
3	*-ab*	

table 6.15: optative endings

Optative endings have /ä/ instead of /a/ after a stem-final ʕ or *q'*, or after a verb stem containing the stem-vowel *ä*. Examples are: *d-erq-ab* 'may your harvest be full, cheers (toast)'; *dugi ʕäħ b-ir-ab* 'good night (greeting in the evening)'; *w-at-aba* (15:9) 'let me stay'; *ara-w-ir-abi* (21:9) 'may you be healthy'; *b-iʕ-äb* (17:4) 'let he steal it'.

6.9.3. Potential

The Potential (POT) mood has present and preterite forms: the present Potential adds the endings of table 6.16 to a perfective or imperfective stem[19]; the preterite Potential ending is *-iši* for all persons.

	singular	plural
1	*-iša*	
2	*-iši*	*-iša(ya)*
3	*-es*	

table 6.16: potential endings

[18] There are two exceptions: *w-aš-i* 'come' (instead of the expected *w-ašen*, which occurs with a different meaning 'come back another time') and *b-ix-a* 'give' (instead of *g-a*, which is acquired by children, but considered incorrect).

[19] The texts display only potential forms with perfective verb stems, but Abdullaev (1969:116) gives an imperfective paradigm as well.

The Potential denotes an event that has the potential to take place in the future, or that may have taken place in the past.

(67) *suɢur+i?-ub-li* *meħur+i?-ub-li* ***ħe-y?-iši*** (19:72)
blind+M:be-AOR-GER mad+M:be-AOR-GER NEG-M:be-POT2
'You haven't become mad, turning blind, have you?'

(68) *se* ***b-ar-iša*** (19:65 and several other instances)
what:ABS N-do-POT1
'What shall I do/what can I do?'

The adjective ending *-si* also follows the third person Potential in *-es*; in the singular, the first *s* drops, resulting in *-e-si*, plural *-es-ti*. The potential participle denotes the possibilities of an object, e.g.: *duradz b-ar-e-si urcul* (14:1) 'wood suitable for a plough; *b-erk-e-si* (18:9) 'something edible, food'; *džanaza u<b>as-e-si mer* (19:71) 'a place to put the corpse', *b-ar-e-si ħe-b-al-u-li* (19:47) 'not knowing what to do (what can be done)'; *b-ur-e-si ka<ħe>l-ni* (21:13) 'nothing left to say (what can be said)'.

6.9.4. Conditionals

There are three conditionals: the Conditional, the Concessive conditional and the Counterfactual conditional. They are all based on the endings of the Conditional given in table 6.17.

	singular	plural
1	*-asli*	*-aħelli*
2	*-adli*	*-adalli*
3	*-alli*	

table 6.17: conditional endings

The Conditional denotes an event that forms the condition for another event. The main clause is in the Future tense.

(69) *rax-li* *ɢiyan* ***b-ak'-alli,*** *q'äš*
sudden-ADV difficulty:ABS N-come-COND3 leg:ABS
pälqär+b-ir-is (8:6)
ONmove+N-do-FUT1
'If a problem arises, I will move my leg.'

(70) *ħu-ni* *nab* ***kumek+b.ar-adli,*** *nu-ni*
you-ERG me:DAT help+N:do-COND2 me-ERG
miskin-t-a-s *k'.el* *ɢuruš* *d-urt'-is* (20:4)
poor-ADP-OBL-DAT two rouble:ABS pl-distribute-FUT1
'If you help me, I will distribute two roubles among the poor.'

In some cases the Conditional has a more temporal meaning 'when', and seems to be used to denote an effect of surprise, e.g.:

(71) *čar+r-i?-ub-li* *undza-la* *ʕela* ***ħer.?-alli,***
return+F-be-AOR-GER door-GEN after look-COND3
t'aš-si *adam* (19:55)
upright-ADJ person:ABS
'When she returned, she looked behind the door, (and saw) someone standing.'

The Concessive conditional is formed by adding the coordination particle *-ra* to the Conditional; *-li* is then dropped in most cases, resulting in the endings of table 6.18.

	singular	plural
1	*-as(li)-ra*	*-aħel(li)-ra*
2	*-ad(li)-ra*	*-adal(li)-ra*
3	*-al(li)-ra*	

table 6.18: concessive conditional endings

The Concessive conditional denotes an event, despite the accomplishment of which another event takes place.

(72) *urħ-la* *xunul* *r-ig=aq-es* *b-aq*
strange-GEN wife:ABS F-love=CAUS-INF N-much
layiq'+agar-si ***b-i?-al-ra...*** (6:4)
decent+absent-ADJ N-be-COND3-and
'Even though loving another one's wife is not very decent behaviour...'

(73) *ħu-ni* *se* ***b-ar-adli-ra*** *radzi-li-ra* (18:27)
you-ERG what:ABS N-do-COND2-and glad-ADV-1
'Whatever you do, I'll be happy.'

The Counterfactual conditional (IRR) is formed by adding the preterite marker *-ri* to the Conditional; *-li* is then dropped in most cases, giving the endings of table 6.19.

	singular	plural
1	*-as(li).ri*	*-aħel(li).ri*
2	*-ad(li).ri*	*-adal(li).ri*
3	*-al(li).ri*	

table 6.19: counterfactual conditional endings

The Counterfactual conditional denotes an event in the past, under the accomplishment of which another event might have taken place (irrealis). The main clause is in the Imperfect tense.

(74) *ħe-zi* *b-ur-i-li* ***w-i?-as.ri***
you:OBL-ILL N-say-AOR-GER M-be-IRR1
d-etaq-ni-li-čila, *il-di* *d-urg-uti* *aħen-ri* (10:12)
pl-disappear-MASD-OBL-CONT this-PL pl-find-ADP be.not-PRET
'If I had told you about their disappearance, I would not have found them.'

(75) *rax-li* *b-ebk'-ib-ti* ***mic'ir+b-ir-uti***
sudden-ADV hpl-die-AOR-ADP alive+hpl-be-ADP
b-i?-al.ri, ... *ħ u* *il-d-a-ni* *talqan=deš-li-zi-w*
hpl-be-IRR3 you:ABS this-PL-OBL-ERG chief=ABSTR-OBL-ILL-M
w-alt-ħe-lt-adi (15:12)
M-leave-NEG-leave-IMPF2
'If the dead would become live, ... they would not leave you in your reign.'

6.9.5. *Concessives*

The two Concessive suffixes, *-(u)ɢi* (CONC) and *-χalli* 'however' are both found in the texts. When asked, informants freely substitute one for the other without a difference in meaning, but they seem to have a personal preference for one of the two suffixes. The suffix *-χalli* follows a perfective or imperfective gerund, see (1:14) for an example; *-(u)ɢi* follows the Aorist or imperfective stem.

(76) *Malla+Nasradin-ni* ... *il-di* ***če<b>a?-ib-ɢi***...
PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG this-PL see:hpl-AOR-CONC
ǧay+?-i-li *aħen* (25:15)
word+say-AOR-GER be.not
'Although Malla Nasradin saw them, he did not say a word...'

(77) *il-di* *meħur-ti* *b-i?-ni* ***b-al-uɢi***
this-PL mad-ADP hpl-be-MASD:ABS N-know-CONC
k'älʕä-li-zi *ka<b>at-ur-li* *sa.y* (21:12)
castle-OBL-ILL put:hpl-AOR-GER be:M
'Although you know they are fools, you let them stay in your castle'

CHAPTER 7. WORD FORMATION

7.1. Derivation of nouns

There are two suffixes that derive nouns:

a. *=deš* (ABSTR) derives abstract notions from adjectives and nouns, e.g.: *pašman=deš* 'sadness,' *barx̂=deš* 'truth' (cf. -arx̂), *talqan=deš* 'rule', *usta=deš* 'skill'. Nouns derived with *=deš* usually belong to the singular, and may or may not have a plural form. A few have plural agreement (*ɢarši=deš* 'opposition', *talqan=deš* 'rule') or are pluralia tanta (*wäw=deš* 'crying', *usta=deš* 'skill').

b. *=an* (AG) derives an agent noun from an imperfective verb root, e.g. *b-urt'=an* 'distributor' (cf. -ut' 'distribute'), iɢ=an 'digger' (cf. iɢ 'dig').

In addition there are two petrified suffixes, *-q'äna* and *-či,* both deriving agent nouns, e.g. *šadib.q'äna* 'conversation partner', *walli.q'äna* 'friend', *ʕäyar.q'äna* 'hunter' and *dalay.či* 'singer', *kumek.či* 'helper, *xabar.či* 'story-teller' (Abdullaev 1954:90-91 and Abdullaev 1993b:112). The deverbal noun suffix *-ni* is treated as a regular conjugation, see section 6.8.5.

7.2. Derivation of adjectives

There are two suffixes that derive adjectives:

a. *=ğuna* 'like' (plural *=ğun-ti)* gives a comparison for similarity, e.g.: *r-uqna=ğuna* 'like the old lady', *xala-l=ğuna* 'like the biggest', *se=ğun-ti* 'what kind of', *ʔ-ib-si=ğuna* 'as what was said', *hala-b-la=ğuna* 'as before'.

b. *=ar* (ADJ) derives adjectives from plural nouns denoting a peculiar feature of the attribute noun, e.g. *ʕämul-t=ar* 'clever' (*ʕämal* 'trick', PL *ʕämul-ti*).

In addition there is a petrified suffix *-če-B*, denoting property, e.g. *dawla.če-B* 'rich' (cf. *dawla* 'wealth'), *ʕäq'lu.če-B* 'clever' (cf. *ʕäq'lu* 'intelligence').

7.3. Derivation of verbs

There is one verbal derivation, i.e. the causative. The causative suffix is *=aq,* with the allomorph *=äq* following stems with a final ʕ or *q'*, or stems with the stem-vowel *ä*, e.g.: *-ak'=aq* 'make come', *-elk'=aq* 'make write', *-ilʕ=äq* 'make steal', *-äq=äq* 'make hit'. The causative verb takes the same tense endings as its simplex, except in the Future tense, e.g. *w-ak'-ib-Ø* 'he came', *w-ak'=aq-ib-Ø* '(s)he made him come'; *b-elk'-un* '(s)he wrote it', *b-elk'=aq-un-Ø* '(s)he made him/her write it'. In the Future tense the causative verb always takes the ending set *-u* (see table 6.10), e.g.: *w-aš-ar* 'he will come', *w-aš=aq-u* '(s)he made him come', *nu-ni w-aš=aq-is* 'I made him come'; *luk'-a* '(s)he will write it', *luk'=aq-u* '(s)he will make him/her write it'. For the syntax of causatives, see 8.3.1.

7.4. Nominal composition

Nominal compounds consist of two nouns with a similar or opposite meaning, e.g.: *čarx+bek'* 'complexion (body+head)', *dam+däd* 'music (drum+flute)', *däħ+näg* 'general look (face+hand)', *däqi+qas* 'injuries (wound+injury)', *ħäl+t'abiʕät* 'behaviour (situation+behaviour)', *šadi-B+huni* 'walking around (in distraction+road)', *šalbar+ħewa* 'clothes (trousers+shirt)', *šali+bek'* 'temple (side+head)', *neš+dudeš* 'parents (mother+father),' *murul+x̂unul* 'husband and wife', *berħi+dugi* 'day and night'. The element *maga* 'and the like' is found in e.g.: *di?+maga* 'meat and the like' (19:37), also with other types of food, e.g. *čakar+maga* 'sugar and the like, something sweet', *q'ac'+maga* 'bread and the like'. Only the last member of the compound is inflected.

7.5. Verbal composition

Besides roots and bipartite stems, there is a third category of verb stems (cf. 6.2.): compound stems. Compounds consist of a noun, adjective, adverb, preverb or sound-symbolic element plus a verb root. There are a few instances in the texts of a compound verb both written as one word, and as two separate words, which might suggest a rather loose connection between the components. This impression is confirmed by the fact that compounds can be disrupted by *-ra* 'and', see sentences (21:12), (22:12), (28:17). Verbs frequently used in compounds are: *-i?/-ir* 'be(come)', *-ar/-ir* 'make, do', and *-uq/-ulq* 'move', *-iz/-ilz* 'turn into', *-ik/-irk* 'pass', *-ik'* (imperfective only) 'say', which are glossed as auxiliaries. In some cases, one of the compositional parts is not used separately (anymore) and the compound has become petrified, see section 7.5.5.

7.5.1. Compounds with nouns

Examples are: *abdal+B-i?/B-ir* 'be(come) a fool', *geč+B-i?/B-ir* 'move, migrate', *ħäsib+B-ar/B-ir* 'notice', *tiladi+B-ar/B-ir* 'request', *duc'+B-uq/B-ulq* 'run', *ǧay+B-uq/B-ulq* 'talk', *ixtilat+B-ik'* 'talk', *x̂ul+B-ik'* 'wish', *wäw+B-ik'* 'cry'. Some nominal elements are not regularly used as a noun, but definitely have a nominal origin: *x̂ura+B-ar/B-ir* 'host', *x̂ura+B-i?/B-ir* 'be a guest', *ħer+B-i?/B-ir* 'live', *ħer+B-iz/B-ilz* 'look', *tikrar+B-ar/B-ir* 'repeat'. In some cases the noun takes the place of the S/P, thereby decreasing the valency of the compound: the gender prefix becomes a fixed element, e.g.: *c'ax+b.ar/b.ir* 'embarass', *kumek+b.ar/b.ir* 'help', *pikri+b.ar/b.ir* 'think', *asu+b.i?/b.ir* 'allow' *č'är+b.äq/b.irq* 'scream', *wäw+?/ir* 'give a cry', and *ħer.?/ħer.ir* 'look at'. A few verbs consist of a number or noun in the locative case and a verb root: *ca-la+B-ik/B-irk* 'gather', *ʕäyib-la+B-ar/B-ir* 'blame', *payda-la+B-ar/B-ir* 'use'.

7.5.2. Compounds with adjectives

Examples are: *ara+B-i?/B-ir* 'be(come) healthy', *dak'u+B-i?/B-ir* 'appear', *ħädur+(ka-)B-i?/B-ir* 'prepare', *ʁarši+B-i?/B-ir* 'meet', *suʁur+B-i?/B-ir* 'be(come) blind', *meħur+*

B-ar/B-ir 'declare insane', *-ac'+B-ar/B-ir* 'empty', *xala+B-ar/B-ir* 'enlarge', *darǧ+B-uq/B-ulq* 'lose balance', *cug+B-ik/B-irk* 'meet', *q'abul+B-ik/B-irk* 'agree', *šak+B-ik/B-irk* 'guess', *leħ+B-iz/B-ilz* 'listen (in)', *ʕäħ+B-iz/B-ilz* 'like', *ɢalaba+B-ik'* 'hurry', *aq+B-uc/B-urc* 'raise'; and with sound-symbolic adjectives: *harg+B-ar/B-ir* 'open', *q'äp'+B-ar/B-ir* 'close', *t'ut'u+B-ar/B-ir* 'demolish', *xap+B-ar/B-ir* 'grab'.

7.5.3. Compounds with adverbs and preverbs

Adverbs can be used as preverbs in compounds (see 5.7.1.). Akusha Dargi also has some pure preverbs that are never used as an adverb: *čar* 'return', *las* 'turn in circles', *šur* 'turn around', *alaw* 'round'. Examples are: *dura+B-uq/B-ulq* 'go outside', *-uħna+B-uq/B-ulq* 'go inside', *ʕela+B-uq/B-ulq* 'stay behind', *čar+B-uq/B-ulq* 'return', *las+B-uq/B-ulq* 'turn around in circles', *šur+B-uq/B-ulq* 'turn around', *čedi+B-ik/B-irk* 'defeat', *dura+B-ik/B-irk* 'appear', *hala+B-uc/B-urc* 'stretch'.

7.5.4. Compounds with sound-symbolic elements

The use of sound-symbolic elements in compound verbs turned out to be broader than expected: the elements combine not only with 'say', 'do' or 'be', but with verbs of movement as well, as the movement has its own sound. Sound-symbolic elements that have become a noun (*wäw, č'är, t'äħ*), or an adjective (*harg, q'äp, t'ut'u, xap)* have been treated in the corresponding sections above. Examples are: *ɢudz+B-ar/B-ir* 'push', *kus+B-ar/B-ir* 'set on', *läw+B-ar/B-ir* 'caress', *link'+B-ar/B-ir* 'wink', *zuz+B-ar/B-ir* 'pull', *q'ic'+(ka-)B-ar/B-ir* 'cut (with scissors)', *šiš+B-uq/B-ulq* 'move', *täs+B-uq/B-ulq* 'slide', *žibžir+B-uq/B-ulq* 'hang', *čäħ+B-ik'* 'shed (drops of liquid)', *ɢäyk+B-ik'* 'shoot', *päq+B-ik'* 'hit', *xarč+B-iz/B-ilz* 'jump', *bäz+ʔ/ʔir* 'fart', *lay+(ka-)B-ak'/B-ik'* 'throw', *šip'+B-ärʕ/B-irʕ* 'be silent', *žibžir+B-at/B-alt* 'hang', *ǧär+B-erd/ud* 'tear'.

7.5.5. Petrified compounds

Petrified compounds historically consist of a verb root and a nominal, adjectival, adverbial or sound-symbolic element. At present, one or both of the components are not used as an independent word anymore. Some elements remain unclear however. We often find *aʔ/iʔ, aʔ/ar, aq/iq* as the final component. Examples with a nominal first element are, e.g.: *-eħ<B>iz/-eħ<B>ilz* 'scold', *-eħ<B>ix̂/-eħ<B>irx̂* 'begin', *digi.ʔaʔ/digi.ʔar* 'fall in love', *dukar<B>ik'* 'laugh', *han.d.uc/han.d.urc* 'be patient', *han<B>ik/ han<B>irk* 'remember', *x̂ar<B>aʔ/x̂ar<B>iʔ* 'ask', *urux<B>iʔ/urux<B>ir* 'fear', *urk'<B>uq/urk'<B>ulq* 'frighten, surprise'. Adjectival first element, e.g.: *duʕ.aʔ/duʕ.iʔ* 'send away', *ibq'.aʔ/ibq'.iʔ* 'support', *leħ.aq/leħ.iq* and *leħ.kaq/leħ.kayq* 'be silent, listen'. Adverbial first element, e.g.: *duraʔ/duriʔ* 'lead', *duras/duris* 'remove', *ʕela.kaq/ʕela.kayq* 'put on someone's back'. Verbal first element, e.g.: *-arx̂aʔ/-arx̂iʔ* 'let out' (cf. *-arx̂* 'send'), *-ataʔ/atiʔ* 'release' (cf. *-at* 'let'), *-at<B>ix̂/-at<B>irx̂* 'leave', *-irxaʔ/-irxar* 'believe', *-uskaʔ/-uskal* 'fall asleep' (cf. *-us* 'sleep'). Sound-symbolic first element, e.g.: *dängaʔ/dängiʔ* 'rebounce', *c'ap'ak/ c'ap'alk* 'fix', *ǧät'aʔ/ǧät'iʔ* 'ruin', *p'äc'as/p'äc'is* 'sound', *p'aq'as/p'aq'is* 'fall with a bang'.

CHAPTER 8. SYNTAX[20]

8.1. Word order

Dargi is a head-final language; the general word order in the sentence is SOV; adjectives and attributive nouns in the genitive precede the head noun. Usually only two or three attributive elements precede the head noun. Their general order is: (1) demonstrative pronoun - (2) participle - (3) numeral - (4) atttributive noun in genitive - (5) adjective - (6) head noun. However, adjectives and participles also occur in the reverse order, and numerals can occur in other positions as well. Examples are: *yurt-la b.eʕ.la-ra xala-si baha* (1:9) 'the highest price of the house'; *d-eʕun-ti kartoška-la deʕn-ubi* (2:3) 'the planted potato-seedlings'; *ħäb-li-či b-uxib-si xala-si sadaq'a* (5:3) 'big alms brought to the grave'; *k'.el xala-ti bäliq* (18:7) 'two big fish'; *mäq'-la-w-ad arq'-usi ca adam* (32:3) 'a man passing by'; *ca+ca arc-la ʕäbbas-uni* (27:4) 'a few silver coins'. We also find however *ca ʕäq'lu.če-w-si ɢurban b-ik'-usi adam* (19:1) 'a wise man called Kurban'; *xala-ti werħ.el+geħ.el ħäli* (4:6) 'seven or eight big lards'.

8.2. Valency

In Dargi the following valency types occur:

1. S	[ABS] (intransitive)
2. A P	[ERG, ABS] (transitive)
3. S or A P	[ABS or ERG, ABS] (labile)
4. Exp P	[DAT, ABS] (affective)
5. S Adjunct	[ABS, DAT/SUP/ILL/ERG] (including antipassives, see 8.3.2)
6. A P Adjunct	[ERG, ABS, DAT/SUP/ILL] (including causatives, see 8.3.1.)

8.2.1. Intransitive, transitive and labile

Intransitive verbs include, e.g.: *-ak'/-aš* 'come', arc/urc 'fly', *-ebk'/-ubk'* 'die', *-etaq/-etiq* 'disappear', *ka<B>ik/ka<B>irk* 'fall', *pikri+B-uq/B-ulq* 'think'. Transitive verbs include, e.g.: *a<B>it'/a<B>ilt'* 'dig, cut', *-ah/-al* 'know', *-ax/-alx* 'feed', *če<B>aʔ/če<B>iʔ* 'see', *-elk'/luk'* 'write', *ka<B>uš/ka<B>urš* 'kill'. Gender and person agreement with intransitive and transitive verbs has been discussed in chapter 3.

Dargi has a small number of labile verbs, i.e. verbs which are both transitive and intransitive: the transitive P is the intransitive S. So far five of them have been found: *-äč/-älč* 'break', *-ic'/-irc'* 'fill oneself, fill', *-eǧ/-elǧ* 'disappear, spend', *-elx̂/lux̂* 'boil', *-erx/-urx* 'become/make different', of which only the first two appear in the texts. Note the different Future endings with both uses.

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[20] The syntactic phenomena discussed in this chapter will be treated more extensively and in a broader context in Van den Berg (in prep.).

(76a) *neš-li* *k'alt'a* *b-irc'-u*
mother-OBL:ERG jug:ABS N-fill-FUT3
'Mother fills the jug.'

(76b) *šara* *b-irc'-ur*
lake:ABS N-fill-FUT3
'The lake fills itself.'

8.2.2. Affective verbs

Dargi has just one affective verb root: *dig* 'want, like (something one does not have)'. It is imperfective only; it lacks a Future or Imperfect tense paradigm and displays a full paradigm only in the Present tense. The initial *d* is a petrified gender prefix: in other Dargi dialects the root *-ig* exists. With regard to person agreement *dig* behaves as a transitive verb.

(77a) *nab* *džuz* *dig-ul-ra*
me:DAT book:ABS want-GER-1
'I want the book.'

(77b) *il-i-s* *džuz* *dig-ul* *sa.y*
this-OBL-DAT book:ABS want-GER be:M
'He wants the book.'

(77c) *il-i-s* *nu* *dig-ul-ra*
this-OBL-DAT me:ABS want-GER-1
'(S)he likes/loves me.'

Causative derivation of this root does not increase its valency: *dig=aq* 'love, like (something one has)' still is [DAT, ABS], and there is just a semantic change.

(78a) *nab* *džuz* *dig=aq-is*
me:DAT book:ABS want=CAUS-FUT1
'I like the book.'

(78b) *il-i-s* *džuz* *dig=aq-u*
this-OBL-DAT book:ABS want=CAUS-FUT3
'(S)he likes the book.'

(78c) *il-i-s* *nu* *dig=aq-ul-ra*
this-OBL-DAT me:ABS love=CAUS-GER-1
'(S)he loves me.'

The verb *digi.ʔaʔ/digi.ʔar* '(fall in) love' has the [DAT, ABS] valency as well.

(79) *il-i-s* *rursi* *digiʔar-ar*
this-OBL-DAT girl:ABS love-FUT3
'He will (fall in) love (with) the girl.'

8.2.3. Intransitive and transitive verbs with an adjunct

Some intransitive and transitive verbs have an additional argument, usually in the dative or one of the local cases. Examples are:

[ABS, DAT], e.g.: *dec'aq/dec'iq* 'offend', *han<B>ik/han<B>irk* 'remember', *ʕäħ+Biz/B-ilz* 'like', e.g.:

(80) *meh-la* *usta-s* *il-d-a-la* *xabur-ti*
iron-GEN master-DAT this-PL-OBL-GEN story-PL:ABS
ʕäħ+d-iz-ur-li *sa<r>i* (9:7)
good+pl-aux-AOR-GER be:pl
'The blacksmith liked their stories.'

[ABS, SUP/ILL/other local adjunct], e.g.: *a<B>ac'/a<B>ic'* 'ascend', *c'ap'ak/ c'ap'alk* 'stick', *-at<B>ix̂/-at<B>irx̂* 'leave', *-irxaʔ/-irxar* 'believe', *kal/kawl* 'stay', e.g.:

(81) *il* *galga-li-či* ***ac'-i-li*** *sa.y* (32:2)
this tree-OBL-SUP ascend:M-AOR-GER be:M
'He climbed the tree.'

(82) *Nasradin* *šahar-li-zi* ***w-at.ix̂-ib-Ø*** (27:3)
PNNasradin:ABS town-OBL-ILL M-leave:M-AOR-3
'Nasradin went to town.'

[ERG, ABS, DAT], e.g.: *g/lug* 'give (hither)', *ed/-ed+lug* 'give (thither)', *čes/ čeys* 'promise', e.g.:

(83) *miskin+päq'ir-t-a-s...* *se-lra*
poor+poor-ADP-OBL-DAT what:ABS-INDEF
b-ed+ħe-lug-ul-ri (5:12)
N-give+NEG-give-GER-PRET
'The poor, he gave nothing.'

(84) *nab* *ca* *gawlag* *c'ub.a* *arc-la* ***g-ib-Ø*** (27:17)
me:DAT one bag:ABS white silver-GEN give-AOR-3
'They gave me a bag filled with silver.'

[ERG, ABS, SUP/ILL/other local adjunct], e.g.: *ar<B>uk/ar<B>ik* 'lead away', *-äħči.ʔaʔ/-äħči.ʔiʔ* 'direct', *-arx̂/-irx̂* 'send', *ha<B>at/ha<B>alt* 'put forward', *ih/irh* 'hit', *x̂ar<B>aw/x̂ar<B>iʔ* 'ask', e.g.:

(85) *il-i-ni* *buk'un* *quli* ***w-arx̂-i-li*** *sa.y* (19:69)
this-OBL-ERG shepherd:ABS home M-send-AOR-GER be:M
'He sent the shepherd home.'

(86) *urk'<b>uq-un-ti* *šan-t-a* *Nasradin-ni-zi*
frighten:hpl-AOR-ADP villager-PL-OBL:ERG PNNasradin-OBL-ILL
x̂ar<b>aʔ-ib-Ø:... (27a:25)
ask:N-AOR-3
'The frightened villagers asked Nasradin: ...'

[ABS, ERG], e.g.: *-arq'/-irq'* 'act, do' (see the lexicon) and *uh* 'tell', e.g.:

(87) *unra* *cän-b-a* ***uh-ni*** (13:7)
neighbour:ABS lie-PL-OBL:ERG M:tell-MASD:ABS
'The lying of his neighbour.'

Some verbs have more than one valency. The verb *-ut'/-urt'* is [ERG, ABS, DAT] with the meaning 'distribute' and [ERG, ABS, SUP], meaning 'divide', see sentence (4:7). The verb *-äq/-irq* has three different valency patterns, [ERG, ABS] meaning 'hit, hurt'; [ERG, DAT] 'hit someone'; [ERG, ILL] 'hit something'. With the last two possibilities the absolutive position is taken by the virtual instrument of hitting (fist, hand, stick) and represented by the gender prefix *b-* or *d-* in the verb. In the texts under consideration, we frequently find an additional instrument in the ergative case. This argument structure belongs to Standard Dargi and is considered bookish by Akusha informants.

(88a) *il-i-ni* *bek'* *b-äq-ib-Ø*
this-OBL-ERG head:ABS N-hit-AOR-3
'(S)he hit his/her head.'

(88b) *il-i-ni* *urši* *w-äq-ib-Ø*
this-OBL-ERG boy:ABS M-hit-AOR-3
'(S)he hurt the boy.'

(88c) *ħe-la* *laǧ-li* *nab* *d-äq-ib-Ø* (22:64)
you:OBL-GEN slave-OBL:ERG me:DAT pl-hit-AOR-3
'Your slave hit me.'

(88d) *Malla+Nasradin-ni* *q'adi-la* *bek'-li-zi*
PNMalla+Nasradin-ERG cadi-GEN head-OBL-ILL
d-äq-i-li *sa.y* (22:71)
pl-hit-AOR-GER be:M
'Malla Nasradin hit the cadi on the head.'

(88e) *ɑɑ* *adam-li* *il-a-la* *qänt'a-li-zi*
one person-OBL:ERG this-OBL-GEN neck-OBL-ILL
xunk'-li *b-äq-i-li* *sa.y* (23:1)
fist-OBL:ERG N-hit-AOR-GER be:M
'A man hit him in the neck with his fist.'

Exceptions to the above mentioned valency-patterns are, e.g.: *če.b.b.ic'/če.b.b.irc'* [ERG, DAT] 'revenge' (see sentences (27:3, 11)), *ʕe.r.d.ar/ ʕe.r.d.ir* 'pretend' (sentences (6:9), (19:15)), and *ʕe.r.d.uc/ʕe.r.d.urc* [ERG, GEN] 'imitate' (16:2). Note that these three verbs have petrified gender markers.

8.3. Valency changing processes

8.3.1. Causative

Causative verbs are derived from intransitive and transitive verbs by the suffix *=aq* (see 7.3.). The valency of the verb increases, with an A in the ergative added to the verb; with causative verbs derived from transitives, the Causee is in the illative case. Examples:

(89a) *šinq'a* *luq'-ar*
mill:ABS turn-FUT3
'The mill turns.'

(89b) *il-i-ni* *šinq'a* *luq=aq-u*
this-OBL-ERG mill:ABS turn=CAUS-FUT3
'(S)he makes the mill turn.'

(90a) *murul* *suGur+wi?-ub-Ø*
man:ABS blind+M-be-AOR-3
'The man turned blind.'

(90b) *il-i-ni* *murul* *suGur+w-i?=aq-ub-Ø*
this-OBL-ERG man:ABS blind+M-be=CAUS-AOR-3
'(S)he made the man blind.'

(91a) *il-i-ni* *sadaq'a* *b-ar-ib-Ø*
this-OBL-ERG alms:ABS N-do-AOR-3
'(S)he gave alms.'

(91b) *il-i-ni* *nab-zi* *sadaq'a* *b-ar=aq-ib-Ø*
this-OBL-ERG me:OBL-ILL alms:ABS N-do=CAUS-AOR-3
'(S)he made me give alms.'

(92a) *ilini* *xureg* *b-ir-u*
this-OBL-ERG dish:ABS N-make-FUT3
'(S)he makes a dish.'

(92b) *nu-ni* *il-i-zi* *xureg* *b-ir=aq-is*
me-ERG this-OBL-ILL dish:ABS N-do=CAUS-FUT1
'I make her make a dish.'

8.3.2. Antipassive

The antipassive construction decreases the valency of transitive verbs, so that the arguments do not occur as A and P, but as S and Adjunct. Some 60 percent of the Dargi transitive verbs allow this construction. The adjunct is marked by the singular

or plural ergative case[21], or, rarely, by a local case. Its presence is not obligatory. Examples are:

(93a) *dudeš-li* *džuz* *b-uč'-ul* *sa.y*
father-OBL:ERG book:ABS N-read-GER be:M
'Father reads a book.'

(93b) *dudeš* *džuz-li* *uč'-ul* *sa.y*
father:ABS book-OBL:ERG M:read-GER be:M
'Father is engaged in reading a book.'

(93b') *dudeš džuzli// Ø// džuzliziw// džuza(ni) uč'ul say*
'Father is engaged in reading a book//Ø//in a book//books.'

The antipassive construction demotes P and the event expressed by the verb is rendered as an activity in which S is engaged. In Dargi the antipassive construction occurs with imperfective verb forms only, i.e. in the Future, Imperfect and the Present and Preterite Progressive: an antipassive form of perfective verb forms is not allowed.

(93c) *dudeš-li* *džuz* *b-elč'-un-Ø*
(father-OBL:ERG book:ABS N-read-AOR-3
'Father read a book.'

(93c') **dudeš džuzli welč'un*

The verbs *-erk/-uk* 'eat' and *-erdž/-udž* 'drink' are an exception to this rule. They allow a change in perfective verb forms, replacing the perfective stem by the imperfective stem, while retaining the tense ending.

(94a) *urši-ni* *šin* *d-erdž-ib-Ø*
boy-ERG water:ABS pl-drink-AOR-3
'The boy drank water.'

(94b) *urši* *šin-ni* *udž-ib-Ø*
boy:ABS water-OBL:ERG M:drink-AOR-3
'The boy was engaged in drinking water.'

Antipassive constructions occur several times in the texts under consideration (sentences (9:1), (19:27), (22:2, 3), (28:22, 28, 33, 34), (32:3, 4)): all but the last two occurrences are forms of the verbs 'eat' and 'drink'. In connection with the antipassive construction these verbs do not only seem to have a special position with regard to their morphological possibilities, allowing for replacement of stems, but also with regard to textual frequency.

[21] Although the label ergative should be reserved for the transitive Agent, it does not seem not useful to introduce a separate label for the adjunct of antipassive constructions, as the adjunct is rarely present; the mere fact, that A and the Adjunct have similar case-forms can lead to ambiguity in certain cases. For examples of this and a more comprehensive treatment, see Van den Berg (in prep.).

8.4. Co-reference

8.4.1. Co-reference in coordinated clauses

Usually clauses are coordinated only if the S/A of both sentences are co-referent: in that case either one of the co-referent arguments can be dropped, or even both of them.

8.4.2. Co-reference in subordinated clauses

The S/A of the main clause usually co-refers with the S/A of the subordinate clause too (95ab). Co-reference of S and P can be marked by adding *ʕerǧi* 'after' to the gerund (95c), by rendering P with the pronoun *sa<B>i* (95d), or by using the subordinate form in *-(u)ħeli*. However, the texts show that co-reference of S/P does not have to marked this way, whereas these devices can be used with co-referent S/A as well.

(95a) *w-ak'-i-li, nu w-ax-un-ra*
M-come-AOR-GER me:ABS M-feed-AOR-1
'He came and fed me.'

(95b) *w-ak'-i-li, nu-ni w-ax-un-ra*
M-come-AOR-GER me-ERG M-feed-AOR-1
'I came and fed him/he came and I fed him.'

(95c) *w-ak'-i-li ʕerǧi, nu-ni w-ax-un-ra*
M-come-AOR-GER after me-ERG M-feed-AOR-1
'He came and I fed him.'

(95d) *w-ak'-i-li, nu-ni sa.y w-ax-un-ra*
M-come-AOR-GER me-ERG self:ABS:M M-feed-AOR-1
'He came and I fed him.'

Confusion often remains; in the texts however, the context resolves those cases:

(95e) *w-ak'-i-li, w-ax-un-Ø*
M-come-AOR-GER M-feed-AOR-3
'He$_{ij}$ came and he$_i$ fed him$_j$.'

(96) *w-ak'-i-li, če?-i-ra*
M-come-AOR-GER see:M-AOR-1
'I came and I saw him/he came and he saw me.'

(97) *w-ak'-ib-ħeli, w-it-i-ra*
M-come-AOR-WHEN M-beat-AOR-1
'When he came, I beat him/he beat me.'

8.4.3. Co-reference and agreement with deverbal nouns

Deverbal nouns behave as other subordinate clauses with regard to co-reference, see 8.4.2. As deverbal nouns receive neuter gender, the main clause usually has neuter gender agreement with the subordinate clause consisting of a deverbal noun.

(98) *meh-la* *usta-ni* *sune-la* *unra*
iron-GEN master-ERG self:OBL-GEN neighbour:ABS
gän-b-a ***uh-ni*** ***b-al-u-gi*** ...(13:7)
lie-PL-OBL:ERG M:tell-MASD:ABS N-know-CONC
'Though the blacksmith knew that his neighbour was telling him lies...'

However, there are two cases in the text displaying long-distance agreement, see examples (99-100). Most instances of subordinate clauses with deverbal nouns are ambiguous, as the subordinate verb also has the gender affix *b* (neuter or human plural).

(99) *unc-i* ***ag-ni*** ***ħäsib+d-ar-ib-Ø*** (10:1)
ox-PL:ABS absent-MASD:ABS notice+pl-do-AOR-3
'He noticed that his oxen weren't there.'

(100) *il-di* ***d-erk-ni*** ***ħe-yʔ-ub-li...***(22:48)
this-PL pl-eat-MASD:ABS NEG-pl:be-AOR-GER
'As if it had not eaten (the pilaf and chicken)...'

8.5. Modal verbs

8.5.1. 'must'

There are several expressions denoting a form of obligation. Constructions with the root *ʕäʃni* render necessity; with *če<B>ik/če<B>irk* and *če<B>urg* obligation. *ʕäʃni-li, ʕäʃni-si* and auxiliary require the dative; the auxiliary has neuter agreement, e.g.:

(101) *il-i-s* *uz-es* *ʕäʃni-l* *sa-b*
this-OBL-DAT M:work-INF necessary-ADV be-N
'He has to work.'

(102) *il-i-s* *rudzi* *če<r>aʔ-es* *ʕäʃni-l* *sa-b*
this-OBL-DAT sister:ABS see:F-INF necessary-ADV be-N
'He has to see his sister.'

With intransitive verbs, however, *ʕäʃni-li, ʕäʃni-si* and auxiliary may also retain the usual valency of the verb, while the auxiliary shows agreement with S.

(101') *il* *uz-es* *ʕäʃni-l* *sa.y*
this M:work-INF necessary-ADV be:M
'He has to work.'

The examples in the texts display only the first possibility, and usually lack the dative adjunct. In some cases there is also agreement in number.

(103) *il* *ka<w>š-es* *ʕäʕni-si* *sa<b>i* (27a:2)
this kill:M-INF necessary-ADJ be:N
'It was necessary to kill him.'

(104) *gawlag-un-a-la* *lut'-m-a-zi-r* *ʕäbbas-uni*
bag-PL-OBL-GEN bottom-PL-OBL-ILL-pl dime-PL:ABS
kal-es *ʕäʕni-si* *sa<b>i* (27:8)
stay-INF necessary-ADJ be:N
'At the bottom of the bags there must be some coins left.'

(105) *biq'r-umi* *b-iʔ-es* *ʕäʕni-ti* *sa<b>i* (28:29)
witness-PL:ABS hpl-be-INF necessary-ADP be:hpl
'Witnesses are necessary.'

The verbs *če<B>ik/če<B>irk* [DAT, infinitive] 'have to' and *če<B>urG* [DAT, infinitive] 'have to' show neuter agreement with the infinitive. The subordinate S/A is replaced by dative argument of the modal verb.

(106) *il-i-s* *uz-es* *če<b>irk-ur*
this-OBL-DAT M:work-INF have.to:N-FUT3
'He has to work.'

(107) *il-i-s* *rudzi* *če<r>aʔ-es* *če<b>irk-ur*
this-OBL-DAT sister:ABS see:F-INF have.to:N-FUT3
'He has to see his sister.'

(108) *ħu=ğuna-li-s...* *šal.ʕe-w+ulq-es* *če<b>irk-ur* (29:21)
you=like-OBL-DAT along-M+aux:M-INF must:N-FUT3
'People like you should ... pass.'

One of the two occurrences in the texts nevertheless shows retention of the subordinate S/A, e.g.:

(109) *ħu-ni* *b-al-uli* *w-iʔ-es* *če<b>irk-ur...* (21:11)
you-ERG N-know-GER M-be-INF must:N-FUT3
'You must know that ...'

That is also the case in the single occurrence of *če<B>urG*, e.g.

(110) *nu* *guš-li* *kal-es* *če<b>urG-uli* *sa<b>i* (22:39)
me:ABS hungry-ADV stay-INF have.to-GER be:N
'Because of you, I had to stay hungry.'

8.5.2. 'can'

The verb *-iʔ/-ir* [ABS, infinitive] 'be, can' behaves as an auxiliary: the arguments of the subordinate clause are retained and *-iʔ/-ir* agrees with the S/A in gender and person.

(111a) *il* *uz-es* *w-ir-ar*
this M:work-INF M-can-FUT3
'He can work.'

(111b) *nu* *r-uz-es* *r-ir-us*
me:ABS F-work-INF F-can-FUT1
'I (F) can work.'

(112) *il-i-ni* *rudzi* *r-alx-es* *w-ir-ar*
this-OBL-ERG sister:ABS F-feed-INF M-can-FUT3
'He can feed his sister.'

(113) *b-išt'a-si* *ɢäna-li* *xala+ka?-ib-si* *uršı*
N-small-ADJ crow-OBL:ERG big+M:reach-AOR-ADJ boy:ABS
dzub-r-a-či *ar.uk-es* *b-ir-ar-u* (13:15)
star-PL-OBL-SUP lead:M-INF N-can-FUT3-INT
'Can a small crow really lift a growing boy to the stars?'

(114) *x̂unul+adam-t-a-ni* *duxu-ti-ra* *meħur+b-ar-es*
woman+person-PL-OBL-ERG clever-ADP-and mad+hpl-do-INF
b-ir-ar (18:2)
hpl-can-FUT3
'Women can even drive clever people mad.'

(115) *ʕäħ-li* *xalq'-li-s* *ʕäq'lu* *b-ur-es*
good-ADV people-OBL-DAT advice:ABS N-say-INF
w-ir-ud (19:71)
M-can-FUT2
'You are good at giving people advice...'

(116) *hanna* *nu-ni* *b-al-as* *maza* *čina-r* *d-arg-es*
now me-ERG N-know-FUT1 sheep:ABS where-pl pl-find-INF
w-ir-ar-al (27a:27)
M-can-FUT3-INDIR
'Now I know where to find the sheep.'

8.5.3. 'begin'

The verb *-eħ<B>ix̂* [ABS, infinitive] 'begin' agrees with the subordinate S/A in gender and person. Usually the arguments of the subordinate verb are retained; with transitive verbs however, we also find the S of 'begin' as the single argument.

(117) *il* *uzes* *w-eħ.irx̂-ul* *sa.y*
this M:work-INF M-begin:M-GER be:M
'He starts to work.'

(118) *il-i-ni* *rudzi* *r-alx-es* *w-eħ.irx̂-ul* *sa.y*
this-OBL-ERG sister:ABS F-feed-INF M-begin:M-GER be:M
'He begins to feed his sister.'

(118') *il* *rudzi* *r-alx-es* *w-eħ.irx̂-ul* *sa.y*
this sister:ABS F-feed-INF M-begin:M-GER be:M
'He begins to feed his sister.'

(119) *qubzara* *ɢaz* *b-urt'-es* *w-eħ.ix̂-i-li*
peasant:ABS goose:ABS N-distribute-INF M-begin:M-AOR-GER
sa.y (16:6)
be:M
'The peasant began to cut up the goose.'

8.5.4. 'want'

dig [DAT, ABS/infinitive] 'want' behaves as a transitive verb with regard to person agreement (see 8.2.2.). The subordinate arguments are usually dropped, except with intransitive verbs where we find the possibility of retention of the subordinate argument.

(120) *il-i-s* *uz-es* *dig-ul* *sa.y*
this-OBL-DAT M:work-INF want-GER be:M
'He wants to work.'

(120') *il* *uz-es* *dig-ul* *sa.y*
this M:work-INF want-GER be:M
'He wants to work.'

(121) *hanna* *nu* *ʕäħ-il+dek'ar* *uk-es* *dig-ul-i*
now me:ABS good-ADJ+particular M:eat-INF want-GER
aħen-ra (22:3)
be.not-1
'I don't want to eat right now...'

When the S/A of the subordinate verb co-refers with the Exp of 'want', it is dropped: and the verb is in the infinitive. When the subordinate P co-refers with the Exp, the verb is in a gerund and the P is represented by the pronoun *sa<B>i*.

(122a) *il-i-s* *rudzi* *če<r>a?-es* *dig-ul* *sa.y*
this-OBL-DAT sister:ABS see:F-INF want-GER be:M
'He wants to see his sister.'

(122b) *il-i-s* *digul* *sa.y* *rudzi-ni* *sa.y*
this-OBL-DAT want-GER be:M sister-ERG self:M:ABS
če?-i-li
see:M-AOR-GER
'He wants his sister to see him.'

(123) *xan-ni-s* *dig-uli* *u?-i-li* *sa.y...*
khan-OBL-DAT want-GER M:be-AOR-GER be:M
sune-la *k'älʕä* *xala+b-ar-es* (1:2)
self:OBL-GEN castle:ABS big+N-do-INF
'The khan apparently wanted to enlarge his castle.'

8.6. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are formed by present and past participles (see section 6.8.2.): all arguments (S, A, P, Adjunct, possessor, expressions of time and location) can be relativized. Examples are: *debali* ***radzi+iʔ-ub-si*** *q'adi* (1:8) 'the cadi, who was very glad', ***b-uz-ħe-b-uz-usi*** *saʕät* (6:10) 'a non-working (broken) watch', *iš dunya-li-či-b* ***b-iʕ-un-si*** *sek'al* (11:3) 'a thing stolen in this world', *ħuša-ni* ***arx-uti*** *wayäħ* (30:9) 'the belongings that you are carrying', *ču-la maza* ***d-iʕ-un-si*** *qulki* (29:25) 'the thief who had stolen their sheep', *k'i.darš* ɢuruš-ra *q'äl-ra* ***lug-usi*** *xan* (1:22) 'a khan giving 200 roubles and a cow', *ču-zi* ***ʔ-ib-si=ǧuna*** ɢarɢa (22:19) 'a stone similar to the one he mentioned to them', ɢurban ***b-ik'-usi*** *adam* (19:1) 'a man called Kurban', *il-di* ***b-uskaʔ-un-si*** *zamana* (19:32) 'at the time that they were sleeping', *harga-la* ***a<b>ic'-usi*** *zamana* (19:17) 'at the time it was ascending into the corridor', *bard-ni* ***ka.yx̂-ib-si*** *gawlag* (14:4) 'the bag in which they had put the axes', *Malla+Nasradin* ***us-usi*** *quli* (30:2) 'the room where Malla Nasradin was sleeping', *ču-la d-aqal maza* ***d-iʕ-un-ti*** *buk'un-i* (29:23) 'shepherds from whom a lot of sheep had been stolen', *ħäb-li-či sadaq'a* ***b-ix-usi*** *ʕädat* (5:2) 'the custom of bringing alms to the grave'.

8.7. Functions of sa<B>i

The pronoun *sa<B>i* 'self' is not only used as the third person reflexive pronoun (see 8.7.1.), but also as an anaphoric pronoun used in reference-tracking between the main and subordinate clauses, or even in a wider domain, to refer to entities outside the clause, see 8.7.2. Eventually, it also renders emphasis, see 8.7.3.

8.7.1. Reflexivity

In reflexive clauses, the pronoun may occur twice, with the case-marking required by the valency of the verb. Note the gender agreement in the absolutive. E.g.:

(124a)	*urši-ni*	*sune-ni*	*sa.y*	*w-äq-ib-Ø*
	boy-ERG	self:OBL-ERG	self:ABS:M	M-hit-AOR-3
	'The boy hurt himself.'			

(124b)	*rursi-ni*	*sune-ni*	*sa-r*	*r-äq-ib-Ø*
	girl-ERG	self:OBL-ERG	self:ABS-F	F-hit-AOR-3
	'The girl hurt herself.'			

The reflexive pronoun with the same case as the nominal argument can be omitted, but then *sa<B>i* can also refer to a third person outside the sentence. In ambiguous contexts, the double marking of the reflexive is preferred.

(124a')	*urši-ni*	*sa.y*	*w-äq-ib-Ø*
	boy-ERG	self:ABS:M	M-hit-AOR-3
	'The boy$_i$ hurt him$_i$self/the boy$_i$ hurt him$_j$.'		

(125) *urši-ni* *sune-s* *džuz* *as-ib-Ø*
boy-ERG self:OBL-DAT book:ABS buy-AOR-3
'The boy$_i$ bought him$_i$self a book/the boy$_i$ bought a book for him$_j$.'

(126) *urši-ni* *sune-la* *džuz* *če<b>a?-ib-Ø*
boy-ERG self:OBL-GEN book:ABS see:N-AOR-3
'The boy$_i$ saw his$_i$ own/his$_j$ book.'

Examples from the texts make it clear that the genitive of *sa<B>i* can co-refer to all arguments (S, A, P, Exp, Adjunct) that are the possessor.

(127) ***sune-la*** *quli* *čar+i?-ub-ħeli*...(13:9)
self:OBL-GEN home return+M:be-AOR-WHEN
'When (he) returned home...'

(128) *nu-ni* *umxu* ***sune-la*** *mer-li-či-b* *b-arg-i-ra* (22:46)
me-ERG key:ABS self:OBL-GEN place-OBL-SUP-N N-find-AOR-1
'I found the key in its place.'

(129) *Gurbay* ***sune-la*** *xuna*
PNKurban:OBL:ERG self:OBL-GEN wife:GEN
piš-ni *d-ah-ur-li* *sa.y* (19:5)
escapade-PL:ABS pl-know-AOR-GER be:M
'Kurban learned about the escapade of his wife.'

(130) *urši-li* *dudeš-li-zi* *han<b>uš-i-li* *sa.y*...
boy-OBL:ERG father-OBL-ILL remind:N-AOR-GER be:M
sune-la *qä-li-čila* (17:21)
self:OBL-GEN vow-OBL-CONT
'The boy reminded his father about his vow.'

A clause like (131) is ambiguous: the reflexive possessive can refer to both A or P.

(131) *urši-ni* *rudzi-s* *sunela* *džuz* *b-ed-ib-Ø*
boy-ERG sister-DAT self:OBL-GEN book:ABS N-give-AOR-3
'The boy gave his sister his/her book.'

In reflexive constructions with first and second person the personal pronouns are used:

(132) *sen* *ħu-ni* *ħu* *w-äq-i-ri-w*
why you-ERG you:ABS M-hurt-AOR-2-INT
'Why did you hurt yourself?'

(133) *nu-ni* *di-la* *džuz* *če<b>a?-i-ra*
me-ERG me:OBL-GEN book:ABS see:N-AOR-1
'I saw my book.'

8.7.2. Anaphoric co-reference

In subordinate clauses, either with a gerund, participle, the subordinate marker *-(u)ħeli*, with a deverbal noun or with complement clauses, inflected forms of *sa<B>i*

co-refer with the S, A, P, or Adjunct of the main clause. For an example with a complement clause, see (123) in 8.5.4.

(134) *xan* ***sune-či*** *duha.iz-ur-li* ... *debali*
khan:ABS self:OBL-SUP turn.to:M-AOR-GER very
radzi+iʔ-ub-si ***q'adi*** ... (1:8)
glad+M:be-AOR-ADJ cadi:ABS
'The cadi, who was very glad that the khan had turned to him...'

(135) ***unra-ni*** *b-ah-ur-li* *sa.y* ***sune-ni*** *meh-la*
neighbour-ERG N-know-AOR-GER be:M self:OBL-ERG iron-GEN
usta ... *duʃ-li* *meħur-si-li-zi*
master:ABS wild-ADV mad-ADJ-OBL-ILL
xal+w-ar-ni (13:17)
declare+M-do-MASD:ABS
'The neighbour knew that he was mistaken in thinking the blacksmith a fool.'

(136) ***Malla+Nasradin-na*** *b-uʔ-i-li* *sa<b>i* ***sune-s***
PNMalla+Nasradin-GEN N-be-AOR-GER be:N self:OBL-DAT
debali *dig-usi* *ca* *emħe* (25:1)
very want-ADJ one donkey:ABS)
'Malla Nasradin apparently had a donkey which he loved very much.'

(137) ***Malla+Nasradin-ni*** *q'adi-s* *b-ed-i-li* *sa.y*
PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG cadi-DAT N-give-AOR-GER be:M
il *arc,* *tiladi+b-ar-i-li* *barχ=deš*
this money:ABS request+N-do-AOR-GER true=ABSTR:ABS
sune-zi *b-arg=aq-es* (22:67)
self:OBL-ILL N-find=CAUS-INF
'Then Malla Nasradin gave this money to the cadi, asking him to find the truth for him.'

The domain of the anaphoric co-reference stretches even outside the clause. The entity referred to is known or inferred from the context.

(138) *ʕur-ra* ***sa<b>i*** *nab-zi* *«zzzzz»* *b-ik'-uli* *sa<b>i* (22:48)
then-and self:ABS:N me:OBL-ILL ONzzz N-say-GER be:N
'Then it [the fly] said "zzz" to me.'

(139) *qay-či* *c'a* *ka<d>at-ab* ***sune-la*** (6:25)
house:OBL-SUP fire:ABS hit:pl-OPT3 self:OBL-GEN
'May fire hit your house!'

8.7.3. Emphasis

The pronoun *sa<B>i* emphasizes an argument of the clause; for the use of *sa<B>i* in coordination, see 8.9.1.

(140) *x̂unuy...* *kayx̂=aq-i* *murul*
wife:OBL:ERG lie.down:M=CAUS-GER husband:ABS
sa<r>i *xala-l* *radzi=deš-li-čil* *ši-či*
self:ABS:F big-ADJ glad=ABSTR-OBL-COM water-SUP
ar<r>äq'-i *sa<r>i* (19:15)
leave:F-GER be:F
'His wife ... put her husband to bed and went herself for water with great joy.'

(141) *q'äli* *ka<b>irk-uħeli* *b.i?.alli* *il-i-čil* *w-arx*
twig:ABS fall.down:N-WHEN however this-OBL-COM M-with
sa.y-ra *p'aq'as=aq-i-li* *wanza-li-či*
self:ABS:M-and sound=CAUS-AOR-GER earth-OBL-SUP
ka.yk-ib-Ø (32:5)
fall.down:M-AOR-3
'When the branch fell however, he himself also fell with a bang to the ground.'

(142) *il-i-s* *b-et'-i-li* *sa<b>i* *il* *murt-alra*
this-OBL-DAT N-bore-AOR-GER be:N this when-INDEF
sune-ni-cun *b-alx-es* (25:3)
self:OBL-ERG-only N-feed-INF
'It bored him that he was the only one who had to feed it.'

8.8. *Reciprocity*

A reciprocal construction consists of two instances of the numeral *ca* 'one', each inflected in the case required by the valency of the verb.

(143) ***ca-li-či*** ***ca*** *wäq'+b-iz-ur-li* *sa<b>i...* (6:14)
one-OBL-SUP one look+N-aux-AOR-GER be:hpl
'They looked at each other...'

(144) *yuldaš-uni,* *daldar+b-uq-i* *sa<b>i,* ***ca-la***
friend-PL:ABS ONhanging+hpl-aux-GER be:hpl one-GEN
ca-li *q'äš-mi* *d-urc-uli* (14:5)
one-OBL:ERG leg-PL:ABS pl-catch-GER
'The friends hung in a row, holding each other by the legs.'

8.9. *Coordination*

Dargi has four types of coordination: conjunction (*-ra* 'and'), disjunction (the particle *ya* 'or'), adversative coordination (*-gu* 'but') and causal coordination (*-nu* 'for').

8.9.1. *Conjunction*

The conjunctive clitic *-ra* 'and' does not only coordinate noun phrases, but is a marker of emphasis and discourse as well.

1. Bisyndetic coordination of noun phrases: the particle *-ra* follows both coordinated objects. There is an alternative construction with the Arabic loan *wa* 'and', typical for the written languages, compare (145) and (146). Gender agreement is human plural when one or both of the coordinated nouns is masculine or feminine (147ab); two coordinated neuter nouns show non-human plural agreement (147c):

(145) *q'adi-ra* *r-uqna-ra* (1:0)
cadi:ABS-and F-old:ABS-and
'The cadi and the old woman.'

(146) *bulqran* *wa* *yäbu* (20:0)
Balkharian:ABS and horse:ABS
'The Balkharian and his horse.'

(147a) *dudeš-ra* *neš-ra* *b-ak'-ib-Ø*
father:ABS-and mother:ABS-and hpl-come-AOR-3
'Father and mother came'

(147b) *dudeš-ra* *xä-ra* *b-ak'-ib-Ø*
father:ABS-and dog:ABS-and hpl-come-AOR-3
'Father and the dog came.'

(147c) *xä-ra* *gata-ra* *d-ak'-ib-Ø*
dog:ABS-and cat:ABS-and pl-come-AOR-3
'The dog and the cat came.'

(148) ***dudeš-li-ra*** ***neš-li-ra*** ... *emħe*
father-OBL:ERG-and mother-OBL:ERG-and donkey:ABS
b-abg-i-li *sa<b>i* (6:9)
N-harness-AOR-GER be:hpl
'Father and mother harnessed the donkey.'

(149) *han<b>irk-ur-u* ... ***ħe-la-ra*** ***di-la-ra***
remember:N-FUT3-INT you:OBL-GEN-and me:OBL-GEN-and
džal (18:23)
quarrel:ABS
'Do you remember our argument?'

(150) *džah-ħeli-ra* ... *hanna-ra* (26:5)
young-WHEN-and now-and
'When I was young...and now.'

There are at least three instances in which coordination between a noun and the pronoun *sa<B>i* seems to render a comitative meaning, e.g. example (151) and sentences (22:42), (27:20).

(151) *ši-li-zi* *uħna+uq-i* *sa.y* *emħe-la*
village-OBL-ILL M:inside+M:aux-GER be:M donkey-GEN
ɢaɢ-li-či-r ***ʕinc-bi-ra*** ***sa.y-ra*** *ɑa*
back-OBL-SUP-pl apple-PL:ABS-and self:ABS:M-and one
c'udqran (19:6)
PNTsudakharian:ABS
'A Tsudakharian entered the village with apples on the back of his donkey.'

2. Emphasis 'also, as well, even'.

(152) ***di-la-ra*** *kari-la-r* *sa-r-ħeli* (12:3)
me:OBL-GEN-and bakery-LOC-F be-F-WHEN
'Because mine (i.e. my wife) is at the bakery too [as is your wife].'

(153) *nab-zi-b ...* *it-ħeli* *le-b-si* *c'aq'*
me:OBL-ILL-N that-WHEN present-N-ADJ strength:ABS
hanna-ra *le-b-Ø* (26:3)
now-and present-N-3
'I have the strength now that I had then.'

(154) *ɣunul+adam-t-a-ni* ***duxu-ti-ra*** *meħur+b-ar-es*
woman+person-PL-OBL-ERG clever-ADP-and mad+hpl-do-INF
b-ir-ar (18:2)
hpl-can-FUT3
'Women can even drive clever people mad.'

(155) *il-di* *il-i-či ...* ***sek'al-ra*** *ħe-ʔ-i-li*
this-PL this-OBL-SUP thing:ABS-and NEG-say-AOR-GER
ħer+b-iz-ur-li *sa<b>i* (22:10)
look+hpl-aux-AOR-GER be:hpl
'Without saying anything, they looked at him.'

(156) *šuri* ***šiš-ra+b-uq-i*** *aħen* (28:17)
rock:ABS ONstir-and+N-aux-GER be.not
'The rock did not even move.'

The particle *-ra* frequently follows *mar-li* 'really' (sentences (6:11), (22:20)), and *b.eʕ.la* 'very' in comparative constructions (see 5.1.3.; e.g. (21:11)) emphasizing the meaning of these words.

3. Discourse element: *-ra* can be found with a word or phrase in clause-initial or -final position (with adverbs like *hačam* 'once', *ʕur* 'then', *axir* 'eventually' and links the following sentence to the one preceding it.

(157) ***hačam-ra*** *il-a-la* *qu-či-b* *dawla.če-w-si-la*
once-and this-OBL-GEN field-SUP-N rich-M-ADJ-GEN
urči *dak'u+b-iʔ-ub-Ø* (2:2)
horse:ABS appear+N-be-AOR-3
'Once the horse of a rich man appeared in his field.'

(158) ***nuša-la ǧay-ra*** *täp* *il* *ħurmat-la* *adam-la*
we-GEN word:ABS-and exactly this honor-GEN person-GEN
ħäb-li-či *b-ux-ib-si* *xala-si* *sadaq'a-li-čila* (5:3)
grave-OBL-SUP N-take-AOR-ADJ big-ADJ alms-OBL-CONT
'And our discussion is precisely about the big alms that were brought to the grave of that man.'

(159) ***axir-ra*** *il-i-s* *b-et'-i-li* *sa<b>i* *il*
end:ABS-and this-OBL-DAT N-bore-AOR-GER be:N this
murt-alra *sune-ni-cun* *b-alx-es* (25:3)
when-INDEF self:OBL-ERG-only N-feed-INF
'And eventually it bored him that he was the only one who had to feed it.'

(160) *il-i-či* *ʕäq'lu* *b-ur=aq-es*
this-OBL-SUP advice:ABS N-say=CAUS-INF
b-aš-uti-ri ***šan-ti-ra*** (19:2)
hpl-come-ADP-PRET villager-PL:ABS-and
'And the villagers came to him to ask for advice.'

(161) *il* *bahandan* *ħe-la* *šay-zi-b-ad* *nu-ni*
this because you:OBL-GEN side:OBL-ILL-N-ELA me-ERG
wačar ***b-ir-is-ra*** (1:19)
trade:ABS N-do-FUT1-and
'And therefore I shall do business on your behalf.'

(162) *nu-ni* *quli-b* *b-at-ur-li* *pulaw-ra*
me-ERG home-N N-leave-AOR-GER pilaf:ABS-and
b-erc'-ib-si *ʕärʕä-ra* ***nu-ra*** *šadi-w*
N-fry-AOR-ADJ hen:ABS-and me:ABS-and in.distraction-M
w-äq'-un-ra (22:43)
M-go-AOR-1
'I left pilaf at home, and a fried chicken, and I went to the village.'

4. Part of constructions: *-ra* follows conditional endings to denote the Concessive conditional (see 6.9.4.); it is also a part of complex numerals (5.6.1.), and denotes collective numerals (see 5.6.4.). Moreover it is used in rhetorical questions (8.11.3).

8.9.2. Disjunction

The disjunctive particle *ya* usually occurs twice in a context of choice; unlike the other coordinating particles it precedes the coordinated nouns. Gender agreement follows the pattern of conjunction. In combination with negative verb forms *ya* renders contrastive negative coordination.

(163) ***ya*** *dudeš* ***ya*** *neš* *b-ak'-ib-Ø*
or father:ABS or mother:ABS hpl-come-AOR-3
'Father or mother came.'

(164) *nu-ni* *umχu* *sune-la* *mer-li-či-b*
me-ERG key:ABS self:OBL-GEN place-OBL-SUP-N
b-arg-i-ra, *amma* ***ya*** *pulaw,* ***ya*** *ʕärʕä*
N-find-AOR-1 but or pilaf:ABS or hen:ABS
ħe-d-arg-i-ra (22:46)
NEG-pl-find-AOR-1
'I found the key in its place, but neither the pilaf, nor the chicken were there.'

For an example of disjunctive clause linking, see sentence (6:19).

8.9.3. Adversative coordination

-gu 'but' usually denotes opposition or counterexpectation between the phrase to which it is added and the situation described in the context. There is an alternative construction with the Arabic loan *amma* 'but', typical for written Dargi (see example (164) above).

(165) *sen* *džäw-li* *taman+d-iʔ-ub-ti-w?* *ǧa.l*
how early-ADV end+pl-be-AOR-ADP-INT twenty
barxa-cad *rizqʼi-la* *dag* *d-elqʼ-un-ra-**gu*** (6:25)
measure-EQ cereals-GEN yesterday pl-grind-AOR-1-but
'Did the cereals come to an end that quickly? But yesterday I ground you some twenty measures!'

(166) *ħed* *ɢuruš-la* *baha-ra* *b-ed-i-li*
you:DAT rouble-GEN price:ABS-and N-give-AOR-GER
adam *w-arχ-i-ra-**gu*** *sen* *urči*
person:ABS M-send-AOR-1-but why horse:ABS
čar+ħe-b-ar-ib-si-w (2:9)
return+NEG-N-do-AOR-ADJ-INT
'I sent a man having given the price of a rouble for you, why did you not return the horse?'

(167) *ħuša* *ʕur-ra* *ǧay-ra+ħe-yk'-ul-ra-**gu*** (22:11)
youP:ABS then-and word:ABS-and+NEG-M:say-GER-2p-but
'And you do not speak either [though I asked you something].'

(168) *džanaza* *čar+b-iʔ-ub-li-**gu*** *se* *b-ir-eħe* (19:58)
corpse:ABS return+N-be-AOR-GER-but what:ABS N-do-FUT1p
'The corpse has returned [which one does not expect a corpse to do], what shall we do?'

8.9.4. Causal coordination

-nu is added to a phrase which describes the cause, reason, or background of the event in the following, or, more rarely, preceding, phrase. In some instances *-nu* rather indicates an order of activities (first, then) or proposes alternatives (not this, but that).

(169) *ħäb* *iG=an-ti* *him<b>uk'-i-li*
grave:ABS dig=AG-PL:ABS be.angry:hpl-AOR-GER
*sa<b>i-**nu*** *...salamat-li* *w-it-i-li* *sa.y* (29:3)
be:hpl-for strong-ADV M-beat-AOR-GER be:M
'The grave diggers got angry, ... and [therefore] beat him up.'

(170) *ħed* *b-ir-usi* *xayir* *ħe-b-al-ul-ri-**nu*** ...
you:DAT N-do-ADJ profit:ABS NEG-N-know-GER-2-for
ħu *r-uqna* *meħur+r-i?-ub-li-ri* (1:18)
you:ABS F-old:ABS mad+F-be-AOR-GER-2
'As you do not understand about making profit..., therefore you, old lady, have become insane.'

(171) *dura+wq-en* *quli-w-ad* *ħu-ni* *way-ti*
out+M:aux-IMP home-M-ELA you-ERG bad-ADP
xabur-ti *d-ur-i-ri-**nu*** (15:8)
story-PL:ABS pl-say-AOR-2-for
'Leave my house, for you have only told me bad stories.'

(172) *r-uk-aya-**nu*** *ħuša-ni* *sa<r>i-ra* *ka<r>uš-aya* (19:95)
F-lead-IMPP-for youP-ERG self:ABS:F-and kill:F-IMPP
'Lead her here and [then] kill her.'

(173) *nuša=ğun-t-a-zi* *barakat* *b-i?-ab* *w-ik'-usi*
we=like-ADP-OBL-ILL prosperity:ABS N-be-OPT3 M-say-ADJ
*ħe-b-ir-ar-**nu*** *näG-bi* *hala+d-uc-i-li*
NEG-N-can-FUT3-for hand-PL:ABS before+pl-catch-AOR-GER
patiħä *w-ik'-usi* *b-ir-ar* (29:5)
PNFatiha M-say-ADJ N-can-FUT3
'You don't say "May prosperity be with you" to people like us, but you say "Fatiha" with extended hands.'

(174) *nu-ni* *ħe-b-alx-as-**nu*** *ħu-ni* *b-alx-en* (25:5)
me-ERG NEG-N-feed-FUT1-for you-ERG N-feed-IMP
'I won't feed it, you feed it.'

8.10. Focus particles

Dargi has two focus particles, *-k'un* for contrastive focus, and *q'alli* for sentence focus. Though both particles are clitics, *q'alli* is found as an independent word as well. *-k'un* regularly occurs in the expression *sen-k'un* 'because' as an answer to a question *sen* 'why?' (see especially text 21).

(175) *il=ğuna* *mer-li-či-w-**k'un*** *ħu=ğuna-li-s* ...
this=like place-OBL-SUP-M-FOC you=like-OBL-DAT
t'ama.hama *kam+d-ar-i-li* *šal.ʕe-w+ulq-es*
noise:ABS small+pl-do-AOR-GER along-M+M:aux-INF
če<b>irk-ur (29:21)
must:N-FUT3
'At a place like this, people like you should ... decrease the noise and pass.'

(176) *nuša-**k'un*** *d-ak'-i-l-ra* *biq'r-umi*
we:ABS-FOC pl-come-AOR-GER-1 witness-PL:ABS
čina-b-a (28:26)
where-hpl-INT
'We have arrived, but where are the witnesses?'

(177) *darman-**k'un*** *nuša-ni* *as-i-ra* *amma*
medicine:ABS-FOC we-ERG buy-AOR-1 but
il-d-a-ni *wac-ni* *d-ubk'=aq-uli* *aħen* (20:17)
this-PL-OBL-ERG mouse-PL:ABS pl-die=CAUS-GER be.not
'We bought the poison, but it is not killing mice.'

(178) *ħäbra* *bišt'axayči* *w-iʔ-usi* *allah* *le-w-ri* ***q'alli*** (20:8)
very touchy M-be-ADJ God:ABS present-M-2 FOC
'What a very touchy God you appear to be.'

(179) *ħu-ni* ***q'alli*** *iš-di* *nušab* *x-i-l-ri*
you-ERG FOC this-PL we:DAT bring-AOR-GER-2
nuša *ureg.al* *le-r+d-iʔ-aħelli* *iš-di* *š.el*
we:ABS six present-pl+pl-be-COND1p this-PL five
ɢaz *se+q'äyda-li* *d-urt'-u-ti-w* (16:13)
goose:ABS what+manner-OBL:ERG pl-divide-ADP-INT
'You brought us these, if we are six, how do we have to divide these five geese?'

(180) *sa.y* ***q'alli*** *iğbar-li* *duras-i-ra* *bek'*
self:ABS:M FOC lucky-ADV take.out-AOR-1 head:ABS
čina-b-a *iš-a-la* (8:10)
where-N-INT this-OBL-GEN
'Himself we fortunately took out, but where is his head?'

8.11. Interrogation

8.11.1. Direct questions

Interrogation is expressed by adding one of the interrogative suffixes *-u/-w* or *-a* to a verb form. In the literature we find the following distribution of the suffixes: *-u/-w* with yes/no questions, *-a* with WH-questions (Abdullaev 1954:180-181, Abdullaev

1971:437). However, there is a considerable number of WH-questions in which the verb form was suffixed with *-u/-w*. The distribution is rather:
In yes/no questions, the verb form is suffixed with-*u/-w*, distributed *-u*|C-, *-w*|V-.

(181) *r-elħ-un-ri-w*
F-wake.up-AOR-2-INT
'Did you wake up? (greeting in the morning)'

(182) *arǧ-i-ri-w*
hear-AOR-2-INT
'Did your hear me, do you understand?'

(183) *di-la* *džal* ***čedi+b-ik-ib-u***
me:OBL-GEN quarrel:ABS above+N-aux-AOR-INT
ħe-b-ik-ib-u (25:17)
NEG-N-pass-AOR-INT
'Did my argument win or didn't it?'

(184) *qu-či-r* *bäliq-uni* *d-aš-uti* ***d-ir-ar-u*** (18:15)
field-SUP-pl fish-PL:ABS pl-come-ADP pl-can-FUT3-INT
'Is it possible that fish come from the field?'

(185) ***le-b-Ø-u*** *ħe-la* *nab-čil* *džal* (28:5)
present-N-3-INT you:OBL-GEN me:OBL-COM quarrel:ABS
'Do you have a quarrel with me?'

In WH-questions verb forms are suffixed with *-a* after a consonant, and with *-w* after a vowel.[22]

(186) *ħe-zi* ***či-li*** ***b-ur-ib-Ø-a***(10:7)
you:OBL-ILL who-OBL:ERG N-say-AOR-3-INT
'Who told you?'

(187) ***s e*** ***b-iʔ-ub-Ø-a*** *nuša-la* *buqmuy* ***čina***
what:ABS N-be-AOR-3-INT we-GEN fat.tail:ABS where
ħer+r-ik'-adi-w(11:2)
look+F-aux-IMPF2-INT)
'What happened to our fat tail, where have you been looking?'

(188) ***s e*** ***sa<b>i-w*** *ħu-ni* *b-ir-usi* (5:10)
what:ABS be:N-INT you-ERG N-do-ADJ
'What are you doing? (lit. what is it that you are doing?)'

Instead of a finite form, participles frequently occur in questions, without any person marking, e.g.:

[22] This probably prevents interrogative forms from becoming homonymous with other forms in the paradigm (*-ra* '1', *-r-a* (<*-ri-a*) '2-INT').

(189) ***sen*** *urči* ***čar+ħe-b-ar-ib-si-w*** (2:9)
why horse:ABS return+NEG-N-do-AOR-ADJ-INT
'Why did you not return the horse? (Why hasn't the horse been returned?')

(190) ***sen*** *nu-ni* *miskin-t-a-s* *k'.el* *ɢuruš*
why me-ERG poor-ADP-OBL-DAT two rouble:ABS
d-urt'-uti-w (20:6)
pl-distribute-ADP-INT
'Why should I distribute two roubles among the poor?'

(191) *ħu-ni* *masxur-ti* ***ħe-d-al-uti-w*** (20:9)
you-ERG joke-PL:ABS NEG-pl-know-ADP-INT
'Don't you know any jokes?'

The interrogative suffix can also directly be attached to an adjective or adverb, e.g.:

(192) ***se*** ***b-ar-alli*** ***ʕäħ-si-w*** *hanna* (19:21)
what:ABS N-do-COND3 good-ADJ-INT now
'What shall we do now? (lit. what is good to do now?)'

(193) ***se*** ***ʕäʕni-li-w*** *ħed* (22:63)
what:ABS necessary-ADV-INT you:DAT
'What do you need (from me)?'

The question word *čina* 'where' occurs without an auxiliary verb as well:

(194) ***čina-r-a*** *nuša-la* *ħäl-bi* (4:9)
where-F-INT we-GEN lard-PL:ABS
'Where are our lards?'

8.11.2 Indirect questions

Indirect questions are marked with *-(a)l*, with the distribution *-al*|C-, *-l*|V-.[23]

(195) *ħu* *či* ***sa.y-ri-l*** *w-al-usi-ri* (2:11)
you:ABS who:ABS be:M-2-INDIR M-know-ADJ-2
'I know who you are.'

(196) *nu-ni* *b-al-as* *ħuša* *čina* ***arq'-ul-ra-l*** (22:12)
me-ERG N-know-FUT1 youP:ABS where leave-GER-2p-INDIR
'I know where you are going.'

(197) *ʕäq'lu-ra* *b-ur-uli* *sa.y* *se* *täħär-li*
advice:ABS-and N-say-GER be:M what:ABS way-OBL:ERG
hamad-li ***b-ir-ar-al*** *urcul* *kerd-es* (3:3)
light-ADV N-be-FUT3-INDIR timber:ABS chop-INF
'(He) gave advice about an easy way to chop timber.'

[23] The verb form *ag-i* (see section 6.5.) is followed by the indirect marker *-bal* (e.g. sentence 8:12).

8.11.3. Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are marked with *-ra* 'and', sometimes preceded by the interrogative marker *-a*. This construction has virtually the same function as *-(a)l*, but the question seems to be more rhetorical. This type of sentence often contains the Potential mood.

(198) *ca-li* *däqnuša-zi* *ẋar<b>a?-i-li* *sa.y*
one-OBL:ERG quack.doctor-ILL ask:N-AOR-GER be:M
däqi *meɬe-li-zi* ***ka<b>a?-i-li-ra*** *?-i-li* (9:14)
wound:ABS brains-OBL-ILL reach:N-AOR-GER-and say-AOR-GER
'One asked the doctor whether the wound reached the brain.'

(199) *Gurbay* *sune-la* *ẋuna*
PNKurban:OBL:ERG self:OBL-GEN wife:GEN
piš-ni *d-ah-ur-li* *sa.y* *wa* *se*
escapade-PL:ABS pl-know-AOR-GER be:M and what:ABS
b-ar-iša-ra *?-i-li* *pikri+uq-i* *sa.y* (19:5)
N-do-POT1-and say-AOR-GER thought+M:aux-GER be:M
'Kurban learned about the escapade of his wife and thought "What can I do?".'

(200) *k'abat'-la* *mäq'-la* *t'aš+iz-ur-li* *il*
tray-GEN side-LOC stop+M:aux-AOR-GER this
pikri+uq-i *sa.y* *či-li* ***b-erk-un-a-ra***
thought+M:aux-GER be:M who-OBL:ERG N-eat-AOR-INT-and
di-la *pulaw* (22:29)
me:OBL-GEN pilaf:ABS
'He stopped near the tray and thought: "Who can have eaten my pilaf?".'

(201) *iš-a-la* *bek'* ***le-b-ri-ra***
this-OBL-GEN head:ABS present-N-PRET-and
ag-i-ra *?-i-li* (8:11)
absent-IMPF3-and say-AOR-GER
'Did he have a head or not?'

PART II TEXTS

The texts are given first in Dargi orthography: interpunction has been retained, while sentence numbers have been added. The title as given here was not part of the original oral story. This was added by the Daghestanian editors later and therefore I have excluded it from the numbering, and given it a zero. A transliteration with interlinear glosses follows the text, as well as a translation in English.

If a text had been published earlier, this publication was traced and compared with the 1976 variant: differences between editions of a certain text are mentioned in the footnotes. Unfortunately I was unable to retrace the original manuscripts that were mentioned, as their references did not correspond anymore to the catalogue of the Manuscript Section of the Institute for Language, Literature and Art in Makhachkala.

Grammatically incorrect or less acceptable phrases, according to the judgement of the informants, are improved in the text, with the original variant mentioned in a footnote. When a phrase was considered correct but less desirable or awkward, the original phrase is retained, with an alternative suggestion in the footnote.

1. THE CADI AND THE OLD LADY

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:81-82) was written down by A. Aliev and appeared earlier in Abdullaev & Gasanova (1959:66-67).

(0) Кьадира рухънара.
(1) Гьачам ца ханнис дигиаурли саби сунела кІялгІяла мякьлабси ца мискин пякьир рухънала юрт асес. (2) Ханнис дигули уили сай ил харзин юрт гьятІаили сунела кІялгІя халабарес. (3) Хан юрт бица или рухъначи вякьи сай, рухъна кьабулрикили ахІен. (4) ИлхІели хан халаси багьа - вецІну шура къуруш - лугасну бица викІули сай. (5) Амма рухъна гІурра кьабулрикили ахІен. (6) ГІямал биалли гужбарили юрт кебасес хІейгули, ханни кьасбарили сай кьадичи дугьаизес[1] ва илала кумекличибли ца тяхІяр[2] балбуцили вачар барес. (7) Хан кайзурли уили сай сунес дигуси барес багьандан кьадини ца гІямал бургу или. (8) Хан сунечи дугьаизурли или дебали разиубси кьади халаси разидешличил вачарлизи ахъили сай.
(9) Ил рухънас 30 къуруш дедесли кайзурли сай, юртла бегІлара халаси багьа 15 къурушла биаллира. (10) Амма рухъна илхІелира кьабулрикили ахІен. (11) Бареси хІебалули кьадини ханна шайзирад 200 къуруш гьаладуцили сай. (12) Амма рухъна юрт бицес сеналра кьабулриркули ахІен. (13) Рухъна уррикахъес или 200 къурушла чеди кьадини кьял гьатІи бедес чесили сай, амма дугІли. (14) ЧІянкІли илхІелицун багьурли сай кьадини, рухънани юрт се бедлугулихьалли хІебирцни. (15) Кьади ханничи арякьи сай ва, валлагь анцІбукь ишгъуна саби или илизи бурили сай, амма чебатурли сай, юрт сунегІибли барес ханна ца гьатІи имкан леб или.
(16) ШаригІят хІясибли сунес бируси хайирличи хІерхІейкІуси, баягъи ил рухънагъуна адам, мехІурлизи халварес ва илала шайзибад кьадичи вачар барес ихтияр лебси биъни бурили сай.
(17) Ил секІайчи хан дебали разиубли сай ва шаригІят хІясибли вяшикІен или кьадичи хъарбарили сай.
(18) Илала гІергъи[3] кьади рухъначи вякьи викІули сай: - 200 къурушлис ва кьяйс 15 къурушлизи агарси харзин юрт хІебирцули хІед бируси хайир хІебалулрину, хІу, рухъна мехІурриублири. (19) Ил багьандан хІела шайзибад нуни вачар бирисра.
(20) Рухънани, селра-декІар пикрихІерухъи, хьарбаили сари: «Ил шаригІятли чебиахъуси набчицун къячбиркусив гъари, ахІи ил лебтачибалра чебсив?»

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[1] In 1959 the form was *дугьавизес* and in sentence 8 *дугьавизурли* (change in orthography).
[2] In 1959 the form was *тахІяр* (change in orthography).
[3] In 1959 the form was *эргъи* (change in orthography).

(21) - ШаригIятлизиб бируси лебилра бусурмантачиб чебси саби, - или кьадини уктемли жаваб бедили сай.
(22) ИлхIели рухъна кьадизи рикIули сари: «Или биалли, сен шариг Iят хIясибли ну мехIурсилизи халрирусирав, 15 къурушлизи агарси юртлис 200 къурушра кьялра лугуси хан сен мехIурлизи халхIейрусив?»
(23) Жаваблис буреси хIебагьурли, цIудар цIябиубли кьади багьлали хъули ватихьили сай.

(0) q'adi-ra r-uqna-ra
cadi:ABS-and F-old:ABS-and
The cadi and the old lady.

(1) hačam ca xan-ni-s digi.ʔaʔ-ur-li sa<b>i
once one khan-OBL-DAT want-AOR-GER be:N
sune-la k'älʕä-la mäq'-la-b-si ca miskin+päq'ir
self:OBL-GEN castle-GEN side-LOC-N-ADJ one poor+poor
r-uqna-la yurt as-es
F-old-GEN house:ABS buy-INF
Once a khan wanted to buy the house of a poor old lady, which was near his castle.

(2) xan-ni-s dig-uli uʔ-i-li sa.y il ɑarcin[4]
khan-OBL-DAT want-GER M:be-AOR-GER be:M this poor
yurt ğät'aʔ-i-li sune-la k'älʕä xala+b-ar-es
house:ABS ruin-AOR-GER self:OBL-GEN castle:ABS big+N-do-INF
The khan apparently wanted to enlarge his castle after tearing down that poor house.

(3) xan yurt b-ic-a ʔ-i-li r-uqna-či
khan:ABS house:ABS N-sell-IMP say-AOR-GER F-old-SUP
w-äq'-i sa.y-gu[5] r-uqna q'abul+r-ik-i-li aħen
M-go-GER be:M-but F-old:ABS agree+F-aux-AOR-GER be.not
The khan went to the old lady, and said 'Sell me the house', but the old lady did not agree with his request.

(4) il-ħeli xan xala-si baha wec'.nu šu.ra
this-WHEN khan:ABS big-ADJ price:ABS ten five
ɑuruš lug-as-nu b-ic-a w-ik'-uli sa.y
rouble:ABS give-FUT1-for N-sell-IMP M-say-GER be:M
Then the khan said 'I will give you a good price, fifteen roubles, so, sell it'.

[4] The Akusha informants corrected the original *xarzin* to *ɑarcin*, here and in sentence 18, which is considered more correct.
[5] The form *saygu* is used in the 1959 version of this text and is considered more appropriate.

(5) amma r-uqna ʕur-ra q'abul+r-ik-i-li aḫen
but F-old:ABS then-and agree+F-aux-AOR-GER be.not
But again the old lady would not agree.

(6) ʕämal b-iʔ-alli guž+b.ar-i-li yurt
possibility:ABS N-be-COND3 force+N:do-AOR-GER house:ABS
ke<b>>as-es ḫe-yg-uli xan-ni
take.away:N-INF NEG-want-GER khan-OBL:ERG
q'as+b.ar-i-li sa.y q'adi-či duha.iz-es wa
decision+N:do-AOR-GER be:M cadi-SUP turn.to:M-INF and
il-a-la kumek-li-či<b>li ca täḫär
this-OBL-GEN help-OBL-INS:N one way:ABS
b-al<b>uc-i-li wačar b-ar-es
N-apply:N-AOR-GER trade:ABS N-do-INF
As he did not want to take the house away from her by force, unless he had to, the khan decided to turn to the cadi and with his help find a way to do business.

(7) xan ka.yz-ur-li[6] uʔ-i-li sa.y sune-s
khan:ABS pose:M-AOR-GER M:be-AOR-GER be:M self:OBL-DAT
dig-usi b-ar-es bahandan q'adi-ni ca
want-ADJ N-do-INF in.order.to cadi-ERG one
ʕämal b-urg-u ʔ-i-li
possibility:ABS N-find-FUT3 say-AOR-GER
The khan believed that the cadi would find a way to do what he wanted.

(8) xan sune-či duha.iz-ur-li ʔ-i-li
khan:ABS self:OBL-SUP turn.to:M-AOR-GER say-AOR-GER
debali radzi+iʔ-ub-si[7] q'adi xala-si
very glad+M:be-AOR-ADJ cadi:ABS big-ADJ
radzi=deš-li-čil wačar-li-zi aq-i-li sa.y
glad=ABSTR-OBL-COM trade-OBL-ILL undertake-AOR-GER be:M
Very glad that the khan had turned to him, the cadi began the business with great pleasure.

(9) il r-uqna-s ḫäb.c'ali ɢuruš d-ed-es-li
this F-old-DAT thirty rouble:ABS pl-give-INF-GER

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[6] The Akusha informants would prefer a phrase like *wirxuli (uʔili say)* 'he believed'.

[7] In 1959 the form was *разиувубси*, whereas we find here Cyrillic *разиубси* (change in orthography). The same change was noted for sentence 17 (here *разиубли*, in 1959 *разиувубли*). The variants *raziwiubsi, raziiubsi, raziubsi* vary in degree of assimilation of the vowels: this seems to be idiolectal and can so far not be ascribed to dialectal or sociolinguistic variation.

ka.yz-ur-li sa.y yurt-la b.eʕ.la-ra xala-si baha
pose:M-AOR-GER be:M house-GEN very-and big-ADJ price:ABS
wec'.nu šu.ra ɢuruš-la b-iʔ-alli-ra
ten five rouble-GEN N-be-COND3-and
He began to offer the old lady thirty roubles, although the highest price of the house would be fifteen roubles.

(10) amma r-uqna il-ħeli-ra q'abul+r-ik-i-li aħen
but F-old:ABS this-WHEN-and agree+F-aux-AOR-GER be.not
But the old lady would not agree this time either.

(11) b-ar-e-si ħe-b-al-uli q'adi-ni xan-na
N-do-POT3-ADJ NEG-N-know-GER cadi-ERG khan-GEN
šay-zi-r-ad k'i.darš ɢuruš
side:OBL-ILL-pl-ELA two.hundred rouble:ABS
hala+d-uc-i-li sa.y
before+pl-catch-AOR-GER be:M
Not knowing what to do, the cadi offered two hundred roubles on behalf of the khan.

(12) amma r-uqna yurt b-ic-es sen-alra
but F-old:ABS house:ABS N-sell-INF how-INDEF
q'abul+r-irk-uli aħen[8]
agree+F-aux-GER be.not
But still the old lady refused to sell the house.

(13) r-uqna u<r><r>ik=aq-es ʔ-i-li k'i.darš
F-old:ABS give.in:F=CAUS-INF say-AOR-GER two.hundred
ɢuruš-la čedi q'adi-ni q'äl hat'i b-ed-es
rouble-GEN above cadi-ERG cow:ABS still N-give-INF
čes-i-li sa.y, amma duʕ-li
promise-AOR-GER be:M but wild-ADV
The cadi promised to give her a cow in addition to the two hundred roubles, in an attempt to make the old lady give in, - but in vain.

(14) č'änk'-li il-ħeli-cun b-ah-ur-li sa.y q'adi-ni,
naked-ADV this-WHEN-LIM N-know-AOR-GER be:M cadi-ERG
r-uqna-ni yurt se b-ed+lug-uli-χalli
F-old-ERG house:ABS what:ABS N-give+give-GER-however
ħe-b-irc-ni
NEG-N-sell-MASD:ABS

[8] In 1959 the phrase was *q'abulrirkuli **ruʔili** aħen*.

Only then did the cadi realize that the old lady would not sell the house whatever one would give her.

(15) q'adi xan-ni-či ar.äq'-i sa.y wa, wallah
cadi:ABS khan-OBL-SUP leave:M-GER be:M and IJMy.God
anc'buq' iš=ğuna sa<b>i ʔ-i-li il-i-zi
event:ABS this=like be:N say-AOR-GER this-OBL-ILL
b-ur-i-li sa.y, amma če<b>at-ur-li sa.y, yurt
N-say-AOR-GER be:M but add:N-AOR-GER be:M house:ABS
sune-s[9] b-ar-es xan-na ca hat'i imkan
self:OBL-DAT N-do-INF khan-GEN one still possibility:ABS
le-b-Ø ʔ-i-li
present-N-3 say-AOR-GER
The cadi went to the khan and told him 'My goodness, such and such is the case,' but added that there was still one possibility for the khan to make the house his own.

(16) šariʕät ħäsib.li sune-s b-ir-usi xayir-li-či[10]
sharia:ABS according.to self:OBL-DAT N-be-ADJ profit-OBL-SUP
ħer+ħe-yk'-usi, bayäği il r-uqna=ğuna adam,
look+NEG-M:aux-ADJ this.very this F-old=like person:ABS
meħur-li-zi xal<w>ar-es wa il-a-la
insane-OBL-ILL declare:M-INF and this-OBL-GEN
šay-zi-b-ad q'adi-či wačar b-ar-es ixtiyar
side:OBL-ILL-N-ELA cadi-SUP trade:ABS N-do-INF permission:ABS
le-b-si b-iʔ-ni b-ur-i-li sa.y[11]
present-N-ADJ N-be-MASD:ABS N-say-AOR-GER be:M
'According to the sharia, it is possible to declare a person who is not seeking for his own profit, like that old lady, insane and for the cadi to do business on behalf of that person,' he said.

(17) il sek'ay-či xan debali radzi+iʔ-ub-li
this thing:OBL-SUP khan:ABS very glad+M:be-AOR-GER
sa.y wa šariʕät ħäsib.li wäš+ik'-en
be:M and sharia:ABS according.to ONmove+M:aux-IMP
ʔ-i-li q'adi-či qar+b.ar-i-li sa.y
say-AOR-GER cadi-SUP order-N:do-AOR-GER be:M
The khan was very pleased with this information and he told the cadi 'Act according to the sharia.'

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[9] The dative *sunes* is preferred instead of the extended adessive *suneʕibli* which is considered to be an Urakhi form.

[10] The Akusha informants consider *xayri* a better form; for the variation *xayir/xayri*, see the lexicon.

[11] The informants consider this sentence ill-formed overall.

(18) il-a-la ʕerği q'adi r-uqna-či w-äq'-i w-ik'-uli
this-OBL-GEN after cadi:ABS F-old-SUP M-go-GER M-say-GER
sa.y k'i.darš ɢuruš-li-s wa q'äy-s wec'.nu
be:M two.hundred rouble-OBL-DAT and cow:OBL-DAT ten
šu.ra ɢuruš-li-zi[12] agar-si ɢarcin yurt ħe-b-irc-uli
five rouble-OBL-ILL absent-ADJ poor house:ABS NEG-N-sell-GER
ħed b-ir-usi xayir ħe-b-al-ul-ri-nu
you:DAT N-be-ADJ profit:ABS NEG-N-know-GER-2-for
ħu r-uqna meħur+r-iʔ-ub-li-ri
you:ABS F-old:ABS insane+F-be-AOR-GER-2
After that, having gone to the old lady, the cadi said: 'As you do not understand about making a profit, and will not sell an old house that is not even worth fifteen roubles, for two hundred roubles and a cow, therefore you, old lady, have become insane.'

(19) il+bahandan ħe-la šay-zi-b-ad nu-ni wačar
this+because you:OBL-GEN side:OBL-ILL-N-ELA me-ERG trade:ABS
b-ir-is-ra
N-do-FUT1-and
'And therefore I shall do business on your behalf.'

(20) r-uqna-ni se-lra+dek'ar pikri+ħe-r-uq-i
F-old-ERG what:ABS-INDEF+particular thought+NEG-F-aux-GER
χar<b>aʔ-i-li sa<r>i: il šariʕät-li
ask:N-AOR-GER be:F this sharia-OBL:ERG
če<b>iʔ=aq-usi nab-či-cun ɢäč+b-irk-usi-w ğari
see:N=CAUS-ADJ me:OBL-SUP-LIM ONtouch+N-aux-ADJ-INT really
aħi il le-b-t-a-či-b-alra če-b-si-w
or this present-hpl-ADP-OBL-SUP-N-INDEF be.upon-N-ADJ-INT
After having thought for a while, the old lady asked: 'Does what the sharia shows only touch me, or does it apply to all (people)?'

(21) šariʕät-li-zi-b b-ir-usi le<b>i-lra
sharia-OBL-ILL-N N-be-ADJ present:hpl-INDEF
busurman-t-a-či-b če-b-si sa<b>i, ʔ-i-li
muslim-PL-OBL-SUP-N be.upon-N-ADJ be:N say-AOR-GER
q'adi-ni uktem-li džawab b-ed-i-li sa.y
cadi-ERG haughty-ADV answer:ABS N-give-AOR-GER be:M
'Everything in the sharia applies to all muslims,' answered the cadi haughtily.

[12] Compare *15 ɢuruš agarsi yurt* 'a house without 15 roubles' with *15 ɢurušlizi agarsi yurt* 'a house with not even 15 roubles, less than 15 roubles'.

(22) il-ħeli r-uqna q'adi-zi r-ik'-uli sa<r>i: ʔ-i-li
this-WHEN F-old:ABS cadi-ILL F-say-GER be:F say-AOR-GER
b-iʔ-alli sen šariʕät ħäsib.li nu
N-be-COND3 why sharia:ABS according.to me:ABS
meħur-si-li-zi xal<r>ir-usi-ra-w wec'.nu šu.ra
insane-ADJ-OBL-ILL declare:F-ADJ-1-INT ten five
ɢuruš-li-zi agar-si yurt-li-s k'i.darš
rouble-OBL-ILL absent-ADJ house-OBL-DAT two.hundred
ɢuruš-ra q'äl-ra lug-usi xan sen
rouble:ABS-and cow:ABS-and give-ADJ khan:ABS why
meħur-ħi-zi xal<ħe>yr-usi-w
insane-OBL-ILL declare:NEG:M-ADJ-INT
Then she said to the cadi: 'If it is like you said, why, according to the sharia, am I being declared insane, whereas the khan, who gives two hundred roubles and a cow for a house that is not even worth fifteen, is not declared insane?'

(23) džawab-li-s b-ur-e-si ħe-b-ah-ur-li
answer-OBL-DAT N-say-POT3-ADJ NEG-N-know-AOR-GER
c'udar+c'äb+iʔ-ub-li q'adi bahla-li quli
black+dark+M:be-AOR-GER cadi:ABS slow-ADV home
w-at.iχ-i-li sa.y
M-go:M-AOR-GER be:M
Not knowing what to say in answer and turning dark [i.e. from anger and shame], the cadi slowly went home.

2. "TAKE YOUR MONEY BACK..."

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:82) was written down by M. Abakarov from the republic's newspaper *Leninla bayraq* [Lenin's Banner], in the village of Kubachi, Dakhadaev district.

(0) Къурушра бухану...
(1) Мискинси уста вирусири Шагьвали. (2) Гьачамра илала хъучиб давлачевсила урчи дакIубиуб, илини дегIунти картошкала дегIнуби ганздирули, хъула дубла дегIунти сусул дугулри..... (3) Ил секIал кIина-хIяйна тикрарбиуб. (4) Сабурлизивад ухъунси Шагьвалини, илала вегI давлачевси виъниличи хIерхIеили, урчи буциб ва сунела дурхъи бухIнаиб.
(5) Урчила вегIли, къурушра бедили, ил чарбарахъес адам вархьили сай. (6) Шагьвалини урчи бедили ахIен, вегI вакIахъа или бурили сай. (7) ГIясииубси давлачевсини гьандуцили ахIен ва вякьи Шагьвализи викIули сай: (8) - Сен набчив дукаркIусирив? (9) ХIед къурушла багьара бедили адам вархьирагу, сен урчи чархIебарибсив? (10) ХIуни хIебалусив ну чи сайрал?
(11) -Ва хIурматла адам, - викIули сай Шагьвали, - хIу чи сайрил валусири.
(12) ХIези гьанна хIяйнайс бурулра. ХIела багьа гIягIнили ахIенну, урчиличи хIеруди бара или.
(13) -ХIукIун мискин сайри. ХIед багьа лугулра. ХIуни къуллукъбарадли се бирусив?
(14) Арякьи Шагьвалини дурхъибад урчи дураили сай ва илала вегIлизи викIули сай: (15) -Ма, валликьяна, иш хIед къурушра - илини урчила андализи пIяцIасахъили къуруш цIапIакахъи сай, (16) - хIура набчив виштIаси ахIенрину, хIуни къуллукъбара.....

(0) guruš-ra b-ux-a-nu
rouble:ABS-and N-take-IMP-for
'So, take your rouble back!'

(1) miskin-si usta w-ir-usi-ri[1] Šahwali
poor-ADJ master:ABS M-be-ADJ-PRET PNShahwali:ABS
There was a poor master Shahwali.

(2) hačam-ra il-a-la qu-či-b dawla.če-w-si-la urči
once-and this-OBL-GEN field-SUP-N rich-M-ADJ-GEN horse:ABS
dak'u+b-i?-ub-Ø, il-i-ni d-eʕ-un-ti kartoška-la
appear+N-be-AOR-3 this-OBL-ERG pl-plant-AOR-ADP potato-GEN

[1] The Akusha informants rather prefer the form *sayri* or *wiri*.

deʕn-ubi gandz+d-ir-uli qu-la dub-la
seedling-PL:ABS step+pl-do-GER field-GEN border-LOC
d-eʕ-un-ti susul d-ug-ul-ri
pl-plant-AOR-ADP rye:ABS pl-eat-GER-PRET
Once the horse of a rich man appeared in his field. It was trampling the seedlings of the newly planted potatoes and eating the rye planted round the border of the field.

(3) il sek'al k'i.na+ħäy.na tikrar+b-iʔ-ub-Ø
this thing:ABS twice+three.times repetition+N-be-AOR-3
This happened two or three times.

(4) sabur-li-zi-w-ad uq-un-si Šahwali-ni,
mood-OBL-ILL-M-ELA M:move-AOR-ADJ PNShahwali-ERG
il-a-la w-eʕ dawla.če-w-si w-iʔ-ni-li-či
this-OBL-GEN M-owner:ABS rich-M-ADJ M-be-MASD-OBL-SUP
ħer<ħe>ʔ-i-li urči b-uc-ib-Ø wa sune-la
look:NEG-AOR-GER horse:ABS N-catch-AOR-3 and self:OBL-GEN
durqi b-uħnaʔ-ib-Ø
in.shed N-chase.into-AOR-3
Having lost his temper, Shahwali caught the horse and chased it into his stable, not taking into account that the owner was a rich man.

(5) urči-la w-eʕ-li, ɢuruš-ra b-ed-i-li,
horse-GEN M-owner-OBL:ERG rouble:ABS-and N-give-AOR-GER
il čar+b-ar=aq-es adam w-arx̂-i-li sa.y
this return+N-do=CAUS-INF person:ABS M-send-AOR-GER be:M
The owner of the horse sent a man to retrieve the horse, giving him a rouble.

(6) Šahwali-ni urči b-ed-i-li aħen
PNShahwali-ERG horse:ABS N-give-AOR-GER be.not
w-eʕ w-ak'=aq-a ʔ-i-li b-ur-i-li
M-owner:ABS M-come=CAUS-IMP say-AOR-GER N-say-AOR-GER
sa.y
be:M
Shahwali did not surrender the horse, he said 'Let the owner come (himself)'.

(7) ʕäsi+iʔ-ub-si dawla.če-w-si-ni han.d.uc-i-li[2] aħen
angry+M:be-AOR-ADJ rich-M-ADJ-ERG be.patient-AOR-GER be.not

[2] Instead of *handucili* Akusha speakers would rather use *yäħbucili* with the same meaning.

wa	w-äq'-i	Šahwali-zi	w-ik'-uli	sa.y:
and	M-go-GER	PNShahwali:ABS-ILL	M-say-GER	be:M

The angry rich man lost his temper and he went and said to Shahwali:

(8)

sen	nab-či-w	dukar.k'-usi-ri-w
why	me:OBL-SUP-M	laugh-ADJ-2-INT

'Why are you making fun of me?'

(9)

ħed	ɢuruš-la	baha-ra		b-ed-i-li
you:DAT	rouble-GEN	price:ABS-and		N-give-AOR-GER
adam	w-arx̂-i-ra-gu,		sen	urči
person:ABS	M-send-AOR-1-but		why	horse:ABS
čar+ħe-b-ar-ib-si-w				
return+NEG-N-do-AOR-ADJ-INT				

'I sent a man, having given the price of a rouble for you, why did you not return the horse?'

(10)

ħu-ni	ħe-b-al-usi-w	nu	či	sa.y-ra-l
you-ERG	NEG-N-know-ADJ-INT	me:ABS	who:ABS	be:M-1-INDIR

'Don't you know who I am?'

(11)

wa	ħurmat-la	adam,	w-ik'-uli	sa.y	Šahwali,
IJoh	honor-GEN	person:ABS	M-say-GER	be:M	PNShahwali:ABS
ħu	či	sa.y-ri-l	w-al-usi-ri		
you:ABS	who:ABS	be:M-2-INDIR	M-know-ADJ-2		

'Oh, honorable man,' said Shahwali, 'I know who you are.'

(12)

ħe-zi	hanna	ħäy.na.ys	b-ur-ul-ra.		ħe-la
you:OBL-ILL	now	third.time	N-say-GER-1		you:OBL-GEN
baha	ʕäʕni-li		aħen-nu,	urči-li-či	
price:ABS	necessary-ADV		be.not-for	horse-OBL-SUP	
ħerudi+b.ar-a		ʔ-i-li			
attention+N:do-IMP		say-AOR-GER			

'I am telling you now for the third time, I do not need your money, look after your horse,' he said.

(13)

ħu-k'un	miskin	sa.y-ri.	ħed	baha
you:ABS-FOC	poor	be:M-2	you:DAT	price:ABS
lug-ul-ra.	ħu-ni	ɢulluɢ+b.ar-adli		se
give-GER-1	you-ERG	attention+N:do-COND2		what:ABS

b-ir-usi-w
N-be-ADJ-INT
'You are poor; I am giving you money, if you look after the horse, what does it matter?'

(14) ar.äq'-i Šahwali-ni durqi-b-ad urči
leave:M-GER PNShahwali-ERG in.shed-N-ELA horse:ABS
dura?-i-li sa.y wa il-a-la w-eʕ-li-zi
lead.out-AOR-GER be:M and this-OBL-GEN M-owner-OBL-ILL
w-ik'-uli sa.y:
M-say-GER be:M
Shahwali went and led the horse out of the stable and said to its owner:

(15) ma, walli.q'äna iš ħed ɢuruš-ra il-i-ni
IJ well friend:ABS this you:DAT rouble:ABS-and this-OBL-ERG
urči-la anda-li-zi p'äc'as=aq-i-li ɢuruš
horse-GEN forehead-OBL-ILL sound=CAUS-AOR-GER rouble:ABS
c'ap'ak=aq-i sa.y,
stick=CAUS-GER be:M
'Well, my friend, here is your rouble,' and he smacked the rouble on the forehead of the horse.

(16) ħu-ra nab-či.w w-išt'a-si aħen-ri-nu,
you:ABS-and me:OBL-COMP:M M-small-ADJ be.not-2-for
ħu-ni ɢullu ɢ+b.ar-a...
you-ERG attention+N:do-IMP
'You are not younger than me either, look after (the horse) yourself' [i.e. given your age, you should know better].

3. THE WISE CADI

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:82-83) was written down in 1966 by Zagir Magomedov from the words of Khangishi Ilyasov, then 85 years old, in the village of Aymaumakhi, Sergokala district.

(0) Багьудичевси кьади
(1) Ца хъубзарли чесили сай вецIал кепеклис ца адамла урцул кердес. (2) Ил урцул кавдули левли, илала мякьла кайили сай цархIил, умцIули хIянчи баргес хIейубси хъубзара, илизи гьайикIули сай. (3) Замана-замана иш чеди вакIибси хъубзарли урцул кавдусилис гIякьлура бурули сай, се тяхIярли гьамадли бирарал урцул кердес. (4) Урцул кердили тамандиубли, урцулла вегIли арц бедлугухIели мякьла кайили гIякьлурта угьуси викIули сай:
(5) -Дайхъала арц наб диэс гIягIнити сари: нуни ишис гIякьлу бурули кумекбирирану. (6) БахъхIи кали саби ишди жалтабиркьули. (7) БегIла гIергъира, ишдани кьасбарили саби кьадичи букьес, чула жал бекIбарахъес.
(8) Кьади лехIяхъили сай, лерилра бакIибта дурути дурайчи, гIур сасили вецIал кепек игьубли чIябарличи зянкъ или тIамадарахъили дярбухъахъи, кьади бакIибтази викIули сай: (9) «вецIал кепек - урцул кердибсилис, зянкь - урцул кавдухIели гIякьлу бурибсилис».

(0) bahudi.če-w-si q'adi
wise-M-ADJ cadi:ABS
The wise cadi.

(1) ca qubzar-li čes-i-li sa.y wec'.al
one peasant-OBL:ERG promise-AOR-GER be:M ten
kepek-li-s ca adam-la urcul kerd-es
copeck-OBL-DAT one person-GEN timber:ABS chop-INF
One peasant promised to chop the timber of a certain man for ten copecks.

(2) il urcul kawd-uli le-w-li il-a-la
this timber:ABS chop-GER present-M-GER this-OBL-GEN
mäq'-la ka.yʔ-i-li sa.y carhil, umc'-uli
side-LOC sit.down:M-AOR-GER be:M other look.for-GER
ħänči b-arg-es ħe-yʔ-ub-si qubzara,
work:ABS N-find-INF NEG-M:can-AOR-ADJ peasant:ABS
il-i-zi ğay+ik'-uli sa.y
this-OBL-ILL word+M:aux-GER be:M
While he was chopping the timber, another peasant, who had been unsuccessfully looking for work, sat down near him and talked to him.

(3) zamana+zamana iš čedi w-ak'-ib-si[1] qubzar-li
time+time:ABS this above M-come-AOR-ADJ peasant-OBL:ERG
urcul kawd-usi-li-s ʕäq'lu-ra b-ur-uli sa.y,
timber:ABS chop-ADJ-OBL-DAT advice:ABS-and N-say-GER be:M
se tähär-li hamad-li b-ir-ar-al
what:ABS way-OBL:ERG light-ADV N-be-FUT3-INDIR
urcul kerd-es
timber:ABS chop-INF
From time to time, the second peasant also gave the man who was chopping the timber advice, about an easy way to chop timber.

(4) urcul kerd-i-li taman+d-iʔ-ub-li, urcul-la
timber:ABS chop-AOR-GER end+pl-be-AOR-GER timber-GEN
w-eʕ-li arc b-ed+lug-uħeli mäq'-la
M-owner-OBL:ERG money:ABS N-give+give-WHEN side-LOC
ka.yʔ-i-li ʕäq'lu-rt-a[2] uh-usi w-ik'-uli
sit.down:M-AOR-GER advice-PL-OBL:ERG M:tell-ADJ M-say-GER
sa.y:
be:M
After he had finished chopping, and the owner of the timber was giving the money, the one who had been giving advice while sitting next to him, said:

(5) d-ayqala arc nab d-iʔ-es ʕäʕni-ti sa<r>i:
pl-half money:ABS me:DAT pl-be-INF necessary-ADP be:pl
nu-ni iš-i-s ʕäq'lu b-ur-uli kumek+b.ar-i-ra-nu[3]
me-ERG this-OBL-DAT advice:ABS N-say-GER help+N:do-AOR-1-for
'Half of the money has to be for me, for I helped him by giving advice.'

(6) b-aq-ħi kal-i sa<b>i iš-di džal-t-a
hpl-long-ILH stay-GER be:hpl this-PL quarrel-PL-OBL:ERG
b-irq'-uli
hpl-do-GER
They remained arguing for a long time.

(7) b.eʕ.la ʕerği-ra, iš-d-a-ni q'as+b.ar-i-li sa<b>i
very after-and this-PL-OBL-ERG decision+N:do-AOR-GER be:hpl
q'adi-či b-uq'-es, ču-la džal
cadi-SUP hpl-go-INF self:PL:OBL-GEN quarrel:ABS

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[1] The corresponding Akusha phrase would be *čewak'ibsi*.

[2] The Akusha informants consider *ʕäq'luma* a better plural form than *ʕäq'lurta*.

[3] The original verb form *biriranu*, which combines an Aorist ending with an imperfective stem seems to be correct in Urakhi; Akusha speakers however only allow *bariranu*.

bek'+b-ar=aq-es
head+N-do=CAUS-INF
Eventually, they decided to turn to the cadi and let him solve their quarrel.

(8)
q'adi	leħ.äq-i-li		sa.y,	le<r>i-lra
cadi:ABS	be.silent-AOR-GER		be:M	present:pl-INDEF
b-ak'-ib-t-a			d-ur-uti	d-ur-ayči ʕur
hpl-come-AOR-ADP-OBL:ERG			pl-say-ADP	pl-say-UNTIL then
sas-i-li	wec'.al	kepek	ih-ub-li	č'äbar-li-či
take-AOR-GER	ten	copeck:ABS	hit-AOR-GER	floor-OBL-SUP
zäng	ʔ-i-li	t'ama+d.ar=aq-i-li		
sound:ABS	say-AOR-GER	voice+pl:do=CAUS-AOR-GER		
där+b-uq=aq-i		q'adi	b-ak'-ib-t-a-zi	
ONtwirl+N-aux=CAUS-GER		cadi:ABS	hpl-come-AOR-ADP-OBL-ILL	
w-ik'-uli	sa.y:			
M-say-GER	be:M			

The cadi remained silent until all was reported by those who had come, then he took a coin of ten copecks, threw it onto the floor, let it sound and twirl and said to those who had come:

(9)
wec'.al	kepek	urcul	kerd-ib-si-li-s
ten	copeck:ABS	timber:ABS	chop-AOR-ADJ-OBL-DAT
zäng	urcul	kawd-uħeli	ʕäq'lu
sound:ABS	timber:ABS	chop-WHEN	advice:ABS
b-ur-ib-si-li-s			
N-say-AOR-ADJ-OBL-DAT			

'Ten copecks for the one who chopped the timber, its sound for the one who gave advice while the other was chopping.'

4. THE WHITE ALMS

Texts 4 and 5 (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:83-84) were written down by G.M. Yusupov, journalist of the republic's newspaper *Leninla Bayraq* [Lenin's Banner], from the words of Magomed Idrisov, born 1896 in the village of Tsudakhar, Levashi district.

(0) ЦIуба садакьа
(1) Гьачам, бикIар, мижитлизи бахъал халкь бакIили чебаибхIели, кьади илдачи дугьаизурли сай: - Садакьа дебали халаси цIакьла секIал саби.
(2) Илини хIушала бебкIибти узи-уршила бунагь-хатIа ицу, аллагьлира ил садакьа халаси дигиличил кьабулбиру. (3) Садакьа биреная, аллагьла ргIятуни, хIушала бебкIибтас илини халаси рахIятдеш, гьамаддеш алкIахъуну. (4) Амма аллагьли имцIали гIяхIил кьабулбируси саби цIуба садакьа. Ил багьирая. (5) ИлхIели мижитлизир къарширикибси кьадила хьунул хъярхъ-хъяхъли хъайгIи чаррухъи сари. (6) ХъайгIир биалли бурхани черяхIкахъили, халати верхIел-гехIел хIяли дуили сари. (7) Хьунуй лерилра илди касиб, паяначи дутIиб ва унрубас дутIиб. (8) Мижитлизивад чарухъунси кьадила хIулби бурхани дархьдизурхIели, хIилхIи калун, бикIар, илди дурахIедикили.
(9) - Эй, хьунул, чинара нушала хIялби?!
(10) - Илди цIубабиригу.
(11) - Ну илди сегъунтирив викIули ахIенрагу, чинара викIулра!
(12) - ЦIуба садакьали халаси гIяхIдеш биру или хIуни бурибхIели, бебкIибти нушалара лебхIели, садакьалис дутIира.
(13) - Агь, хIела итра-ишра биъ, - или, бикIар, кьадини сунела хьунуйс эмхIелис хIедяхъести дяхъиб. (14) Урга-ургади ил чIярикIусири:
- Абдал тIакьа, хIуни садакьа барахъес ахIенри нуни мижитлаб хабар бурибсину, иш нушаб барахъес сабри. Аргъирив?
(15) ХIера, илгъуна кали сай мижитла кьади.

(0) c'ub.a sadaq'a
white alms:ABS
The white alms.

(1) hačam, b-ik'-ar, mižit-li-zi b-aqal xalq'
once hpl-say-FUT3 mosque-OBL-ILL N-much people:ABS
b-ak'-i-li če<b>a?-ib-ħeli, q'adi il-d-a-či
N-come-AOR-GER see:N-AOR-WHEN cadi:ABS this-PL-OBL-SUP
duha.iz-ur-li sa.y: sadaq'a debali xala-si
turn.to:M-AOR-GER be:M alms:ABS very big-ADJ

c'aq'-la sek'al sa<b>i
strength-GEN thing:ABS be:N
Once, they say, when a cadi saw that a lot of people had come to the mosque he addressed them (with the words): 'alms are a thing of great strength.'

(2) il-i-ni ħuša-la b-ebk'-ib-ti udzi+urši-la
this-OBL-ERG youP-GEN hpl-die-AOR-ADP brother+boy-GEN
bunah+xat'a ic-u, allah-li-ra il sadaq'a
sin+deviation:ABS wash-FUT3 God-OBL:ERG-and this alms:ABS
xala-si digi-li-čil q'abul+b-ir-u
big-ADJ love-OBL-COM agree+N-do-FUT3
'It washes the sins of your late relatives and God receives alms with big love.'

(3) sadaq'a b-ir-enaya, allah-la raʕät-uni, ħuša-la
alms:ABS N-do-IMPP God-GEN decree-PL:ABS youP-GEN
b-ebk'-ib-t-a-s il-i-ni xala-si
hpl-die-AOR-ADP-OBL-DAT this-OBL-ERG big-ADJ
raħät=deš, hamad=deš alk'=aq-u-nu
quiet=ABSTR:ABS light=ABSTR:ABS appear=CAUS-FUT3-for
'Do charity, the wishes of God, for it will bring your relatives great rest and lightness.'

(4) amma allah-li imc'a-li ʕäħ-il q'abul+b-ir-usi
but God-OBL:ERG extra-ADV good-ADJ agree+N-do-ADJ
sa<b>i c'ub.a sadaq'a. il b-ah-iraya
be:N white alms:ABS this N-know-IMPP
'But God loves white alms best, know that.'

(5) il-ħeli mižit-li-zi-r ɢarši+r-ik-ib-si q'adi-la
this-WHEN mosque-OBL-ILL-F meet+F-aux-AOR-ADJ cadi-GEN
χunul qärq+qärq-li qay-ʕi čar+r-uq-i
wife:ABS quick+quick-ADV house:OBL-ALL return+F-aux-GER
be:F
sa<r>i
Then the wife of the cadi, who was also in the mosque, quickly returned home.

(6) qay-ʕi-r b.iʔ.alli burxa.ni če<r>äħ.kaq-i-li, xala-ti
house:OBL-ALL-F however at.the.ceiling hang:pl-AOR-GER big-ADP
weɬħ.el+geħ.el ħäli d-uʔ-i-li sa<r>i
seven+eight lard:ABS pl-be-AOR-GER be:pl
At home however, there were apparently some seven or eight lards hanging from the ceiling.

(7) ẋunuy le<r>i-lra il-di kas-ib-Ø,
wife:OBL:ERG present:pl-INDEF this-PL take-AOR-3
pay-an-a-či d-ut'-ib-Ø unr-ub-a-s
part-PL-OBL-SUP pl-divide-AOR-3 neighbour-PL-OBL-DAT
d-ut'-ib-Ø
pl-distribute-AOR-3
The woman took all of them, divided them in parts and distributed them among the neighbours.

(8) mižit-li-zi-w-ad čar+uq-un-si q'adi-la
mosque-OBL-ILL-M-ELA return+M:aux-AOR-ADJ cadi-GEN
ħul-bi burxa.ni d-arẋ<d>iz-ur-ħeli, ħilħi kal-un-Ø,
eye-PL at.the.ceiling pl-reach:pl-AOR-WHEN hardly stay-AOR-3
b-ik'-ar, il-di dura+ħe-d-ik-i-li
hpl-say-FUT3 this-PL out+NEG-pl-aux-AOR-GER
When the eyes of the cadi who had returned from the mosque, reached the ceiling, they hardly stayed (in his head), nearly fell out, they say.

(9) ey ẋunul čina-r-a nuša-la ħäl-bi
IJhey woman:ABS where-F-INT we-GEN lard-PL:ABS
'Hey, wife, where are our lards?'

(10) il-di c'ub.a+b-ir-i-gu
this-PL white+N-be-IMPF3-but
'But they were white!'

(11) nu il-di se=ğun-ti-ri-w w-ik'-uli
me:ABS this-PL what=like-ADP-PRET-INT M-say-GER
aħen-ra-gu, čina-r-a w-ik'-ul-ra
be.not-1-but where-F-INT M-say-GER-1
'I did not ask what they were like, I asked where they are?'

(12) c'ub.a sadaq'a-li xala-si ʕäħ=deš b-ir-u
white alms-OBL:ERG big-ADJ good=ABSTR:ABS N-do-FUT3
ʔ-i-li ħu-ni b-ur-ib-ħeli, b-ebk'-ib-ti
say-AOR-GER you-ERG N-say-AOR-WHEN hpl-die-AOR-ADP
nuša-la-ra le-b-ħeli sadaq'a-li-s d-ut'-i-ra
we-GEN-and present-hpl-WHEN alms-OBL-DAT pl-distribute-AOR-1
'When you said that white alms bring much good, I distributed them as alms, because we have late relatives too'.

(13) ah, ħe-la it-ra+iš-ra b-iʔ,[1] ʔ-i-li,
IJah you:OBL-GEN that-and+this-and N-be say-AOR-GER
b-ik'-ar, q'adi-ni sune-la x̂unuy-s
hpl-say-FUT3 cadi-ERG self:OBL-GEN wife:OBL-DAT
emħe-li-s ħe-d-äq-es-ti d-äq-ib-Ø
donkey-OBL-DAT NEG-pl-hit-POT3-ADP pl-hit-AOR-3
'Oh, may this and that happen to you,' and the cadi beat up his wife like he had never beaten his donkey, they said.

(14) urga+urgadi il č'är+ik'-usi-ri: abdal
between+in.between this scream+M:aux-ADJ-PRET stupid:ABS
t'aq'a, ħe-zi[2] sadaq'a b-ar=aq-es aħen-ri
box:ABS you:OBL-ILL alms:ABS N-do=CAUS-INF be.not-PRET
nu-ni mižit-la-b xabar b-ur-ib-si-nu, iš
me-ERG mosque-LOC-N story:ABS N-say-AOR-ADJ-for this
nušab b-ar=aq-es sa-b-ri. arǧ-i-ri-w
we:DAT N-do=CAUS-INF be-N-PRET hear-AOR-2-INT
Sometimes he was screaming: 'You stupid thing, I did not tell this story in the mosque to get you to give alms, but for them to be given to us; do you understand?'

(15) ħera, il=ǧuna kal-i sa.y mižit-la q'adi
IJyou.see this=like stay-GER be:M mosque-GEN cadi:ABS
You see, the cadi of the mosque was like this.

[1] For the use of the bare verb stem, see 6.2.3.

[2] *ħezi* is a correction of the original *ħuni:* the person denoted, the wife of the cadi, is not the Causer of the causative verb, but the Causee, which is encoded with ILL *-zi*.

5. THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALMS

(0) Садакьа бутIни
(1) Цагьачам, дила юлдаш, нуни хIези бурасли, шилизив ца хIурматла адам вебкIили сай. (2) ХIунира балад, адам хIяриирхьухIели хIябличи садакьа бихуси гIядат лебси саби. (3) Нушала гъайра тяп ил хIурматла адамла хIябличи бухибси халаси садакьаличила, цархIилван бурасли, ил бутIниличила сари.
(4) ВебкIибси ванзализи ведибхIейс, садакьа буртIес или алавбакIили саби.
(5) Ил бутIахъес чеввикIибсини адамтачивяхI шурухъи, хьарбаили сай:
(6) -Эй, гьалмагъуни, сен-сен бутIишав нуни садакьа: аллагьли кьяйда бутIишав, ахIи гIядатла адамливан бутIишав?
(7) - Аллагьли кьяйда бутIа!
(8) - Гьайгьайра, аллагьли кьяйда!
(9) - Гьамадли бутIиша - разиикили сай садакьа буртIан. (10) - ХIушала амру таманбарес ну мурталра хIядурсира!
(11) -Илкьяйдара или, вехIихьиб, бикIар, иш садакьа буртIес. (12) Сен-сен викIадли, бегIлара давлачевсилис дебали халаси пай бирули, иткъи сунела гIямал бируси давлачевсилис сунечи мешуси бутIа бирули. Мискин пякьиртас биалли бекIлил селра бедхIелугулри, бикIар.
(13) - Эй, се сабив хIуни бируси? - сабурлизибад бухъи саби адамти.
(14) -ХIушала амру бихIули, аллагьливан садакьа буртIулра, - викIули сай садакьа буртIан. (15) -Аллагьли ишкьяйда хIебиалри садакьа буртIуси, нушачиб адамти мискинтачира, давлачебтачира хIебуртIи. (16) Белики, нуни бурибси бархьси хIебиэс?
(17) Лебилра лехIкахъиб, бикIар, ва садакьа буртIанни сунела хIянчи даимбариб.

(0) sadaq'a b-ut'-ni
alms:ABS N-distribute-MASD:ABS
The distribution of alms.

(1) ca+hačam, di-la yuldaš, nu-ni ħe-zi
one+once me:OBL-GEN friend:ABS me-ERG you:OBL-ILL
b-ur-asli, ši-li-zi-w ca ħurmat-la adam
N-say-COND1 village-OBL-ILL-M one honor-GEN person:ABS
w-ebk'-i-li sa.y
M-die-AOR-GER be:M
Once, my friend, let me tell you, an honorable man had died in the village.

(2) ħu-ni-ra b-al-ad, adam ħäri.irx̂-uħeli
you-ERG-and N-know-FUT2 person:ABS bury:M-WHEN
ħäb-li-či sadaq'a b-ix-usi ʕädat le-b-si
grave-OBL-SUP alms:ABS N-bring-ADJ custom:ABS present-N-ADJ
sa<b>i
be:N
And you also know, that when we bury someone, there is the custom of bringing alms to the grave.

(3) nuša-la ğay-ra täp il ħurmat-la adam-la
we-GEN word:ABS-and exactly this honor-GEN person-GEN
ħäb-li-či b-ux-ib-si xala-si sadaq'a-li-čila,
grave-OBL-SUP N-take-AOR-ADJ big-ADJ alms-OBL-CONT
carħil-wan b-ur-asli, il b-ut'-ni-li-čila
other-ID N-say-COND1 this N-distribute-MASD-OBL-CONT
sa<r>i
be:pl
And our discussion is precisely about the big alms that were brought to the grave of that man, to say it differently, about its distribution.

(4) w-ebk'-ib-si wandza-li-zi w-ed-ib-ħe.ys, sadaq'a
M-die-AOR-ADJ earth-OBL-ILL M-give-AOR-WHEN:DAT alms:ABS
b-urt'-es ʔ-i-li alaw+b-ak'-i-li sa<b>i
N-distribute-INF say-AOR-GER around+hpl-come-AOR-GER be:hpl
At the time they gave the deceased (back) to the earth, they gathered to distribute the alms.

(5) il b-ut'=aq-es če<w><w>ik'-ib-si-ni
this N-distribute=CAUS-INF choose:M:M-AOR-ADJ-ERG
adam-t-a-či-w-äħ šur+uq-i x̂ar<b>aʔ-i-li
person-PL-OBL-SUP-M-DIR turn+M:aux-GER ask:N-AOR-GER
sa.y:
be:M
The person chosen to distribute the alms turned to the people and asked:

(6) ey, halmağ-uni, sen+sen b-ut'-iša-w nu-ni
IJhey friend-PL:ABS how+how N-distribute-POT1-INT me-ERG
sadaq'a: allah-li q'äyda b-ut'-iša-w
alms:ABS God-OBL:ERG manner:ABS N-distribute-POT1-INT
aħi ʕädat-la adam-li-wan b-ut'-iša-w
or custom-GEN person-OBL:ERG-ID N-distribute-POT1-INT
'Hey, my friends, how shall I distribute the alms, shall I distribute them like God does, or shall I distribute them like an ordinary man?'

(7) allah-li q'äyda b-ut'-a
God-OBL:ERG manner:ABS N-distribute-IMP
'Distribute them like God.'

(8) hayhay-ra allah-li q'äyda
of.course-and God-OBL:ERG manner:ABS
'Of course, like God,' (they shouted).

(9) hamad-li b-ut'-iša radzi+ik-i-li sa.y
light-ADV N-distribute-POT1 glad+M:aux-AOR-GER be:M
sadaq'a b-urt'=an
alms:ABS N-distribute=AG:ABS
'I can then easily distribute them', said the distibutor of the alms happily.

(10) ħuša-la amru taman+b-ar-es nu murt-alra
youP-GEN demand:ABS end+N-do-INF me:ABS when-INDEF
ħädur-si-ra
ready-ADJ-1
'I am always ready to fulfil your demands.'

(11) il+q'äyda-ra ʔ-i-li w-eħ.iχ-ib-Ø b-ik'-ar
this+manner:ABS-and say-AOR-GER M-begin:M-AOR-3 hpl-say-FUT3
iš sadaq'a b-urt'-es
this alms:ABS N-distribute-INF
And having said this, he began, they said, to distribute the alms.

(12) sen+sen w-ik'-adli, b.eʕ.la-ra dawla.če-w-si-li-s debali
how+how M-say-COND2 very-and rich-M-ADJ-OBL-DAT very
xala-si pay b-ir-uli, it.ɢi sune-la
big-ADJ part:ABS N-do-GER like.that self:OBL-GEN
ʕämal b-ir-usi dawla.če-w-si-li-s sune-či
possibility:ABS N-be-ADJ rich-M-ADJ-OBL-DAT self:OBL-SUP
mešu-si but'a b-ir-uli, miskin+päq'ir-t-a-s b.iʔ.alli
alike-ADJ part:ABS N-be-GER poor+poor-ADP-OBL-DAT however
bek'.lil se-lra b-ed+ħe-lug-ul-ri, b-ik'-ar
at.all what:ABS-INDEF N-give+NEG-give-GER-PRET hpl-say-FUT3
If you ask how, the biggest part was for the richest; for those rich people who have their possibilities anyway, there was a part according to that position; to the poor however, he gave nothing at all, they said.

(13) ey, se sa<b>i-w ħu-ni b-ir-usi
IJhey what:ABS be:N-INT you-ERG N-do-ADJ

sabur-li-zi-b-ad b-uq-i sa<b>i adam-ti
mood-OBL-ILL-hpl-ELA hpl-move-GER be:hpl person-PL:ABS
'Hey, what are you doing?' people demanded in temper.

(14) ħuša-la amru b-iħ-uli, allah-li-wan sadaq'a
youP-GEN demand:ABS N-fulfil-GER God-OBL:ERG-ID alms:ABS
b-urt'-ul-ra, w-ik'-uli sa.y sadaq'a b-urt'=an
N-distribute-GER-1 M-say-GER be:M alms:ABS N-distribute=AG:ABS
'I am fulfilling your requirements, I am distributing the alms like God (would do),' said the distributor of the alms.

(15) allah-li iš+q'äyda ħe-b-i?-al.ri sadaq'a
God-OBL:ERG this+manner:ABS NEG-N-be-IRR3 alms:ABS
b-urt'-usi, nuša-či-b adam-ti miskin-t-a-či-ra
N-distribute-ADJ we-SUP-hpl person-PL:ABS poor-ADP-OBL-SUP-and
dawla.če-b-t-a-či-ra ħe-b-urt'-i
rich-hpl-ADP-OBL-SUP-and NEG-hpl-divide-IMPF3
'If God would not be distributing alms this way, the people among us would not be divided into poor and rich.

(16) beliki, nu-ni b-ur-ib-si b-arx̂-si ħe-b-i?-es
perhaps me-ERG N-say-AOR-ADJ N-true-ADJ NEG-N-be-POT3
'Is what I said not true perhaps?'

(17) le<b>i-lra leħ.kaq-ib-Ø, b-ik'-ar, wa sadaq'a
present:hpl-INDEF be.silent-AOR-3 hpl-say-FUT3 and alms:ABS
b-urt'=an-ni sune-la ħänči
N-distribute=AG-OBL:ERG self:OBL-GEN work:ABS
da?im+b-ar-ib-Ø
end+N-do-AOR-3
All remained silent, they said, and the distributor of the alms finished his work.

6. "QIQ"

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:84-85) was written down by radio correspondent Zubayru Gadzhiev and published in the Dargi literary journal *Halmağdeš* [Friendship], 1955, nr. 1:111-112. It later appeared in Abdullaev & Gasanova (1959:78-79). The 1959 and 1976 versions are virtually similar; however, there are considerable differences with the original, 1955, version. Striking is the almost consistent change of Aorist verb forms into a Perfect tense form or a subordinate clause with a perfective gerund. Due to my late discovery of the 1955 text, I have not been able to discuss these later editorial changes with my informants. They considered the 1976 text to be written in a rather artificial style, though. The numerous editorial changes probably account for this.

(0) «Кьикь»
(1) ХIези кьуръада «кьикь» викIи или дигIяй нешлизи бура хъули вякьунхIели, - викIули сай кьуръада Хасузи. (2) Хасу илдус сагали кьуръайзи вашес вехIихьибси верхIел дусла урши уили сай. (3) Илала неш исбагьи чарх-бекIла, жагати нед-хIулила, пергер хIял-тIабигIятла хьунул адам руили сари, ли руили сари ва 50 дусла гIямрула мешуагарси кьуръадас, ли руили сари ва 50 дусла гIямрула мешуагарси кьуръадас 35 дусла жагьил адам сабур агарли ригули уили сай. (4) УрхIла хьунул ригахъес бахъ лайикьагарси биалра, кьуръадани Хасучи ил секIал хъархIебарес виубли ахIен. (5) Хасула нешли «кьикьла» мурад гIяхIил[1] балули риалра, бурибси гъай сунела мерличиб батурли,[2] бебкIахъес лайикьли чебаили сари. (6) Амма кьуръадани гIурра «кьикь» тикрарбирибхIели, Хасула нешли «кьикьла» хабар муруйзи бурили сари. (7) Дахъал дагьурси, дахъал чедаибси муруй хьунуйчи хъарбарили сай «кьикьличибли» жаваб бедахъес ва хъули тIалабварахъес.
(8) Неш хIези «кьикь» рикIи, ишдуги дудеш хъулив агарану вакIи рикIи или Хасуни кьуръадази бурили сай.
(9) Дудешлира нешлира итил хъулирти эмхIе бабгили лукьахъути шинкьала вецIал барха анкIила детакьурли сари ва дудешли чина-биалра арякьунсила гIердарили, кьуръада кьабулварес хIядуркабиубли саби. (10) Кьуръада сунела чIянкIли базарличи ва жумягIличи[3] челгьути палтарра чегьурли, шалкIубси кисала бузхIебузуси сагIятра кабихьили, михъирличиббит рахажра байгьаббушили, кьибламара жибжирбатурли сайра цIяббиубхIели халаси харидешличил Хасула нешличи арякьи сай. (11) Руржуси шанглира, шаласи

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[1] Both the 1955 and 1959 texts give the variant *ахIил* (change in orthography).

[2] The 1955 text gives the assimilated forms *мелличчиб батулли, багьулли* in sentence 14 and *вамсулли* in 18. Apparently it was decided not to include assimilation, which varies considerably between dialects and speakers, into the orthography.

[3] The 1959 text has *жумагIличи* (change in orthography).

анкъилира, шадти дяхI-някълира[4] кьуръадала уркIиличиб ташмишдеш батурли ахIен Хасула нешли сай марлира тIалабварниличи.
(12) Мурити яхши-хуш дяхъили гIергъи[5], урхI лебихIир дурхIедурестигъунти цачумал масхарала гъай кIилилра дарсур дурили сари. (13) Кьуръада левгIев ватухъи, чердатурли палтарра сайра сунела хъулив кьяйда паргъаткайубси замана, рахли азбарларад хъехI-хъехI или тIама дурабикили саби. (14) Хъа вегIла хъехI кIилинра багьурли цаличи ца вякьбизурли саби, ну чина или кьуръада харчизурли сай. (15) Хьунул адамли къалабали итил хъули арукили, кьуръада эмхIела мерличи вабгили шинкьа лукьахъес каили саби.
(16) ЭмхIе саби рикIусну, шинкьа къалабали бузахъен или хъарбарили сари.
(17) Хъа вегI вакIили, сай жявли чарухънила хIекьлизиб хабар бурили, мурул-хьунул гъайбухъи саби. (18) Кьудръада вамсурли шинкьа бузни багьлабиубли саби. (19) Иш дуги се биублив эмхIелис, яра баххIебахи бабгили хIерииши? (20) Гьари ца тIерхьа биха гьари иша, саби нуни сен башахъисал! - викIули сай мурул. (21) ЭмхIела къайгъи нуни бирисну хIу уэн, вамсурлирину, или хьунул итил хъули рухIнарухъи кьуръадази лукIин-лухIин дарили хункI чебаахъили сари. (22) Шинкьа къалабали сабухъи саби.
(23) Илкьяйда шалалис анкIи делкьи тамандиубли сари ва дахъал макруличил, халаси къайгъиличил кьуръада урти шалбар-хIеваличил юртлизивад дураухъи сай.
(24) КIиэсил бархIи хъарбаркь хIясибли Хасуни кьуръадази бурили сай неш «кьикь» рикIи или.
(25) - Хъайчи цIа кадатаб сунелану, шайтIан! - сен жявли тамандиубтив, гъал бархацад ризкьила даг делкьунрагу, - викIули сай кьуръада.

(0) q'iq'[6]
IJQiq
"Qiq"

(1)

ħe-zi	q'urʔada[7]	q'iq'	w-ik'-i		ʔ-i-li
you:OBL-ILL	teacher:ABS	IJqiq	M-say-IMPF3		say-AOR-GER
diʕäna-li[8]	neš-li-zi	b-ur-a	quli	w-äq'-un-ħeli	
secret-ADV	mother-OBL-ILL	N-say-IMP	home	M-go-AOR-WHEN	
w-ik'-uli	sa.y	q'urʔada[9]	Xasu-zi[10]		
M-say-GER	be:M	teacher:ABS	PNKhasu-ILL		

[4] The 1959 text has *дахI* (change in orthography).
[5] The 1959 text has *эргъи* (change in orthography).
[6] *q'iq'* is the transcription of a lateral sound made to attract somebody's attention, 'hey', 'psht'.
[7] *q'urʔada* is a teacher in the Koran school; the word is not used in the Akusha dialect.
[8] The original *дигIяй* (in all three versions of the text) is considered incorrect.
[9] The 1955 text has ***ħb q'urʔadani Xasuzi.***
[10] The name *Xasu* is used for a boy here, in Akusha *Xasu* is a girl's name however.

'Tell your mother secretly "The teacher said 'qiq' to you",' said the teacher to Khasu, when he went home.

(2) Xasu il+dus saga-li q'urʔay-zi[11]
PNKhasu:ABS this+year:ABS new-ADV Koran:OBL-ILL
w-aš-es w-eħ.iχ-ib-si werħ.el dus-la urši
M-come-INF M-begin:M-AOR-ADJ seven year-GEN boy:ABS
uʔ-i-li sa.y[12]
M:be-AOR-GER be:M
Khasu was a seven-year-old boy, who started to come to the Koran (school) only this year.

(3a) il-a-la neš isbahi čarx+bek'-la, džaga-ti
this-OBL-GEN mother:ABS graceful body+head-GEN beautiful-ADP
ned+ħuli-la, perger ħäl+t'abiʕät-la
eyebrow+eye-GEN nice relation+behaviour-GEN
χunul+adam r-uʔ-i-li sa<r>i[13]
woman+person:ABS F-be-AOR-GER be:F
His mother was a beauty, a woman with beautiful eyes and a very nice behaviour towards others.

(3b) il džaga-si χunul+adam q'urʔada-ni džäw-li
this beautiful-ADJ woman+person:ABS teacher-ERG early-ADV
ħisab-li kas-i-li r-uʔ-i-li sa<r>i[14] wa
look-OBL:ERG take-AOR-GER F-be-AOR-GER be:F and
šu.c'ali dus-la ʕämru-la mešu+agar-si q'urʔada-s
fifty year-GEN life-GEN alike+absent-ADJ teacher-DAT
ħäb.c'a.nu šu.ra dus-la džah-il[15] adam sabur
thirty five year-GEN young-ADJ person:ABS mood:ABS
agar-li r-ig-uli uʔ-i-li sa.y[16]
absent-ADV F-love-GER M:be-AOR-GER be:M
The teacher noticed this beautiful woman long before and the ugly, fifty-year-old teacher was madly in love with a young person of thirty-five years.

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[11] Akusha informants prefer *q'urʕay-či* .

[12] The 1955 text gives *urši say-ri*.

[13] The 1955 text gives *ħäl+t'abiʕät-la reʕ χunul adam sarri*, with *r-eʕ* 'owner (of nice behaviour)'

[14] This is the beginning of the phrase according to the 1959 text; in the 1976 Cyrillic text this phrase is skipped and part of the following phrase (*li ruili sari wa 50 dusla ʕämrula mešuagarsi q'urʕadas, li ruili sari*) is repeated. This is most likely a printing error. The 1955 text has *il džagasi χunul adam q'urʕadani džäwlil ħisablizi kasilri*.

[15] The 1955 text gives *džagal* 'beautiful'.

[16] The 1955 text has *rigulri*; in Urakhi the verb *-ig* 'love' inflects for gender, in Akusha the gender prefix is petrified (*dig*).

(4) urħ-la ẋunul r-ig=aq-es b-aq
strange-GEN wife:ABS F-love=CAUS-INF N-much
layiq'+agar-si b-i?-al-ra q'ur?ada-ni Xasu-či
decent+absent-ADJ N-be-COND3-and teacher-ERG PNKhasu-SUP
il sek'al qar+ħe-b.ar-es w-i?-ub-li aħen[17]
this thing:ABS order+NEG-N:do-INF M-can-AOR-GER be.not
Even though loving another one's wife is not very decent behaviour, the teacher could not refrain from asking Khasu this.

(5) Xasu-la neš-li q'iq'-la murad ʕäħ-il
PNKhasu-GEN mother-OBL:ERG IJqiq-GEN goal:ABS good-ADJ
b-al-uli r-i?-al-ra b-ur-ib-si ğay
N-know-GER F-be-COND3-and N-say-AOR-ADJ word:ABS
sune-la mer-li-či-b b-at-ur-li b-ebk'=aq-es
self:OBL-GEN place-OBL-SUP-N N-leave-AOR-GER N-die=CAUS-INF
layiq'-li če<b>a?-i-li sa<r>i[18]
decent-ADV see:N-AOR-GER be:F
Although Khasu's mother knew very well the goal of 'qiq', she thought it proper to let the word die, leaving it in its place.

(6) amma q'ur?ada-ni ʕur-ra q'iq' tikrar+b-ar-ib-ħeli[19]
but teacher-ERG then-and IJqiq repetition+N-do-AOR-WHEN
Xasu-la neš-li q'iq'-la xabar
PNKhasu-GEN mother-OBL:ERG IJqiq-GEN story:ABS
muruy-zi b-ur-i-li sa<r>i[20]
husband:OBL-ILL N-say-AOR-GER be:F
But when the teacher repeated 'qiq' another time, Khasu's mother told the story to her husband.

(7) d-aqal d-ah-ur-si, d-aqal če<d>a?-ib-si
pl-much pl-know-AOR-ADJ pl-much see:pl-AOR-ADJ
muruy ẋunuy-či qar+b.ar-i-li sa.y[21]
husband:OBL:ERG wife:OBL-SUP order+N:do-AOR-GER be:M

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[17] The 1955 text has *ħey?ub*.

[18] The 1955 text has *čeba?ib*.

[19] The form *biribħeli*, occurring in both the 1976 and 1959 texts, combines the imperfective stem *-ir* with the Aorist ending *-ib* which seems to be allowed in the Urakhi dialect. The correct Akusha form is *baribħeli*, which is also the form occurring in the 1955 version.

[20] The 1955 text has *dudešlizi burib*.

[21] The 1955 text has *dudešli nešliči qarbarib*. Not only the verb form changed, the editor apparently decided to change the perspective of the boy (father and mother) to the couple (husband and wife) in the later version.

q'iq'-li-s[22]	džawab	b-ed=aq-es	wa	quli
LIqiq-OBL-DAT	answer:ABS	N-give=CAUS-INF	and	home
t'alab+w-ar=aq-es				
invitation+M-do=CAUS-INF				

The husband, who knew a lot and had seen a lot, told his wife to answer this 'qiq' and to invite him home.

(8)

neš	ħe-zi	q'iq'	r-ik'-i,	iš+dugi
mother:ABS	you:OBL-ILL	LIqiq	F-say-IMPF3	this+night:ABS
dudeš	quli-w	agara-nu	w-ak'-i	r-ik'-i
father:ABS	home-M	absent:FUT3-for	M-come-IMP	F-say-IMPF3
ʔ-i-li	Xasu-ni	q'urʔada-zi	b-ur-i-li	sa.y[23]
say-AOR-GER	PNKhasu-ERG	teacher-ILL	N-say-AOR-GER	be:M

'Mother said "qiq" to you; as father will not be home tonight, come!' said Khasu to his teacher.

(9)

dudeš-li-ra	neš-li-ra		it.il	quli-r-ti[24]
father-OBL:ERG-and	mother-OBL:ERG-and		that.other	room-pl-ADP
emħe	b-abg-i-li	luq'=aq-uti[25]		šinq'a-la
donkey:ABS	N-harness-AOR-GER	turn=CAUS-ADP		mill-LOC
wec'.al	barxa	ank'i-la	d-etaq'-ur-li[26]	sa<r>i wa
ten	measure:ABS	wheat-GEN	pl-strew-AOR-GER	be:pl and
dudeš-li	čina+b.iʔ.al.ra	ar.äq'-un-si-la		
father-OBL:ERG	where-INDEF	leave:M-AOR-ADJ-GEN		
ʕe.r.d.ar-i-li,	q'urʔada	q'abul+w-ar-es		
pretend:pl:pl-AOR-GER	teacher:ABS	agree+M-do-INF		
ħädur+ka-b-iʔ-ub-li	sa<b>i[27]			
ready+TH-N-be-AOR-GER	be:N			

Father and mother scattered ten measures of wheat into the mill in the other room, that turned by harnessing a donkey to it; and after father pretended to have gone somewhere, they were ready to receive the teacher.

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[22] This phrase exists in three versions: the 1976 text has ***q'iq'ličibli*** *džawab bedaqes*, the 1959 has ***q'iq'lis q'iq'ličibli*** *džawab bedaqes*, and the 1955 text has ***q'iq'lis*** *džawab bedaqes*, which is the form my informants came up with as the preferred phrase themselves, on the basis of the 1976 text.

[23] The 1955 text has ***ʔib*** *Xasuni* ***q'urʔadazi*** instead of *ʔili Xasuni q'urʔadazi burili say.*

[24] These people apparently have a mill in one of their rooms, which is considered rather uncommon by the informants.

[25] The 1955 text has *duq'aquti.*

[26] The 1955 text has *detaq'ur:* instead of the Urakhi verb *-etaq'* the Akusha would use *kaq'.*

[27] The 1955 text has *činaril* instead of *čina-bialra*; *ʕerdarib* instead of *ʕerdarili*; and *ħadurkabiʔub* instead of *ħadurkabiʔubli sabi.*

(10) q'ur?ada[28] sune-la č'änk'-li bazar-li-či wa
teacher:ABS self:OBL-GEN naked-ADV market-OBL-SUP and
džumäʕ-li-či čelh-uti paltar-ra čeh-ur-li,[29]
Friday-OBL-SUP wear-ADP clothes:ABS-and wear-AOR-GER
šalk'ub-si[30] kisa-la b-uz+ħe-b-uz-usi saʕät-ra
side-ADJ pocket-LOC N-work+NEG-N-work-ADJ watch:ABS-and
ka<b>ix-i-li,[31] miqir-li-či-b-bit[32] raxaž-ra
put:N-AOR-GER chest-OBL-SUP-N-across chain:ABS-and
b-ayhab+b-uš-i-li, q'iblama-ra
N-half+N-release-AOR-GER compass:ABS-and
žibžir+b-at-ur-li sa.y-ra[33] c'äb+b-i?-ub-ħeli[34]
ONdangling+N-let-AOR-GER be:M-and dark+N-be-AOR-WHEN
xala-si xari=deš-li-čil Xasu-la neš-li-či
big-ADJ important=ABSTR-OBL-COM PNKhasu-GEN mother-OBL-SUP
ar.äq'-i sa.y[35]
leave:M-GER be:M

The teacher put on the clothes he usually wore to the market and on Fridays, placed a broken watch in his side-pocket, and dangled a compass on the chain hanging half over his chest and, feeling important, he went to Khasu's mother once it had become dark.

(11) rurdž-usi šang-li-ra, šala-si anɢi-li-ra,
boil-ADJ kettle-OBL:ERG-and light-ADJ fire.place-OBL:ERG-and
šad-ti dăħ+näɢ-li-ra q'ur?ada-la urk'i-li-či-b
happy-ADP face+hand-OBL:ERG-and teacher-GEN heart-OBL-SUP-N
tašmiš=deš b-at-ur-li aħen[36] Xasu-la
hesitate=ABSTR:ABS N-leave-AOR-GER be.not PNKhasu-GEN
neš-li sa.y mar-li-ra
mother-OBL:ERG self:ABS:M real-ADV-and
t'alab+w-ar-ni-li-či
invitation+M-do-MASD-OBL-SUP

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[28] The 1955 text has *q'ur?adani*, apparently as the Agent of *čeh*.

[29] The 1955 text has *čehur*.

[30] *šalk'ubsi* is the Urakhi word for side-(pocket), which is *šayibsi* in Akusha.

[31] The 1955 text has *kabiǩib*.

[32] *miqirličibbit* is an Urakhi form; the Akusha equivalent is *miqirličibad*.

[33] The 1955 text has *žibžirbatur*.

[34] The 1955 text has *c'äbdi?ubħeli*.

[35] The 1955 text has *aräq'un*. The 1955 version with the Aorist forms gives a direct account of a chain of events, typical for oral stories, whereas the later version, with a larger amount of subordinate phrases, seems to be typical for the written style of Standard Dargi.

[36] The 1955 text has *šakdeš ħebatur*.

The boiling kettle, the fire-place lit up, the happy general look of it all, left no doubt in the heart of the teacher about the true invitation of Khasu's mother.

(12) muri-ti yaxši.xuš d-äq-i-li ʕerği,[37] urħ
sweet-ADP greetings:ABS pl-hit-AOR-GER after strange
le<b>i-ħi-r[38] d-ur+ħe-d-ur-es-ti=ğun-ti
present:hpl-ILH-pl pl-say+NEG-pl-say-POT3-ADP=like-ADP
ca+čum.al[39] masxara-la ğay k'i<li>l-ra[40] darsur
one+some joke-GEN word:ABS two:ERG-and in.exchange
d-ur-i-li sa<r>i[41]
pl-say-AOR-GER be:pl
After some sweet greetings, some joking words that cannot be said in the presence of others, were said to each other.

(13) q'ur?ada le<w>ʕe-w w-at.uq-i, če<r><d>at-ur-li
teacher:ABS complete:M-M M-relax:M-GER take.off:pl:pl-AOR-GER
paltar-ra sa.y-ra sune-la quli-w q'äyda
clothes:ABS-and be:M-and self:OBL-GEN home-M manner:ABS
parğat+ka-y?-ub-si zamana, rax-li
rest+TH-M:be-AOR-ADJ time:ABS sudden-ADV
azbar-la-r-ad qeħ+qeħ ?-i-li t'ama
courtyard-LOC-pl-ELA ONcough+ONcough say-AOR-GER voice:ABS
dura+b-ik-i-li sa<b>i[42]
out+N-aux-AOR-GER be:N
The teacher relaxed completely, took off his clothes and as he began to rest the way he would in his own house, all of a sudden from the courtyard a coughing sound was heard.

(14) qa w-eʕ-la qeħ k'i<li>n-ra
home:GEN M-owner-GEN ONcough two:ERG-and
b-ah-ur-li ca-li-či ca wäq'+b-iz-ur-li
N-know-AOR-GER one-OBL-SUP one ONlook+hpl-aux-AOR-GER
sa<b>i, nu čina ?-i-li q'ur?ada
be:hpl me:ABS where say-AOR-GER teacher:ABS

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[37] The 1955 text has *däq'ib* instead of *däq'ili ʕerği*.

[38] The 1955 text has *lebilliħir*

[39] The 1955 text has *ca čumal* written separately.

[40] The Akusha form would be *k'ilinra*, as in sentence 14. The 1955 text has *k'ilalra*.

[41] The 1955 text gives *urgar detsadduqun* 'go in between, exchange' instead of *darsur durili sari*.

[42] Sentence 13 displays the following differences with the 1955 text: *watuqun* instead of *lewʕew watuqi*; ***čedatulli paltar*** *sunela* etc. instead of *čerdaturli paltarra sayra sunela*; ***parğakay?ubgu,*** *raxli* etc.; and *darib* instead of *durabikili sabi*.

xarč+iz-ur-li sa.y[43]
ONjump+M:aux-AOR-GER be:M
They both recognized the cough of the house owner and looked at each other, the teacher jumped up, saying 'where shall I go?'

(15) xunul+adam-li ɢalaba-li it.il quli
woman+person-OBL:ERG quick-GER that.other in.room
ar.uk-i-li,[44] q'ur?ada[45] emħe-la mer-li-či
lead:M-AOR-GER teacher:ABS donkey-GEN place-OBL-SUP
w-abg-i-li šinq'a luq'=aq-es ka?-i-li
M-harness-AOR-GER mill:ABS turn=CAUS-INF begin-AOR-GER
sa<b>i[46]
be:N
The woman quickly led him to the other room and after harnessing the teacher in the donkey's place, he began to make the mill turn.

(16) emħe sa<b>i r-ik'-us-nu, šinq'a ɢalaba-li
donkey:ABS be:N F-say-FUT1-for mill:ABS quick-ADV
b-uz=aq-en ?-i-li qar+b.ar-i-li sa<r>i[47]
N-work=CAUS-IMP say-AOR-GER order+N:do-AOR-GER be:F
'I shall say it is the donkey, so let the mill turn quickly,' she told him.

(17) qa w-eʕ w-ak'-i-li, sa.y džäw-li
home:GEN M-owner:ABS M-come-AOR-GER self:ABS:M early-ADV
čar+uq-ni-la ħeq'-li-zi-b xabar
return+M:aux-MASD-GEN reason-OBL-ILL-N story:ABS
b-ur-i-li, murul+xunul ğay+b-uq-i sa<b>i[48]
N-say-AOR-GER husband+wife:ABS word+hpl-aux-GER be:hpl
When the owner of the house had returned, he told the reason for his early return, and husband and wife began chatting.

(18) q'ur?ada w-ams-ur-li šinq'a b-uz-ni
teacher:ABS M-be.tired-AOR-GER mill:ABS N-work-MASD:ABS
bahla+b-i?-ub-li sa<b>i[49]
slow+N-be-AOR-GER be:N
As the teacher got tired, the working of the mill slowed down.

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[43] The 1955 text has *wäq'bizur* and *xarčizur*, respectively.
[44] The 1955 text has *arukib*.
[45] *q'ur?ada* is absent from the 1955 text.
[46] The 1955 text gives *ka?ib*.
[47] The 1955 text gives *qarbarib*.
[48] The 1955 text gives *wak'ib* instead of *wak'ili; wak'nila* instead of *čaruqnila, burib* instead of *burili*, and *ğaybuqun* instead of *ğaybuqi sabi*.
[49] The 1955 text has *bahlabi?ub*.

(19) iš+dugi[50] se b-i?-ub-li-w emħe-li-s,
this+night:ABS what:ABS N-be-AOR-GER-INT donkey-OBL-DAT
ya-ra b-ax+ħe-b-ax-i b-abg-i-li[51]
or-and N-feed+NEG-N-feed-GER N-harness-AOR-GER
ħe-r-i?-iši
NEG-F-be-POT2
'What's up tonight with our donkey, have you perhaps harnessed it without feeding it?'

(20) hari ca t'erxa b-ix-a hari iša, sa<b>i
IJwell one stick:ABS N-bring-IMP IJwell here self:ABS:N
nu-ni sen b-aš=aq-is-al w-ik'-uli sa.y
me-ERG how N-come=CAUS-FUT1-INDIR M-say-GER be:M
murul[52]
husband:ABS
'Well, give me a stick, well, come on, I shall make it go, and how!' said the husband.

(21) emħe-la ɢayği nu-ni b-ir-is-nu ħu
donkey-GEN effort:ABS me-ERG N-do-FUT1-for you:ABS
u?-en, w-ams-ur-li-ri-nu,[53] ?-i-li χunul
M:be-IMP M-be.tired-AOR-GER-2-for say-AOR-GER wife:ABS
it.il quli r-uħna+r-uq-i q'ur?ada-zi luk'in.luħin[54]
that.other in.room F-inside+F-aux-GER teacher-ILL like.this
d-ar-i-li xunk' če<b>a?=aq-i-li sa<r>i[55]
pl-do-AOR-GER fist:ABS see:N=CAUS-AOR-GER be:F
'I will take care of the donkey, you stay here, for you are tired,' said the wife, and went into the other room and showed the teacher her fist, shaking it like this.

(22) šinq'a ɢalaba-li las+b-uq-i sa<b>i[56]
mill:ABS quick-ADV turn+N-aux-GER be:N
The mill turned quicker.

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[50] The 1955 text has *išdugi* written together, which was already suggested by my informants as more correct than *iš dugi* written separately.

[51] The 1955 text has *babgilik'un*.

[52] The 1955 text has *?ib muruy* instead of *wik'uli say murul*.

[53] The 1955 text has *ħu u?en ħu wamsurlirinu*.

[54] The sound symbolic expression *luk'in.luħin* is not used in Akusha: it most likely represents the signs made with a shaking fist in threatening behaviour.

[55] The 1955 text has *čeba?aqib*.

[56] Instead of the Urakhi verb form *sabuqi* in the 1976 text, the Akusha informants suggested *lasbuqi* 'turn'; this turned out to be the verb used in the 1955 text, which had *šinq'ara Galabali lasbuqun*.

(23) il+q'äyda šala-li-s ank'i d-elq'-i
this+manner:ABS light-OBL-DAT wheat:ABS pl-grind-GER
taman+d-i?-ub-li sa<r>i wa d-aqal makru-li-čil
end+pl-be-AOR-GER be:pl and pl-much trick-OBL-COM
xala-si ɢayği-li-čil q'ur?ada u-r-ti
big-ADJ effort-OBL-COM teacher:ABS under-pl-ADP
šalbar+ħewa-li-čil yurt-li-zi-w-ad dura+uq-i
trousers+shirt-OBL-COM house-OBL-ILL-M-ELA out+M:aux-GER
sa.y[57]
be:M
This way he finished grinding the wheat at dawn and through many tricks and a lot of effort, the teacher left the house in his underwear.

(24) k'i+?.esil barħi qar.barq' ħäsib.li Xasu-ni
two+ORD day:ABS orders:ABS according.to PNKhasu-ERG
q'ur?ada-zi b-ur-i-li sa.y[58] neš q'iq' r-ik'-i
teacher-ILL N-say-AOR-GER be:M mother:ABS IJqiq F-say-IMPF3
?-i-li
say-AOR-GER
The next day Khasu told his teacher according to (his mother's) orders: 'Mother said "qiq" to you.'

(25) qay-či c'a ka<d>at-ab sune-la-nu[59] šayt'an
house:OBL-SUP fire:ABS hit:pl-OPT3 self:OBL-GEN-for devil:ABS
sen džäw-li taman+d-i?-ub-ti-w, ğa.l barxa-cad
how early-ADV end+pl-be-AOR-ADP-INT twenty measure-EQ
rizq'i-la dag d-elq'-un-ra-gu w-ik'-uli sa.y
cereals-GEN yesterday pl-grind-AOR-1-but M-say-GER be:M
q'ur?ada[60]
teacher:ABS
'My fire hit your house, you devil! Did the cereals come to an end so quickly? But yesterday I ground you some twenty measures!' said the teacher.

[57] The 1955 text has *tamandi?ub* instead of *tamandi?ubli sari*, and *durauqun* instead of *durauqi say*.
[58] The 1955 text has *burib*.
[59] The 1955 text has the plural form *čulanu*.
[60] The 1955 text has *?ib q'ur?adani*.

7. ONE OF YOU, ONE OF US

Texts nr. 7-8 (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:85-86) were written down by Zagir Magomedov from the words of the Urakhi Dargi writer H. Aliev. The moral of the first story seems to be 'do not vow in advance'.

(0) Ца - хIушала, ца - нушала
(1) Лебли буили саби ца шилизиб кIел гIяяркьяна. (2) ЦабархIи ишди дурабухъи саби гIяяр, сегъуна мицIирил жан цугбикалра кахIебушили хIебалтехIе или. (3) ВацIализи сабаибхIели цала андаличи тIентI кабиили саби. (4) ТIул бяхIчиаили, тIентIуркIхIебухъесли, багьлали итиллизи викIули сай тIентI кабиибси: «Уффф, хIера иш» (5) Итилли андализи чебетаахъили тупанг игьубли сай ва юлдаш кавшили сай. (6) «Селра хIебирар, - викIули сай иш, - ца хIушала, ца нушала».

(0) ca ħuša-la ca nuša-la
one youP-GEN one we-GEN
One of you, one of us

(1) le-b-li b-u?-i-li sa<b>i ca
present-hpl-GER hpl-be-AOR-GER be:hpl one
ši-li-zi-b k'.el ʕäyar.q'äna
village-OBL-ILL-hpl two hunter:ABS
Once upon a time there were two hunters in a village.

(2) ca+barħi iš-di dura+b-uq-i sa<b>i ʕäyar,
one+day:ABS this-PL out+hpl-aux-GER be:hpl on.hunt
se=ğuna mic'ir-il džan cug+b-ik-al-ra
what=like alive-ADJ soul:ABS middle+N-aux-COND3-and
ka<ħe><b>uš-i-li ħe-b-alt-eħe ?-i-li
kill:NEG:N-AOR-GER NEG-N-leave-FUT1 say-AOR-GER
Once they went out hunting, saying 'Whatever living soul we will meet, we won't leave it unkilled.'

(3) wac'a-li-zi sa<b>a?-ib-ħeli ca-la anda-li-či
forest-OBL-ILL reach:hpl-AOR-WHEN one-GEN forehead-OBL-SUP
t'ent' ka<b>i?-i-li sa<b>i
fly:ABS sit.down:N-AOR-GER be:N
When they reached the forest, a fly sat down on the forehead of one of them.

(4) t'ul b-äħči.ʔaʔ-i-li, t'ent' urk'<ħe><b>uq-es-li
finger:ABS N-direct-AOR-GER fly:ABS frighten:NEG:N-INF-GER
bahla-li it.il-li-zi w-ik'-uli sa.y t'ent'
slow-ADV that.other-OBL-ILL M-say-GER be:M fly:ABS
ka<b>iʔ-ib-si: ufff ħera iš
sit.down:N-AOR-ADJ IJufff IJyou.see this
The one on whom the fly sat down, said to the other quietly, while pointing with his finger, in order not to frighten the fly away: 'Uff, there it is.'

(5) it.il-li anda-li-zi če<b>etaʔ=aq-i-li
that.other-OBL:ERG forehead-OBL-ILL direct:N=CAUS-AOR-GER
tupang ih-ub-li sa.y wa yuldaš ka<w>š-i-li
rifle:ABS hit-AOR-GER be:M and friend:ABS kill:M-AOR-GER
sa.y
be:M
The other directed the rifle at the forehead, shot and killed his friend.

(6) se-lra ħe-b-ir-ar w-ik'-uli sa.y iš
what:ABS-INDEF NEG-N-be-FUT3 M-say-GER be:M this
ca ħuša-la ca nuša-la
one youP-GEN one we-GEN
'Well, it does not matter,' he said, 'one of you, one of us.'

8. ONE HAT A YEAR

(0) Дусли ца кьапIа
(1) Гьачам хIябал юлдаш арбякьи саби гIяяр. (2) Хапли илдала гьалабад гьаббухъи саби ца синка. (3) Дуцили къел гIелабад гIяяркьянабира гьайбиубли саби. (4) Синка бухIнабухъи саби ца тIярхъила. (5) ГIяяркьянаби тIярхъила гьалаб бахъхIи хIелли кали саби, синка дурабулхъан или. (6) ГIурра гIямал буи ца викIули сай юлдашунази: «Ну ухIнаулхъасрану иш тIярхъила, рахли къиян бакIалли, кьяш пялхъярбирисну, илхIели хIушани хъярхъли кьяшми дуцили дурасабая».
(7) БекI гьабатурли хIебатурли левалли ишини кьяшми пялхъярдарили сай. (8) Юлдашунани хапдарили дуцили кьяшми зузварили балагьличил дурасили сай. (9) ХIеръалли илала бекI агарли. (10) Ца викIули сай: «Сай кьалли игъбарли дурасира, бекI чинаба ишала».
(11) Илди пикрибухъи саби, ишала бекI лебрира агира или. (12) Даширая гьари, викIули сай халалгъуна, дякьи хьунуйзи хьарбиэхIе, лебрил ишала бекI агибал. (13) БакIили ишди хьунуйчи, хьарбаили саби: «ХIела мурулла бекI лебсирив?» (14) - ХIебалас, - рикIули сари хьунул, - кьапIа биалли гьар дус ца иси.

(0) dus-li ca q'ap'a
year-OBL:ERG one hat:ABS
One hat a year.

(1) hačam ħäb.al yuldaš ar<b>äq'-i sa<b>i ʕäyar
once three friend:ABS leave:hpl-GER be:hpl on.hunt
Once upon a time three friends went hunting.

(2) xap-li il-d-a-la hala-b-ad ha<b><b>uq-i
sudden-ADV this-PL-OBL-GEN before-N-ELA jump.out:N:N-GER
sa<b>i ca sinka
be:N one bear:ABS
Suddenly a bear jumped out in front of them.

(3) d-uc-i-li ɢel ʕela-b-ad ʕäyar.q'äna-bi-ra
pl-catch-AOR-GER trace:ABS after-N-ELA hunter-PL:ABS-and
hay<b>iʔ-ub-li sa<b>i
set.off:hpl-AOR-GER be:hpl
Following its tracks the hunters went after him.

(4) sinka b-uħna+b-uq-i sa<b>i ca t'ärqi-la
bear:ABS N-inside+N-aux-GER be:N one hole-LOC

The bear went into a den.

(5) ʕäyar.q'äna-bi t'ärqi-la hala-b b-aq-ħi
hunter-PL:ABS hole-GEN before-hpl hpl-long-ILH
ħer-li[1] kal-i sa<b>i sinka dura+b-ulq-an
waiting-OBL:ERG stay-GER be:hpl bear:ABS out+N-aux-FUT3
ʔ-i-li
say-AOR-GER
The hunters waited a long time in front of the hole, saying, 'the bear will come out'.

(6) ʕur-ra ʕämal b-uʔ-i ca w-ik'-uli sa.y
then-and patience:ABS N-loose-GER one M-say-GER be:M
yuldaš-un-a-zi: nu uħna+ulq-as-ra-nu
friend-PL-OBL-ILL me:ABS M:inside+M:aux-FUT1-and-for
iš t'ärqi-la, rax-li ɢiyan b-ak'-alli,
this hole-LOC sudden-ADV difficulty:ABS N-come-COND3
q'äš pälqär+b-ir-is-nu, il-ħeli ħuša-ni
leg:ABS ONmove+N-do-FUT1-for this-WHEN youP-ERG
qärq-li q'äš-mi d-uc-i-li duras-abaya
quick-ADV leg-PL:ABS pl-catch-AOR-GER take.out-OPT2p
Then they lost patience and one of them said to his friends: 'I shall go inside into the den and if a problem arises, I will move my leg and then you quickly take my legs and pull me out.'

(7) bek' ha<b>at-ur-li+ħe-b-at-ur-li
head:ABS put.forward:N-AOR-GER+NEG-N-leave-AOR-GER
le-w-alli iš-i-ni q'äš-mi
present-M-COND3 this-OBL-ERG leg-PL:ABS
pälqär+d-ar-i-li sa.y
ONmove+pl-do-AOR-GER be:M
He did not even manage to put his head in, when he started to move his legs.

(8) yuldaš-un-a-ni xap+d-ar-i-li d-uc-i-li
friend-PL-OBL-ERG sudden+pl-do-AOR-GER pl-catch-AOR-GER
q'äš-mi zuz+w-ar-i-li balah-li-čil
leg-PL:ABS ONpull+M-do-AOR-GER difficulty-OBL-COM
duras-i-li sa.y
take.out-AOR-GER be:M
His friends seized his legs and pulled him out of the hole with difficulty.

[1] The original *ħelli* is an assimilation of *ħerli*.

(9) ħer.ʔ-alli il-a-la bek' agar-li
look-COND3 this-OBL-GEN head:ABS absent-GER
When they looked, his head wasn't there.

(10) ca w-ik'-uli sa.y sa.y q'alli iğbar-li
one M-say-GER be:M self:ABS:M FOC lucky-ADV
duras-i-ra, bek' čina-b-a iš-a-la
take.out-AOR-1 head:ABS where-N-INT this-OBL-GEN
One said: 'Himself we fortunately took out, but where is his head?'

(11) il-di pikri+b-uq-i sa<b>i iš-a-la bek'
this-PL thought+hpl-aux-GER be:hpl this-OBL-GEN head:ABS
le-b-ri-ra ag-i-ra ʔ-i-li
present-N-PRET-and absent-IMPF3-and say-AOR-GER
They started thinking, did he have a head or not?

(12) d-aš-iraya hari w-ik'-uli sa.y xala-l=ğuna, d-äq'-i
pl-come-IMPP IJwell M-say-GER be:M big-ADJ=like pl-go-GER
x̂unuy-zi x̂ar<b>iʔ-eħe, le-b-ri-l[2] iš-a-la
wife:OBL-ILL ask:N-FUT1 present-N-PRET-INDIR this-OBL-GEN
bek' ag-i-bal
head:ABS absent-IMPF3-INDIR
'Come on,' said the eldest one, 'when we go, we will ask his wife, whether he had a head or not.'

(13) b-ak'-i-li iš-di x̂unuy-či x̂ar<b>aʔ-i-li
hpl-come-AOR-GER this-PL wife:OBL-SUP ask:N-AOR-GER
sa<b>i: ħe-la mura[3] bek'
be:hpl you:OBL-GEN husband:GEN head:ABS
le-b-si-ri-w
present-N-ADJ-PRET-INT
When they came to his wife, they asked her: 'Did your husband have a head?'

(14) ħe-b-al-as, r-ik'-uli sa<r>i x̂unul, q'ap'a b.iʔ.alli
NEG-N-know-FUT1 F-say-GER be:F wife:ABS hat:ABS however
har dus ca is-i
every year:ABS one buy-IMPF3
'I don't know,' said his wife, 'he bought a hat every year however.'

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[2] The negative counterpart of *le-b-ri* is *ag-i*; with the indirect speach marker *leb-ri-l, ag-i-bal* respectively; the origin of the *b* is unknown and the expected *agi-l* occurs only dialectally, see 8.11.2.

[3] *mura* is considered a more correct form than the original *murulla*.

9. "THERE IS NO BRAIN HERE"

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:86-87) was written down by Zubayru Gadzhiev and appeared earlier in Abdullaev & Gasanova (1959:119).

(0) Илар мехIе[1] агара
(1) Ца гъабзали мегьла устадеш дирули хIялалли узули, бизили укули гIямру дуркIули уили сай. (2) Ца бархIи илала гIевдухьла чумал адам шадиб бакIили саби. (3) Илди ихтилатбикIес бяхIили[2] саби. (4) Гъайлизибад гъай - устала санигIят батIи саби.
(5) - Се дирутив даим гализира цIализира гIелакайкили гIямру? (6) Ца дуги дураухъалли, базла берхIи-дуги мегьла устали тIашбизагарли узухIели касес хIейруси хайир касес вирар, - бикIули саби шадибкьяни, - ваши гьари ишдуги нушачил варх хъулкнад, мягIни[3] баладну.
(7) Мегьла устас илдала хабурти гIяхIдизурли[4] сари. (8) Лявкьяс или гъай бедили сай. (9) Гьабла дуги илдани юрт гьабасили хIядурбарибси мер лебли буили саб. (10) Арукили устара сабира илди ила арбякьи саби.
(11) - Гьари хIеръа уста, - бикIули саби хъулкни, - чилра тевал агарал.
(12) Юртла вегIли ил бархIи тIярхъи чебаили ишдуги чи-биалра лявкьян или къараул барили уили сай.
(13) Багьлали тIярхъила гьабатурси устала бекIлизи ханжал агили саби, уста вайти тIамаличил кайкили сай. (14) Дяхънуша тIалабварили дяхъи билгьули буили саби. (15) Устала узи-уршилизивад цали дяхънушази хьарбаили сай, дяхъи мехIелизи кабаилира или.
(16) - Илар мехIе агара. МехIе лердиаллири иш хIял хIебири набчиб, - или дяхънушала мерличиб сай устани жаваб бедили сай.

(0) ila-r meɦe agara
here-pl brains:ABS absent:FUT3
'There is no brain here.'

(1) ca ğabza-li meh-la usta=deš d-ir-uli
one fellow-OBL:ERG iron-GEN master=ABSTR:ABS pl-do-GER
ɦälal-li[5] uz-uli bidzi-li uk-uli[6]
honest-ADV M:work-GER delicious-ADV M:eat-GER

[1] The 1959 text has *мехIа* (change in orthography).
[2] The 1959 text has *бахIили* (change in orthography).
[3] The 1959 text has *магIни* (change in orthography)
[4] The 1959 text has *ахIдизурли* (change in orthography).
[5] The 1959 text has *ɦälay*, which was considered incorrect.
[6] This is an antipassive construction, see grammar section 8.3.2.

ʕämru d-urk'-uli u?-i-li sa.y
life:ABS pl-live-GER M:be-AOR-GER be:M
One fellow apparently lived his life working honestly as a blacksmith, and eating well.

(2) ca barħi[7] il-a-la ʕewdux-la čum.al adam
one day:ABS this-OBL-GEN smithy-LOC some person:ABS
šadi-b b-ak'-i-li sa<b>i
in.distraction-hpl hpl-come-AOR-GER be:hpl
One day some men came to his place to pass the time.

(3) il-di ixtilat+b-ik'-es b-äħ-i-li sa<b>i
this-PL conversation+hpl-aux-INF hpl-begin-AOR-GER be:hpl
They started talking.

(4) ğay-li-zi-b-ad ğay usta-la saniʕät
word-OBL-ILL-N-ELA word:ABS master-GEN profession:ABS
b-at'-i sa<b>i
N-run.down-GER be:hpl
From one word to the other they started to run down the master's profession:

(5) se d-ir-uti-w da?im ga-li-zi-ra
what:ABS pl-do-ADP-INT for.ever coal-OBL-ILL-and
c'a-li-zi-ra ʕela+ka-yk-i-li ʕämru
fire-OBL-ILL-and after+TH-M:aux-AOR-GER life:ABS
'Why do you pass your life in smoke and fire?'

(6) ca dugi dura+uq-alli, badz-la berħi+dugi
one night:ABS out+M:aux-COND3 month-GEN day+night:ABS
meh-la usta-li t'aš.b.iz+agar-li uz-uħeli
iron-GEN master-OBL:ERG break+absent-GER M:work-WHEN
kas-es ħe-yr-usi xayir[8] kas-es w-ir-ar,
take-INF NEG-M:be-ADJ profit:ABS take-INF M-can-FUT3
b-ik'-uli sa<b>i šadib.q'äna-bi,[9] w-aš-i hari
hpl-say-GER be:hpl conversation.partner-PL M-come-IMP IJwell
iš+dugi nuša-čil w-arx qulk.n.ad, mäʕni
this+night:ABS we-COM M-with thieving essence:ABS
b-al-ad-nu
N-know-FUT2-for

[7] For the variation *barħi* 'day' vs. *berħi* 'sun, light', in the sentences 2, 11 vs. 5, see the lexicon.
[8] For the variation *xayir/xayri*, see the lexicon.
[9] *šadibq'änabi* replaces the orginal *šadibq'äni* which is considered incorrect.

'If one goes out for only one night, one can make a profit which a blacksmith could not make in a month, working day and night without a break,' the conversation partners said, 'come, go with us tonight thieving, you will get to know what it is about.'

(7)
meh-la	usta-s	il-d-a-la	xabur-ti
iron-GEN	master-DAT	this-PL-OBL-GEN	story-PL:ABS
ʕäħ+d-iz-ur-li		sa<r>i	
good+pl-aux-AOR-GER		be:pl	

The blacksmith liked their stories.

(8)
lä<w>q'-äs	ʔ-i-li	ğay	b-ed-i-li	sa.y
go:M-FUT1	say-AOR-GER	word:ABS	N-give-AOR-GER	be:M

'I'll go (with you),' he answered.

(9)
ha-b-la	dugi	il-d-a-ni	lac[10]	
before-N-GEN	night:ABS	this-PL-OBL-ERG	wall:ABS	
ha<b>as-i-li	ħädur+b-ar-ib-si		mer	le-b-li
dig:N-AOR-GER	ready+N-do-AOR-ADJ		place:ABS	present-N-GER
b-uʔ-i-li	sa-b			
N-be-AOR-GER	be-N			

Apparently they had prepared a place where they had dug under the wall the night before.

(10)
ar.uk-i-li	usta-ra	sa<b>i-ra	il-di	ila
lead:M-AOR-GER	master:ABS-and	be:hpl-and	this-PL	here
ar<b>äq'-i	sa<b>i			
leave:hpl-GER	be:hpl			

They left, taking the master with them.

(11)
hari	ħer.ʔ-a	usta,	b-ik'-uli	sa<b>i	qulk-ni,
IJwell	look-IMP	master:ABS	hpl-say-GER	be:hpl	thief-PL:ABS
či-lra		te-w-al	agara-l		
who:ABS-INDEF		present-M-INDIR	absent:FUT3-INDIR		

'Well, master, take a look,' said the thieves, 'if there is someone or not?'

(12)
yurt-la	w-eʕ-li	il	barħi	t'ärqi
house-GEN	M-owner-OBL:ERG	this	day:ABS	hole:ABS
če<b>aʔ-i-li	iš+dugi	či-b.iʔ.alra		lä<w>q'-än
see:N-AOR-GER	this+night:ABS	who:ABS-INDEF		go:M-FUT3

[10] The original word *yurt* is considered inappropriate in this phrase according to my informant.

ʔ-i-li ʁaraul b-ar-i-li u$ʔ$-i-li sa.y
say-AOR-GER guard:ABS N-do-AOR-GER M:be-AOR-GER be:M
The house-owner had seen the hole by day and he apparently kept watch, saying 'someone might come tonight'.

(13) bahla-li t'ärqi-la ha<b>at-ur-si usta-la
slow-ADV hole-LOC put.forward:N-AOR-ADJ master-GEN
bek'-li-zi xandžal ag-i-li sa<b>i usta
head-OBL-ILL dagger:ABS hit-AOR-GER be:N master:ABS
way-ti[11] t'ama-li-čil ka.yk-i-li sa.y
bad-ADP noice-OBL-COM fall:M-AOR-GER be:M
The dagger hit the head of the master, as he slowly put it forward into the hole, the master fell down screaming loudly.

(14) däqnuša t'alab+w-ar-i-li däqi
quack.doctor:ABS invitation+M-do-AOR-GER wound:ABS
b-ilh-uli b-u$ʔ$-i-li sa<b>i
N-bind-GER N-be-AOR-GER be:N
Apparently a quack was invited and the wound was treated.

(15) usta-la udzi+urši-li-zi-w-ad ca-li
master-GEN brother+boy-OBL-ILL-M-ELA one-OBL:ERG
däqnuša-zi χ̂ar<b>a$ʔ$-i-li sa.y däqi
quack.doctor:ABS-ILL ask:N-AOR-GER be:M wound:ABS
meħe-li-zi ka<b>a$ʔ$-i-li-ra ʔ-i-li
brains-OBL-ILL reach:N-AOR-GER-and say-AOR-GER
One of the relatives of the master asked the quack whether the wound reached the brain.

(16) ila-r meħe agara meħe le-r+d-i$ʔ$-alli.ri
here-pl brains:ABS absent:FUT3 brains:ABS present-pl+pl-be-IRR3
iš ħäl ħe-b-ir-i nab-či-b ʔ-i-li
this situation:ABS NEG-N-be-IMPF3 me:OBL-SUP-N say-AOR-GER
däqnuša-la mer-li-či-b sa.y usta-ni
quack.doctor-GEN place-OBL-SUP-N self:M master-ERG
džawab b-ed-i-li sa.y
answer:ABS N-give-AOR-GER be:M
'There is no brain here. If there had been brains, this situation would not have happened to me,' answered the master himself instead of the quack.

[11] The informants consider the singular *waysi t'ama* 'horrible cry' better than the plural *wayti t'ama* 'horrible noise' used here.

10. "WHO TOLD YOU?"

Texts nrs. 10-12 (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:87-88) were written down in the village of Mekegi (Levashi district) by Magomed-Shapi Isaev and published earlier in the Dargi literary journal *Halmağdeš* [Friendship] 1968, nr. 4.

(0) ХIези чили буриба?
(1) Савли ца адам дярхъла кацIибхIели, унци агни хIясибдариб: дигIниличи сегъуналра ташмишдеш аги. (2) - Хьунул, гьари, мегь диха!
(3) - Се дирутив? (4) - Унци дурахIедухъахъес дярхъличи чедирхьусира.
(5) БацIси дярхъличи мегьра чедихьили, унцала вегI гумайла арякьи кайили сай, ва селра бетхIеурсила дарили, лехIкахъили сай.
(6) Ца адам гъамиубли мякьла кайили сай ва децI бухIнали викIули сай: - Дуги хIечи хъулкира вяхIили...
(7) Унци детахъибсили хапики михъири буцили саби ва хьарбиули сай: - ХIези чили буриба? (8) - Хьунразибад бакьира, бурулри халкьлизиб...
(9) - Нуни хьунуйзи унци детахъниличила хIебурра, ваши, хIела дярхъларти дила унци дураэс.
(10) Гумайлабтани бякьи итала дурхъби умцIурли сари ва унци даргили сари.
(11) Кадукили унци, унцала вегI хъайгIи вакIили сай.
(12) - ХIера, хьунул, - викIули сай ил, - даргира детахъибти унци, хIези бурили виасри детахъниличила - илди дургути ахIенри.

(0) ħe-zi či-li b-ur-ib-Ø-a
you:OBL-ILL who-OBL:ERG N-say-AOR-3-INT
'Who told you?'

(1) sawli ca adam därq-la kac'-ib-ħeli,
early one person:ABS shed-LOC descend:M-AOR-WHEN
unc-i ag-ni ħäsib+d-ar-ib-Ø:
ox-PL:ABS absent-MASD:ABS notice+pl-do-AOR-3
d-iʕ-ni-li-či se=ğuna-lra tašmiš=deš
pl-steal-MASD-OBL-SUP what=like-INDEF hesitation=ABSTR:ABS
ag-i
absent-IMPF3
One morning when a man went down to his shed he noticed that his oxen weren't there: there was no doubt whatsoever about their theft.

(2) x̂unul, hari, meh d-ix-a
wife:ABS IJwell lock:ABS pl-bring-IMP
'Wife, bring me a lock!'

(3) se d-ir-uti-w
what:ABS pl-be-ADP-INT
'What happened?'

(4) unc-i dura+ħe-d-uq=aq-es därq-li-či
ox-PL:ABS out+NEG-pl-aux=CAUS-INF shed-OBL-SUP
če<d>irx̂-usi-ra
put.on:pl-ADJ-1
'I shall put it onto the shed so that the oxen can't get out.'

(5) b-ac'-si därq-li-či meh-ra če<d>ix̂-i-li,
N-empty-ADJ shed-OBL-SUP lock:ABS-and put.on-AOR-GER
unc-a-la w-eʕ gumay-la ar.äq'-i
ox-OBL-GEN M-owner:ABS godekan-LOC leave:M-GER
ka.y?-i-li sa.y, wa se-lra
sit.down:M-AOR-GER be:M and what:ABS-INDEF
b-et<ħe>?-ur-si-la d-ar-i-li, leħ.kaq-i-li
N-happen:NEG-AOR-ADJ-GEN pl-do-AOR-GER be.silent-AOR-GER
sa.y
be:M
Having locked the empty shed, the owner of the oxen went to the godekan and sat down, and remained silent as if nothing had happened.

(6) ca adam ğam+i?-ub-li mäq'-la
one person:ABS near+M:be-AOR-GER side-LOC
ka.y?-i-li sa.y wa dec' b-uħna-li
sit.down:M-AOR-GER be:M and sorrow:ABS N-inside-ADV
w-ik'-uli sa.y: dugi ħe-či qulki-ra
M-say-GER be:M night:ABS you:OBL-SUP thief:ABS-and
w-äħ-i-li...
M-sneak.in-AOR-GER
One man having approached him sat down at his side and said full of sorrow: 'Last night a thief sneaked into your house.'

(7) unc-i d-etaq-ib-si-li xap.iki miqiri
ox-PL:ABS pl-disappear-AOR-ADJ-OBL:ERG suddenly chest:ABS
b-uc-i-li sa<b>i wa x̂ar<b>i?-uli sa.y ħe-zi
N-catch-AOR-GER be:N and ask:N-GER be:M you:OBL-ILL
či-li b-ur-ib-Ø-a
who-OBL:ERG N-say-AOR-3-INT
The one who lost his oxen seized him all of a sudden by the chest and asked: 'Who told you?'

(8) χun-r-a-zi-b-ad b-aq'-i-ra, b-ur-ul-ri
woman-PL-OBL-ILL-N-ELA N-hear-AOR-1 N-say-GER-PRET
xalq'-li-zi-b
people-OBL-ILL-N
'I heard it from the women, it has been said among the people.'

(9) nu-ni χunuy-zi unc-i d-etaq-ni-li-čila
me-ERG wife:OBL-ILL ox-PL:ABS pl-disappear-MASD-OBL-CONT
ħe-b-ur-ra,[1] w-aš-i, ħe-la därq-la-r-ti
NEG-N-say-1 M-come-IMP you:OBL-GEN shed-LOC-pl-ADP
di-la unc-i dura?-es
me:OBL-GEN ox-PL:ABS lead.out-INF
'I did not tell my wife about the disappearance of the oxen, come, let us lead my oxen out of your shed.'

(10) gumay-la-b-t-a-ni b-äq'-i[2] it-a-la
godekan-LOC-hpl-ADP-OBL-ERG hpl-go-GER that-OBL-GEN
durq-bi umc'-ur-li sa<r>i wa unc-i
shed-PL:ABS check-AOR-GER be:pl and ox-PL:ABS
d-arg-i-li sa<r>i
pl-find-AOR-GER be:pl
Those present at the godekan went and checked his sheds and found the oxen.

(11) ka<d>uk-i-li[3] unc-i, unc-a-la w-eʕ
lead.out:pl-AOR-GER ox-PL:ABS ox-OBL-GEN M-owner:ABS
qay-ʕi w-ak'-i-li sa.y
house:OBL-ALL M-come-AOR-GER be:M
Having taken the oxen their owner went home.

(12) ħera, χunul, w-ik'-uli sa.y il, d-arg-i-ra
IJyou.see wife:ABS M-say-GER be:M this pl-find-AOR-1
d-etaq-ib-ti unc-i, ħe-zi b-ur-i-li
pl-disappear-AOR-ADP ox-PL:ABS you:OBL-ILL N-say-AOR-GER
w-i?-as.ri d-etaq-ni-li-čila, il-di d-urg-uti
M-be-IRR1 pl-disappear-MASD-OBL-CONT this-PL pl-find-ADP
be.not-PRET
aħen-ri
'You see, wife,' he said, 'I have found the lost oxen, if I had told you about their disappearance, I would not have found them.'

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[1] The 1968 text gives the full form *ħeburira*, see grammar section 6.6.1.
[2] The 1968 text has *arbäq'i*.
[3] The Akusha informants prefer the form *kili*, over the Urakhi form *kadukili*.

11. THE FAT TAIL

(0) Бухъмуй
(1) Гьаргала берахъес чебяхIкахъибси бухъмуй агарли биъни Кембарли азбарлав левалли хIясиббариб.
(2) -ГIяшура, се биуба нушала бухъмуй, чина хIеррикIадив хIу? - вявъиб илини, ва касили мурчIра сайра, хьунуйс дяхъес ветухъун.
(3) -Дила ахIерси, дила ахIерси, - цIумрухъун ГIяшура, - кьакьамайкIуд хIу, иш дунъяличиб бигIунси секIал итил дунъяличиб аллагьли чарбарили лугуси саби.
(4) -Гьу, или биалли селра хIебирар, - чебарбякьун Кембарла гьими,
(5) - аммаки, дила ахIерси хьунул, хъуммартид итил дунъяличи барх ягълавра касес, аллагьли чарбарибси бухъмуй буцIехIе...

(0) buqmuy
fat.tail:ABS
The fat tail.[1]

(1) harga-la b-er?=aq-es če<b>äẖ.kaq-ib-si
corridor-LOC N-dry=CAUS-INF hang.downwards:N-AOR-ADJ
buqmuy agar-li b-i?-ni Kembar-li
fat.tail:ABS absent-GER N-be-MASD:ABS PNKembar-OBL:ERG
azbar-la-w le-w-alli ẖäsib+b-ar-ib-Ø
courtyard-LOC-M present-M-COND3 notice+N-do-AOR-3
Still in the courtyard Kembar noticed that the fat tail hanging on the verandah to dry was not there.

(2) ʕäšura, se b-i?-ub-Ø-a nuša-la buqmuy,
PNAshura:ABS what:ABS N-be-AOR-3-INT we-GEN fat.tail:ABS
čina ẖer+r-ik'-adi-w[2] ẖu, wäw+?-ib-Ø
where look+F-aux-IMPF2-INT you:ABS cry+say-AOR-3
il-i-ni, wa kas-i-li murč'-ra sa.y-ra
this-OBL-ERG and take-AOR-GER twig:ABS-and be:M-and
x̂unuy-s d-äq-es w-et.uq-un-Ø
wife:OBL-DAT pl-hit-INF M-start:M-AOR-3
'Ashura, what happened to our fat tail, where have you been looking?' he cried and started to beat his wife with a stick.

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[1] For *buqmuy* (Ru. kurdjuk), see the lexicon.
[2] The 1968 variant *čina ẖerrik'adi* lacks the interrogative suffix.

(3) di-la aħer-si, di-la aħer-si,
me:OBL-GEN dear-ADJ me:OBL-GEN dear-ADJ
c'um+r-uq-un-Ø ʕäšura q'aq'a+ma-yk'-ud
moan+F-aux-AOR-3 PNAshura:ABS narrow+PROH-M:aux-FUT2
ħu, iš dunya-li-či-b b-iʕ-un-si sek'al
you:ABS this world-OBL-SUP-N N-steal-AOR-ADJ thing:ABS
it.il dunya-li-či-b allah-li čar+b-ar-i-li
that.other world-OBL-SUP-N God-OBL:ERG return+N-do-AOR-GER
lug-usi sa<b>i
give-ADJ be:N
'My dear, my dear,' begged Ashura, 'don't worry, God will give a thing stolen in this world back in the other world.'

(4) hu, ʔ-i-li b-iʔ-alli se-lra
IJwell say-AOR-GER N-be-COND3 what:ABS-INDEF
ħe-b-ir-ar, če<b>>ar<b>äq'-un-Ø Kembar-la himi,
NEG-N-be-FUT3 go.away:N-AOR-3 PNKembar-GEN anger:ABS
'Well, if it is as you say, then there is nothing wrong,' and Kembar's temper calmed down,

(5) ammaki, di-la aħer-si xunul, qum<ma>rt-id
but me:OBL-GEN dear-ADJ wife:ABS forget:PROH-FUT2
it.il dunya-li-či b-arx yağlaw-ra kas-es,
that.other world-OBL-SUP N-with frying.pan:ABS-and take-INF
allah-li čar+b-ar-ib-si buqmuy b-uc'-eħe...
God-OBL:ERG return+N-do-AOR-ADJ fat.tail:ABS N-fry-FUT1p
'but, my dear wife, do not forget to take your frying pan with you to the other world as well, and we shall fry the fat tail given back by God.'

12. THE SOURCE OF STORIES

(0) Хабуртала гIиниз
(1) - Унра се сагаси хабар леба шилизиб?
(2) - ХIебалас, дила унра, гьачамлис[1] хьунул кариларад чаррухъи ахIен.
(3) - Дилара карилар сархIели викIулра.

(0) xabur-t-a-la ʕinidz
story-PL-OBL-GEN source:ABS
The source of stories.

(1) unra se saga-si xabar le-b-Ø-a
neighbour:ABS what:ABS new-ADJ story:ABS present-N-3-INT
ši-li-zi-b
village-OBL-ILL-N
'Neighbour, what's up in the village?'

(2) ħe-b-al-as, di-la unra, hačam-li-s
NEG-N-know-FUT1 me:OBL-GEN neighbour:ABS once-OBL-DAT
x̂unul kari-la-r-ad[2] čar+r-uq-i aħen
wife:ABS bakery-LOC-F-ELA return+F-aux-GER be.not
'I don't know, my neighbour, my wife has not returned yet from the bakery.'

(3) di-la-ra kari-la-r sa-r-ħeli w-ik'-usi-ra[3]
me:OBL-GEN-and bakery-LOC-F be-F-WHEN M-say-ADJ-1
'Because mine is at the bakery too, I asked you.'

[1] *hačamlis* is absent from the 1968 version.
[2] For *kari* 'bakery', see the lexicon.
[3] The 1968 form *wik'usira* is preferred over the 1976 form *wik'ulra*

13. TWO NEIGHBOURS

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:88) was published earlier in Abdullaev & Gasanova (1959:83).

(0) КIел унра

(1) Лебли буили саби, лебли буили саби ца шилизиб кIел унра. (2) Илдала ца мегьла уста уили сай. (3) Мегьла уста янила замана цархIил шилизи узес аркьули уили сай. (4) Илбагьандан сунела мегьла тIимир-химир дихIяхъес унрализи дедили сай. (5) ЧарухъунхIели илини унрализирад дихIяхъес дедибти сунела мегьла ваяхI тIалабдарили сай. (6) Унрани биалли пашмандешличил, валлагь, хIуни датурти лерилра мегьла гIягIниахълуми[1] вацнани дергун или бурили сай. (7) Мегьла устани, сунела унра къянба угьни балукъира, селра или ахIен ва анцIбукь или биалли, гIур се бирусив или, багьлали хъули чарухъи сай. (8) Илала гIергъи[2] чумал бархIи дикили сари.

(9) Гьачам сунела хъули чариубхIели мегьла усталис унрала виштIаси урши къаршиикили[3] сай. (10) Мегьла устали илис кампетуни[4] дедили лявварили сай ва сунечи арукили сай. (11) Уршилис мегьла уста дигиаурли сай ва иличиб дуги беркIес увкали сай. (12) Унра биалли урши веткахъили сай или кьакьавакIили уили сай. (13) ГIергъила бархIи ил урши чехIеадив или хьарбаэс мегьла устачи вакIили сай. (14) Мегьла уста биалли, хIела урши даг нуни къянали хапварили зубрачи аркули чеваира викIули сай. (15) БиштIаси къянали халакаибси урши зубрачи арукес вирару гьатIи или унра тамашаиубли[5] сай ва мегьла усталичи вирхаурли ахIен. (16) ИлхIели мегьла уста викIули сай: «Унра, хIед къянали урши зубрачи арухни гIяхIли[6] тамашабилзулив, вацнани мегьла бутIни дергни гIяхIли тамашабилзулив?» (17) ИлхIели унрани багьурли сай сунени мегьла уста, вацнани мегьла ваяхI дергун или, дугIли мехIурсилизи халварни. (18) Илини мегьла устази чевверхни тиладибарили сай ва, сунени илала мегьла ваяхI дицниличила мукIурвакIили, илдала мерлар арц дедили сай. (19) Мегьла устанира унрази илала урши ведили сай. (20) Урезилира разидешлира вицIили унра дураухъи уршиличил варх хъули арякьи сай.

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[1] In the 1959 text *агIниахълуми* (change in orthography).

[2] In the 1959 text *эргъи* (change in orthography), here and in sentence 13

[3] In the 1959 text *къаршивикили* (change in orthography).

[4] In the 1959 text *конфетуни;* apparently the phonetic adaptation of Russian loanwords by speakers of Dargi was later reflected in the orthography.

[5] The 1959 text has *тамашавиубли* (change in orthography).

[6] In the 1959 text *ахIли* (change in orthography), also later in the same sentence.

(0) k'.el unra
two neighbour:ABS
Two neighbours.

(1) le-b-li b-u?-i-li sa<b>i le-b-li
present-hpl-GER hpl-be-AOR-GER be:hpl present-hpl-GER
b-u?-i-li sa<b>i ca ši-li-zi-b k'.el
hpl-be-AOR-GER be:hpl one village-OBL-ILL-hpl two
unra
neighbour:ABS
Once upon a time there were two neighbours in a village.

(2) il-d-a-la[7] ca meh-la usta u?-i-li
this-PL-OBL-GEN one iron-GEN master:ABS M:be-AOR-GER
sa.y
be:M
One of them apparently was a blacksmith.

(3) meh-la usta yani-la zamana carhil
iron-GEN master:ABS winter-GEN time:ABS other
ši-li-zi uz-es arq'-uli u?-i-li sa.y
village-OBL-ILL M:work-INF leave-GER M:be-AOR-GER be:M
The blacksmith apparently left during the winter to work in an other village.

(4) il+bahandan sune-la meh-la t'imir.ximir
this+because self:OBL-GEN iron-GEN all.kinds.of.things:ABS
d-iħ=äq-es unra-li-zi d-ed-i-li sa.y
pl-keep=CAUS-INF neighbour-OBL-ILL pl-give-AOR-GER be:M
Therefore he gave all his blacksmith's tools to his neighbour for safe-keeping.

(5) čar+uq-un-ħeli il-i-ni unra-li-zi-r-ad
return+M:aux-AOR-WHEN this-OBL-ERG neighbour-OBL-ILL-pl-ELA
d-iħ=äq-es d-ed-ib-ti sune-la meh-la
pl-keep=CAUS-INF pl-give-AOR-ADP self:OBL-GEN iron-GEN
wayäħ t'alab+d-ar-i-li sa.y
belongings:ABS invitation+pl-do-AOR-GER be:M
When he came back, he asked for his belongings from the neighbour he had given them to for safe-keeping.

(6) unra-ni b.i?.alli pašman=deš-li-čil, wallah, ħu-ni
neighbour-ERG however sad=ABSTR-OBL-COM My.God you-ERG

[7] *ildaziwad* would have been more accurate for Akusha speakers.

d-at-ur-ti	le<r>i-lra		meh-la	ʕäʕni.ʔaql-umi
pl-leave-AOR-ADP	present:pl-INDEF		iron-GEN	necessity-PL:ABS
wac-n-a-ni	d-erg-un-Ø		ʔ-i-li	b-ur-i-li
mouse-PL-OBL-ERG	pl-eat-AOR-3		say-AOR-GER	N-say-AOR-GER
sa.y				
be:M				

The neighbour however, said with sadness (in his voice): 'Oh my, the mice ate all the blacksmith's tools that you left behind.'

(7)

meh-la	usta-ni,	sune-la	unra		
iron-GEN	master-ERG	self:OBL-GEN	neighbour:ABS		
Gän-b-a	uh-ni	b-al-uɢi-ra,			
lie-PL-OBL:ERG	M:tell-MASD:ABS	N-know-CONC-and			
se-lra	ʔ-i-li	aħen	wa	anc'buq'	
what:ABS-INDEF	say-AOR-GER	be.not	and	event:ABS	
ʔ-i-li	b-iʔ-alli,	ʕur	se	b-ir-usi-w	
say-AOR-GER	N-be-COND3	then	what:ABS	N-do-ADJ-INT	
ʔ-i-li,	bahla-li	quli	čar+uq-i	sa.y	
say-AOR-GER	slow-ADV	home	return+M:aux-GER	be:M	

The blacksmith, although he knew that his neighbour was telling him lies, said: 'It does not matter, if it really happened like that, what can we do?' and slowly returned home.

(8)

il-a-la	ʕerği	čum.al	barħi	d-ik-i-li	sa<r>i
this-OBL-GEN	after	some	day:ABS	pl-pass-AOR-GER	be:pl

After this some days passed.

(9)

hačam	sune-la	quli	čar+iʔ-ub-ħeli	meh-la
once	self:OBL-GEN	home	return+M:be-AOR-WHEN	iron-GEN
usta-li-s	unra-la	w-išt'a-si	urši	
master-OBL-DAT	neighbour-GEN	M-small-ADJ	boy:ABS	
ɢarši+ik-i-li	sa.y			
meet+M:aux-AOR-GER	be:M			

Then one day when he returned home, the blacksmith met the little son of his neighbour.

(10)

meh-la	usta-li[8]	il-i-s	kampet-uni
iron-GEN	master-OBL:ERG	this-OBL-DAT	sweet-PL:ABS
d-ed-i-li	läw+w-ar-i-li	sa.y	wa
pl-give-AOR-GER	ONcaress+M-do-AOR-GER	be:M	and

[8] The alternative form *ustani* as in sentence (7) is preferred however.

sune-či ar.uk-i-li sa.y
self:OBL-SUP lead:M-AOR-GER be:M
The blacksmith won the boy's heart by giving him sweets, and he led him to his house.

(11) urši-li-s meh-la usta digi.ʔaʔ-ur-li sa.y wa
boy-OBL-DAT iron-GEN master:ABS love-AOR-GER be:M and
il-i-či-b dugi b-erk'-es u<w>kal-i[9] sa.y
this-OBL-SUP-N night:ABS N-spend-INF stay:M-GER be:M
The boy began to like the blacksmith and remained with him overnight.

(12) unra b.iʔ.alli urši w-etkaq-i-li sa.y
neighbour:ABS however boy:ABS M-disappear-AOR-GER be:M
ʔ-i-li q'aq'a+w-ak'-i-li uʔ-i-li sa.y
say-AOR-GER narrow+M-aux-AOR-GER M:be-AOR-GER be:M
The neighbour however was apparently worried thinking that the boy had been lost.

(13) ʕerği-la barħi il urši če<ħe>ʔ-i-ri-w[10]
after-GEN day:ABS this boy:ABS see:NEG:M-AOR-2-INT
ʔ-i-li xar<b>aʔ-es meh-la usta-či
say-AOR-GER ask:N-INF iron-GEN master-SUP
w-ak'-i-li sa.y
M-come-AOR-GER be:M
The next day he went to the blacksmith to ask whether he had seen his boy.

(14) meh-la usta b.iʔ.alli ħe-la urši dag
iron-GEN master:ABS however you:OBL-GEN boy:ABS yesterday
nu-ni gäna-li xap+w-ar-i-li dzub-r-a-či
me-ERG crow-OBL:ERG ONsudden+M-do-AOR-GER star-PL-OBL-SUP
ark-uli če<w>aʔ-i-ra w-ik'-uli sa.y
lead.away-GER see:M-AOR-1 M-say-GER be:M
The blacksmith said however: 'I saw how a crow took your boy yesterday and led him to the stars.'

(15) b-išt'a-si gäna-li xala+kaʔ-ib-si urši
N-small-ADJ crow-OBL:ERG big+reach:M-AOR-ADJ boy:ABS

[9] *u<B>kal* is a variant of *kal*, which is more regular for speakers of Akusha.

[10] The Aorist *čeħeʔiriw* is considered better by Akusha informants than the original Imperfect *čeħeʔadiw*, used in Urakhi.

dzub-r-a-či ar.uk-es b-ir-ar-u[11] hat'i ʔ-i-li
star-PL-OBL-SUP lead:M-INF N-can-FUT3-INT still say-AOR-GER
unra tamaša+iʔ-ub-li sa.y wa meh-la
neighbour:ABS wonder+M:be-AOR-GER be:M and iron-GEN
usta-li-či w-irxaʔ-ur-li aħen
master-OBL-SUP M-believe-AOR-GER be.not
'Can a small crow really lift up a growing boy to the stars?' wondered the neighbour and he did not believe the blacksmith.

(16) il-ħeli meh-la usta w-ik'-uli sa.y:
this-WHEN iron-GEN master:ABS M-say-GER be:M
unra, ħed ɢäna-li urši dzub-r-a-či
neighbour:ABS you:DAT crow-OBL:ERG boy:ABS star-PL-OBL-SUP
ar.ux-ni ʕäħ-li[12] tamaša+b-ilz-uli-w
take.away:M-MASD:ABS good-ADV wonder+N-aux-GER-INT
wac-n-a-ni meh-la but'-ni d-erg-ni
mouse-PL-OBL-ERG iron-GEN part-PL:ABS pl-eat-MASD:ABS
ʕäħ-li tamaša+b-ilz-uli-w
good-ADV wonder+N-aux-GER-INT
Then the blacksmith said: 'Neighbour, does it puzzle you more that a crow has taken your boy to the stars or that mice have eaten my iron instruments?'

(17) il-ħeli unra-ni b-ah-ur-li sa.y sune-ni
this-WHEN neighbour-ERG N-know-AOR-GER be:M self:OBL-ERG
meh-la usta wac-n-a-ni meh-la
iron-GEN master:ABS mouse-PL-OBL-ERG iron-GEN
wayäħ[13] d-erg-un-Ø ʔ-i-li duʕ-li
belongings:ABS pl-eat-AOR-3 say-AOR-GER wild-ADV
meħur-si-li-zi xal<w>ar-ni
mad-ADJ-OBL-ILL declare:M-MASD:ABS
Then the neighbour knew that he was mistaken in thinking the blacksmith a fool, telling him that mice ate his iron things.

(18) il-i-ni meh-la usta-zi če<w><w>erx-ni
this-OBL-ERG iron-GEN master-ILL forgive:M-MASD:ABS
tiladi+b-ar-i-li sa.y wa, sune-ni il-a-la
request+N-do-AOR-GER be:M and self:OBL-ERG this-OBL-GEN

[11] The 1959 variant *biraru* replaces *wiraru*; the S of the modal verb agrees with the A of the main verb, see grammar section 8.5.2.

[12] *ʕäħli* is typical for Urakhi, whereas Akusha speakers prefer *debali*.

[13] In sentences 17 and 18 the 1959 text has *murhbi* 'iron remains' instead of the more appropriate *mehla wayäħ*.

meh-la wayäh d-ic-ni-li-čila
iron-GEN belongings:ABS pl-sell-MASD-OBL-CONT
muk'ur+w-ak'-i-li, il-d-a-la mer-la-r
submissive+M-aux-AOR-GER this-PL-OBL-GEN place-LOC-pl
arc d-ed-i-li sa.y
money:ABS pl-give-AOR-GER be:M
He asked the blacksmith forgiveness and, having confessed that he had sold his belongings, he gave money instead.

(19) meh-la usta-ni-ra unra-zi il-a-la urši
iron-GEN master-ERG-and neighbour-ILL this-OBL-GEN boy:ABS
w-ed-i-li sa.y
M-give-AOR-GER be:M
And the blacksmith returned the boy to the neighbour.

(20) urezi-li-ra radzi=deš-li-ra w-ic'-i-li
shame-OBL:ERG-and glad=ABSTR-OBL:ERG-and M-fill-AOR-GER
unra dura+uq-i urši-li-čil w-arx quli
neighbour:ABS out+M:aux-GER boy-OBL-COM M-with home
ar.äq'-i sa.y
leave:M-GER be:M
Filled with shame and happiness the neighbour went home with his son.

14. SEVEN FRIENDS

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:88-89) was written down by Zagir Magomedov from the words of the Urakhi Dargi writer H. Aliev.

(0) ВерхIел гьалмагъ
(1) ВерхIел гьалмагъ гьачам дураз бареси урцуйчи вацIализи арбякьи саби.
(2) Чинабалра хIебургули, бегIла гIергъира шурмала бяхIличи бакIили саби.
(3) Ишаб баргили саби илдани чус гIягIниси урцул. (4) Ишдани кьасбарили саби чус гIягIниси кьяли бячес: бардни кайхьибси гавлаг хъумартурли саби хъайгIиб. (5) Ца ацIили сай ва хъар кьамаличивад далдарухъи сай ва лебилра юлдашуни, кьяли хIебялчухIели, гьаб-гIергъили къяйбарили далдарбухъи саби, цала цали кьяшми дурцули.
(6) Чедивси удибтази викIули сай: ТIашдизирая, нуни някъби тутударайчи.
(7) Някъби тутударили сай ва... лебилра къадани кагили саби. (8) Дяхъи-хъасла кабиубли саби. (9) БахъхIи кали саби илди сен саби кабикибал хIебалули, бегIла гIергъира бегIла гьалагьала далдарухъунси викIули сай: «Нуша кадикнила ва чулахъдиънила гIяйиб гьай-гьайра шайтIайчиб саби» лебилра гIелабтира ишичи бирхаурли саби ва шайтIан сабабла барили хъали хъайгIи тIутIукабиубли саби.

(0) werħ.el halmağ
seven friend:ABS
Seven friends.

(1) werħ.el halmağ hačam duradz b-ar-e-si
seven friend:ABS once plough:ABS N-do-POT3-ADJ
urcuy-či wac'a-li-zi ar<b>äq'-i sa<b>i
timber:OBL-SUP forest-OBL-ILL leave:hpl-GER be:hpl
Once seven friends went to the forest (to look) for wood suitable for a plough.

(2) čina-b-alra ħe-b-urg-uli b.eʕ.la ʕerği-ra
where-N-INDEF NEG-N-find-GER very after-and
šur-m-a-la bäħ-li-či b-ak'-i-li sa<b>i
rock-PL-OBL-GEN edge-OBL-SUP hpl-come-AOR-GER be:hpl
Not finding it anywhere, finally they arrived at the very edge of the canyon.

(3) iša-b b-arg-i-li sa<b>i il-d-a-ni
here-N N-find-AOR-GER be:hpl this-PL-OBL-ERG
ču-s ʕäʕni-si urcul
self:PL:OBL-DAT necessary-ADJ timber:ABS
There they found the wood they needed.

(4) iš-d-a-ni q'as+b.ar-i-li sa<b>i čus
this-PL-OBL-ERG decision+N:do-AOR-GER be:hpl self:PL:OBL-DAT
ʕäʕni-si q'äli b-äč-es: bard-ni
necessary-ADJ twig:ABS N-break-INF axe-PL:ABS
ka.yx̂-ib-si gawlag qumart-ur-li sa<b>i
put.into:pl-AOR-ADJ bag:ABS forget-AOR-GER be:hpl
qay-ʕi-b
house:OBL-ALL-N
They decided to break off the necessary branch: they had left the bag with the axes at home.

(5) ca ac'-i-li sa.y wa qar+q'ama-li-či-w-ad
one ascend:M-AOR-GER be:M and top+top-OBL-SUP-M-ELA
daldar+uq-i sa.y wa le<b>i-lra yuldaš-uni,
ONhanging+M:aux-GER be:M and present:hpl-INDEF friend-PL:ABS
q'äli ħe-b-älč-uħeli, ha-b+ʕerği-li
twig:ABS NEG-N-break-WHEN before-hpl+after-ADV
ɢäy+b.ar-i-li daldar+b-uq-i sa<b>i, ca-la
row+N:do-AOR-GER ONhanging+hpl-aux-GER be:hpl one-GEN
ca-li q'äš-mi d-urc-uli
one-OBL:ERG leg-PL:ABS pl-catch-GER
One climbed into the tree and hung from the top and, when the branch would not break, all the friends hung in a row, holding each other by the legs.

(6) čedi-w-si udi-b-t-a-zi w-ik'-uli sa.y:
above-M-ADJ below-hpl-ADP-OBL-ILL M-say-GER be:M
t'aš+d-iz-iraya nu-ni näɢ-bi tutu+d-ar-ayči
stop+pl-aux-IMPP me-ERG hand-PL:ABS ONspit+pl-do-UNTIL
The upper one said to those under him: 'Wait a minute, until I spit into my hands.'

(7) näɢ-bi tutu+d-ar-i-li sa.y wa
hand-PL:ABS ONspit+pl-do-AOR-GER be:M and
le<b>i-lra ɢada.ni kag-i-li sa<b>i
present:hpl-INDEF in.ravine touch-AOR-GER be:hpl
He spat into his hands and they all fell to the bottom of the ravine.

(8) däqi+qas-la ka-b-iʔ-ub-li sa<b>i
wound+injury-LOC TH-hpl-be-AOR-GER be:hpl
They were severely injured.

(9) b-aq-ħi kal-i sa<b>i il-di sen sa<b>i
hpl-long-ILH stay-GER be:hpl this-PL why be:N

ka<b>ik-ib-Ø-al ħe-b-al-uli, b.eʕ.la ʕerği-ra b.eʕ.la
fall:hpl-AOR-3-INDIR NEG-N-know-GER very after-and very
hala+hala daldar+uq-un-si w-ik'-uli sa.y:
before+before ONhanging+M:aux-AOR-ADJ M-say-GER be:M
nuša ka<d>ik-ni-la wa čulaq+d-iʔ-ni-la
we:ABS fall:pl-MASD-GEN and cripple+pl-be-MASD-GEN
ʕäyib hayhay-ra šayt'ay-či-b sa<b>i,
guilt:ABS of.course-and devil:OBL-SUP-N be:N
le<b>i-lra ʕela-b-ti-ra iš-i-či
present:hpl-INDEF after-hpl-ADP-and this-OBL-SUP
b-irxaʔ-ur-li sa<b>i wa šayt'an sabab-la
hpl-believe-AOR-GER be:hpl and devil:ABS reason-GEN
b-ar-i-li qali qay-ʕi
N-do-AOR-GER house:ABS house:OBL-ALL
t'ut'u+ka-b-iʔ-ub-li sa<b>i
ONdiffuse+TH-hpl-be-AOR-GER be:hpl

They remained lying there for a while like that, not knowing why they had fallen. At last the one who was the first to hang in the tree said: 'It is certainly the devil's fault that we fell down and hurt ourselves.' All the others believed him and blaming the devil they all set off for their homes.

15. THE RULER AND THE WANDERER

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:89) was written down in 1955 in the village of Deybuk (Dakhadaev district) by S. Gasanova and published earlier in Abdullaev & Gasanova (1959:125).

(0) Шамхалра шаддикьра
(1) Азайлан Шамхайчи ца шаддикь къаршииубли[1] сай. (2) Талхъан викIули сай: «ХIу дахъал шимази ваибсири, хIуни бахъал адамти чебаибти саби, хIуни наб ца гIяхIси[2] хабар бура» или. (3) «Адам убкIнилайчиб гIяхIси хабар агара дунъяличиб» - викIули сай шаддикь.
(4) ХIуни наб вайси хабар буради или талхъан гьимукIили сай.
(5) - Ца гьатIи хабар бура, - викIули сай Шамхал.
(6) - Гьачам вебкIибси кIинейс чархIелхъни, илра гIяхIси саби, - викIули сай шаддикь. (7) Ил хабарлира талхъан разиварили ахIен.
(8) -Дуравхъен хъуливад, хIуни вайти хабурти дуририну, - викIули сай талхъан.
(9) - Ца гьатIи гъай бурайчи ватаба, - викIули сай шаддикь.
(10) -Эй, Шамхал, адамти хIебубкIалри, хIед гьалаб акIубти талхъунти, шамхалти лебли бири. (11) Илди лебли биалри, хIед талхъандеш хIедири.
(12) ГIурра, рахли бебкIибти мицIирбирути биалри, илди абизурли лябкьи ва хIу илдани талхъандешлизив валтхIелтади, тIутIуиради.[3]
(13) Талхъан разииубли[4] сай ва шаддикь сунела хъайгIив ватурли сай.

(0) šamxal-ra[5] šaddiq'-ra
ruler:ABS-and wanderer:ABS-and
The ruler and the wanderer.

(1) Azay.la.n[6] šamxay-či ca šaddiq'
Azay ruler:OBL-SUP one wanderer:ABS
ɢarši+i?-ub-li sa.y
meet+M:be-AOR-GER be:M
The Azay ruler met a wanderer.

(2) talqan w-ik'-uli sa.y: ħu d-aqal
chief:ABS M-say-GER be:M you:ABS pl-much

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[1] The 1959 text has *къаршивиубли* (change in orthography).
[2] The 1959 text has *axIcu* (change in orthography).
[3] The 1959 text gives *mIymIувиради* (change in orthography)
[4] The 1959 text gives *разивиубли* (change in orthography).
[5] Both *šamxal* and *talqan* denote the head, ruler of a feudal unity: *talqan* is probably of Turkic origin.
[6] *Azay, Azayni* is a Kumyk territory; the form *Azay.la.n* is an adjectival form.

ši-m-a-zi w-a?-ib-si-ri, ħu-ni b-aqal
village-PL-OBL-ILL M-be-AOR-ADJ-2 you-ERG hpl-much
adam-ti če<b>a?-ib-ti sa<b>i, ħu-ni nab ca
person-PL:ABS see:hpl-AOR-ADP be:hpl you-ERG me:DAT one
ʕäħ-si xabar b-ur-a, ?-i-li
good-ADJ story:ABS N-say-IMP say-AOR-GER
The chief said: 'You have been to a lot of villages, you saw a lot of people, tell me a good story.'

(3) adam ubk'-ni-la-yči.b[7] ʕäħ-si xabar
person:ABS M:die-MASD-GEN-COMP:N good-ADJ story:ABS
agara dunya-li-či-b, w-ik'-uli sa.y šaddiq'
absent:FUT3 world-OBL-SUP-N M-say-GER be:M wanderer:ABS
'There is no better story on earth than about man's death,' said the wanderer.

(4) ħu-ni nab way-si xabar b-ur-i-ri,[8]
you-ERG me:DAT bad-ADJ story:ABS N-say-AOR-2
?-i-li talqan him.uk'-i-li[9] sa.y
say-AOR-GER chief:ABS be.angry:M-AOR-GER be:M
'You told me a bad story,' said the chief in anger.

(5) ca hat'i xabar b-ur-a, w-ik'-uli sa.y šamxal
one still story:ABS N-say-IMP M-say-GER be:M ruler:ABS
'Tell me another story,' said the ruler.

(6) hačam w-ebk'-ib-si k'i.na.ys[10]
once M-die-AOR-ADJ second.time
čar+ħe-lq-ni, il-ra ʕäħ-si sa<b>i,
return+NEG-M:aux-MASD:ABS this-and good-ADJ be:N
w-ik'-uli sa.y šaddiq'
M-say-GER be:M wanderer:ABS
'The fact that, the man who dies does not return for a second time, is good too,' said the wanderer.

(7) il xabar-li-ra talqan radzi+w-ar-i-li aħen[11]
this story-OBL:ERG-and chief:ABS glad+M-do-AOR-GER be.not
This story did not make the chief happy either.

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[7] The 1959 text has *ubk'niličib* 'than about death' instead of *ubk'nilayčib* 'than a story about death'
[8] The original Imperfect *buradi* is considered an Urakhi form.
[9] The 1959 text gives *raziwiubsi aħen* 'did not enjoy'.
[10] The orginal *k'ineys* is the spoken Akusha form, the standard form is *k'inays*.
[11] The 1959 text gives *il xabarličira talqan radziħey?ubli aħen*, with double negation, which is incorrect.

(8) dura+wq-en quli-w-ad, ħu-ni way-ti xabur-ti
out+M:aux-IMP home-M-ELA you-ERG bad-ADP story-PL:ABS
d-ur-i-ri-nu, talqan w-ik'-uli sa.y
pl-say-AOR-2-for chief:ABS M-say-GER be:M
'Leave my house, for you have only told me bad stories,' said the chief.

(9) ca hat'i b-ur-ayči w-at-aba, w-ik'-uli sa.y
one still N-say-UNTIL M-leave-OPT1 M-say-GER be:M
šaddiq'
wanderer:ABS
'Let me stay, until I tell you another story,' said the wanderer.

(10) ey, šamxal, adam-ti ħe-b-ubk'-al.ri, ħed
IJhey ruler:ABS person-PL:ABS NEG-hpl-die-IRR3 you:DAT
hala-b ak'-ub-ti talqun-ti, šamxal-ti
before-hpl be.born-AOR-ADP chief-PL:ABS ruler-PL:ABS
le-b-li b-ir-i
present-hpl-GER hpl-be-IMPF3
'Hey ruler, if the people would not die, all the chiefs born before you would still be here.'

(11) il-di le-b-li b-iʔ-al.ri ħed talqan=deš
this-PL present-hpl-GER hpl-be-IRR3 you:DAT chief=ABSTR:ABS
ħe-d-ir-i
NEG-pl-be-IMPF3
'If they were present, there would be no reign for you.'

(12) ʕur-ra, rax-li b-ebk'-ib-ti mic'ir+b-ir-uti
then-and sudden-ADV hpl-die-AOR-ADP alive+hpl-be-ADP
b-iʔ-al.ri, il-di a<b>iz-ur-li lä<b>q'-i wa
hpl-be-IRR3 this-PL rise:hpl-AOR-GER go:hpl-IMPF3 and
ħu il-d-a-ni talqan=deš-li-zi-w
you:ABS this-PL-OBL-ERG chief=ABSTR-OBL-ILL-M
w-alt+ħe-lt-adi, t'ut'u+ir-adi
M-leave+NEG-leave-IMPF2 ONdiffuse+do-IMPF2
'And if the dead would become live, they would rise up and would not leave you in your reign, they would destroy you.'

(13) talqan radzi+iʔ-ub-li sa.y wa šaddiq'
chief:ABS glad+M:be-AOR-GER be:M and wanderer:ABS
sune-la qay-ʕi-w w-at-ur-li sa.y
self:OBL-GEN house:OBL-ALL-M M-leave-AOR-GER be:M
The chief became happy and let the wanderer stay in his house.

16. THE TALENTS OF A PEASANT

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:89-90) was written down by Zubayru Gadzhiev and published in Abdullaev & Gasanova (1959: 68-69).

(0) Хъубзарла пагьму
(1) Левли уили сай ца хъубзара. (2) Ца бархIи ил асили къазра талхъайс арбухили арякьи сай. (3) Талхъай хьарбаили сай, ил къазла беркес бегIлара бизиси се мер сабив или. (4) «Ишала бегIла гIяхIси[1] камра къуйрукъра сари», - викIули сай хъубзара. (5) «ХIуни кьалли[2] иш нушаб хилри, нуша урегал лердиахIелли, иш секьяйдали бутIес гIягIнисив»[3] - викIули сай гIурра талхъан.
(6) -Агь, хIела хъали мадуъ, иш бутIес гьамадси секIалгу, хIерикIен иша секьяйдали буртIусил, - или хъубзара къаз буртIес вехIихьили сай. (7) - ХIу хъа бекI виъни багьандан - хIед къазла бекI. (8) Хьунул мурулла къуйрукъ риъни багьандан - илис къазла къуйрукъ, дуклумачибли арцурли къаз кьяйда рурсби ада-абала юртлизибад арбашни багьандан - кIелра рурсилис къазла ца-ца дукала, къазлис кьяшми кьяйда уршби юртла тIулри биъни багьандан - кIелра уршилис къазла ца-ца кьяш; гIела-гьалабухъунси[4] наб», викIули сай гIур хъубзар.
(9) Талхъан хъубзарла пагьмуличи дебали разииубли[5] сай ва бедили савгъатра сайра хъули вархьили сай. (10) Хъубзарли лебилра унра-хунрализи ва шила жамигIятлизи багьахъурли сай, талхъай сунес секьайда мургьи дедибал. (11) Ил хабар аргъибхIели, ца давлачевси унрали кьасбарили сай къаз бухили талхъайчи укьес. (12) Илини цала мерлар шел къаз делгьи сай ва мургьиличи хьуликIули, илди лерилра талхъайс ардухили арякьи сай.
(13) Илизира талхъай или сай: «ХIуни кьалли ишди нушаб хилри, нуша урегал лердиахIелли, ишди шел къаз секьяйдали дуртIутив?» (14) Ил давлачев къузрала вегIли буреси багьурли ахIен. (15) Илди секьайда дуртIутил бурахъес, ила хъубзара живарили сай. (16) Хъубзара къузри дутIес вехIихьили сай ва: «ца къазра, хьунулра, хIура - хIушара хIябалра, кIелра уршира ца къазра - илдира хIябалра, кIелра рурсира ца къазра - ишдира хIябалра, ишди имцIати кIелра къазра нура - нушара хIябалра», -викIули сай. (17) Талхъан дебали разииубли сай ва илис гIурра мургьи дедили вархьили сай. (18) Къузри хибси давлачевсилис биалли талхъай селра бедили ахIен. (19) ГIурра хъубзарли лебтазилра, сунес талхъай секьайда мургьи дедибал, хабар бурили сай.
(20) Унраличивси давлачевси ца ухъна кьяскайубли сай хъубзарлис дедибти мургьиличи ва белгьи гамушра арбухили сайра талхъайчи арякьи сай.

[1] The 1959 text has *axImu* (change in orthography).
[2] The 1959 text has *xIуникьалли* written together, here and in sentence 13.
[3] The 1959 text has *агIнисив* (change in orthography).
[4] In the 1959 text *гIела-гьала* and *бухъунси* were written separately.
[5] The 1959 text has *разивиубли* (change in orthography), here and in sentences 17 and 26.

(21) Талхъай илизи хьарбаили сай, ишкьалли хIуни нушаб хилри, ишала беркес бегIла бизиси мералра чидил сабив или. (22) Ил ухънани хъубзарла гIердуцили, къуйрукъра камра сари или, жаваб бедили сай. (23) Талхъан хIуни ну мучлаагарварилра[6] или иличи гьимукIили сай, ва ила ит баягъи хъубзар живарили сай. (24) Хъубзарлизи гамушла беркес бегIлара бизиси чидил мер бирара или талхъай хьарбаили сай. (25) Хъубзарли жаваб бедили сай: «Гамушла нуни бурт ахIенси беркес гIяхIси[7] секIал хIебалас», - или. (26) ГIурра талхъан хъубзарли бурибсиличи дебали разииубли сай ва мургьи дедили ил вархьили сай. (27) Ухъна давлачев биалли селра хIебедили дугIаили сай.

(0) qubzar-la pahmu
peasant-GEN ability:ABS
The talents of a peasant.

(1) le-w-li u?-i-li sa.y ca qubzara
present-M-GER M:be-AOR-GER be:M one peasant:ABS
Once upon a time there was a peasant.

(2) ca barħi il as-i-li ɢaz-ra talqay-s[8]
one day:ABS this buy-AOR-GER goose:ABS-and chief:OBL-DAT
ar<b>ux-i-li ar.äq'-i sa.y
take.away:N-AOR-GER leave:M-GER be:M
One day he bought a goose and went to take it to the chief.

(3) talqay ʕar<b>a?-i-li sa.y, il ɢaz-la b-erk-es
chief:OBL:ERG ask:N-AOR-GER be:M this goose-GEN N-eat-INF
b.eʕ.la-ra bidzi-si se mer sa<b>i-w
very-and delicious-ADJ what:ABS place:ABS be:N-INT
?-i-li
say-AOR-GER
The chief asked: 'What part of the goose is the most delicious to eat?'

(4) iš-a-la b.eʕ.la ʕaħ-si[9] kam-ra ɢuyruɢ-ra
this-OBL-GEN very good-ADJ skin:ABS-and tail:ABS-and
sa<r>i, w-ik'-uli sa.y qubzara
be:pl M-say-GER be:M peasant:ABS
'Its skin and tail are very good,' said the peasant.

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[6] In the 1959 text *мучлаагар* and *варилра* were written separately.

[7] The 1959 text has *axIcu* (change in orthography).

[8] The 1959 text has *ca Gazra sayra talqays* ...., see 8.9.1.

[9] The 1959 text has *aħti*, i.e. not only an orthographically different representation of the first vowel, but also plural agreement, with *kam* and *GuyruG*.

(5) ħu-ni q'alli iš nušab x-i-l-ri nuša ureg.al
you-ERG FOC this we:DAT bring-AOR-GER-2 we:ABS six
le-r+d-iʔ-aħelli iš se+q'äyda-li b-ut'-es
present-pl+pl-be-COND1p this what+manner-OBL:ERG N-divide-INF
ʕäʕni-si-w, w-ik'-uli sa.y ʕur-ra talqan
necessary-ADJ-INT M-say-GER be:M then-and chief:ABS
'You brought us this, if we are six, how do we have to divide this?' said the chief.

(6) ah ħe-la qali ma-d-uʔ, iš
IJah you:OBL-GEN house:ABS PROH-pl-collapse this
b-ut'-es hamad-si sek'al-gu, ħer+ik'-en iša
N-divide-INF light-ADJ thing:ABS-but look+M:aux-IMP here
se+q'äyda-li b-urt'-usi-l, ʔ-i-li
what+manner-OBL:ERG N-divide-ADJ-INDIR say-AOR-GER
qubzara ɢaz b-urt'-es w-eħ.iχ-i-li sa.y
peasant:ABS goose:ABS N-divide-INF M-begin:M-AOR-GER be:M
'Ah, may your house prosper, it is easy to divide, look here is how to divide it,' and the peasant started to cut up the goose.

(7) ħu qa bek' w-iʔ-ni bahandan,
you:ABS home:GEN head:ABS M-be-MASD:ABS because
ħed ɢaz-la bek'[10]
you:DAT goose-GEN head:ABS
'Because you are the head of the house, the head of the goose is for you.'

(8) χunul mura[11] ɢuyruɢ r-iʔ-ni bahandan
wife:ABS husband:GEN tail:ABS F-be-MASD:ABS because
il-i-s ɢaz-la ɢuyruɢ, dukl-um-a-či<b>li
this-OBL-DAT goose-GEN tail:ABS wing-PL-OBL-INS:N
arc-ur-li ɢaz q'äyda rurs-bi
fly-AOR-GER goose:ABS manner:ABS girl-PL:ABS
ada+aba-la yurt-li-zi-b-ad ar<b>aš-ni
father+mother-GEN house-OBL-ILL-hpl-ELA leave:hpl-MASD:ABS
bahandan, k'.el-ra rursi-li-s ɢaz-la ca+ca dukala,
because two-and girl-OBL-DAT goose-GEN one+one wing:ABS
ɢaz-li-s q'äš-mi q'äyda urš-bi yurt-la
goose-OBL-DAT leg-PL:ABS manner:ABS boy-PL:ABS house-GEN
t'ul-ri b-iʔ-ni bahandan, k'.el-ra urši-li-s
pillar-PL:ABS hpl-be-MASD:ABS because two-and boy-OBL-DAT

[10] In 1959 the sentence continues with *wik'uli say qubzara talqayzi* 'said the peasant to the chief'.
[11] *mura* replaces the incorrect original *murul-la*.

ɢaz-la ca+ca q'äš; ʕela+hala+b-uq-un-si
goose-GEN one+one leg:ABS after+before+N-aux-AOR-ADJ
nab, w-ik'-uli sa.y ʕur qubzar
me:DAT M-say-GER be:M then peasant:ABS
'Because a wife is the tail of her husband, the tail of the goose is for her; because the daughters' departure from their parents' home is like a goose flying with her wings, for the two girls one goose wing each; because the boys are the pillars of the house like the legs of a goose, for the two boys one goose leg each; the other parts are mine,' said the peasant.

(9) talqan qubzar-la pahmu-li-či-w[12] debali
chief:ABS peasant-GEN ability-OBL-SUP-M very
radzi+i?-ub-li sa.y wa b-ed-i-li sawǧat-ra
glad+M:be-AOR-GER be:M and N-give-AOR-GER reward:ABS-and
sa.y-ra quli w-arx̂-i-li sa.y
be:M-and home M-send-AOR-GER be:M
The chief was very pleased by the abilities of the peasant and having given him a reward, he sent him home.

(10) qubzar-li le<b>i-lra unra.xunra-li-zi wa
peasant-OBL:ERG present:hpl-INDEF neighbours-OBL-ILL and
ši-la džamiʕät-li-zi b-ah=aq-ur-li sa.y,
village-GEN community-OBL-ILL N-know=CAUS-AOR-GER be:M
talqay sune-s se+q'äyda murhi
chief:OBL:ERG self:OBL-DAT what+manner:ABS gold:ABS
d-ed-ib-Ø-al
pl-give-AOR-3-INDIR
The peasant let all the neighbours and the whole community of the village know how the chief had given him gold.

(11) il xabar arǧ-ib-ħeli, ca dawla.če-w-si
this story:ABS hear-AOR-WHEN one rich-M-ADJ
unra-li q'as+b.ar-i-li sa.y ɢaz
neighbour-OBL:ERG decision+N:do-AOR-GER be:M goose:ABS
b-ux-i-li talqay-či uq'-es
N-take-AOR-GER chief:OBL-SUP M:go-INF
When he heard this story, a rich neighbour decided to take a goose and go to the chief.

[12] The 1959 form *pahmuličiw* is considered a more correct adjunct of *radzi-B-i?* than the 1976 original *pahmuliči*.

(12) il-i-ni ca-la mer-la-r š.el ʁaz
this-OBL-ERG one-GEN place-LOC-pl five goose:ABS
d-elh-i sa.y wa murhi-li-či χ̌ul+ik'-uli,
pl-slaughter-GER be:M and gold-OBL-SUP wish+M:aux-GER
il-di le<r>i-lra talqay-s ar<d>ux-i-li
this-PL present:pl-INDEF chief:OBL-DAT take.away:pl-AOR-GER
ar.äq'-i sa.y
leave:M-GER be:M
He slaughtered five geese instead of one and dreaming of gold, he went to take them all to the chief.

(13) il-i-zi-ra talqay ʔ-i-li sa.y: ħu-ni
this-OBL-ILL-and chief:OBL:ERG say-AOR-GER be:M you-ERG
q'alli iš-di nušab x-i-l-ri nuša ureg.al
FOC this-PL we:DAT bring-AOR-GER-2 we:ABS six
le-r+d-iʔ-aħelli iš-di š.el ʁaz
present-pl+pl-be-COND1p this-PL five goose:ABS
se+q'äyda-li d-urt'-uti-w
what+manner-OBL:ERG pl-distribute-ADP-INT
The chief said to him too: 'You brought us these, if we are six, how do we have to divide these five geese?'

(14) il dawla.če-w ʁuz-r-a-la w-eʕ-li
this rich-M goose-PL-OBL-GEN M-owner-OBL:ERG
b-ur-e-si b-ah-ur-li aħen
N-say-POT3-ADJ N-know-AOR-GER be.not
The rich owner of the geese did not know what to say.

(15) il-di se+q'äyda d-urt'-uti-l
this-PL what+manner:ABS pl-distribute-ADP-INDIR
b-ur=aq-es, ila qubzara ži+w-ar-i-li sa.y
N-say=CAUS-INF here peasant:ABS call+M-do-AOR-GER be:M
They called the peasant to tell how to distribute them.

(16) qubzara ʁuz-ri d-ut'-es w-eħ.iχ̌-i-li
peasant:ABS goose-PL:ABS pl-distribute-INF M-begin:M-AOR-GER
sa.y wa: ca ʁaz-ra χ̌unul-ra ħu-ra,
be:M and one goose:ABS-and wife:ABS-and you:ABS-and
ħuša-ra ħäb.al-ra, k'.el-ra urši-ra ca ʁaz-ra,
youP:ABS-and three-and two-and boy:ABS-and one goose:ABS-and
il-di-ra ħäb.al-ra, k'.el-ra rursi-ra ca ʁaz-ra,
this-PL-and three-and two-and girl:ABS-and one goose:ABS-and

iš-di-ra ħäb.al-ra, iš-di imc'a-ti k'.el-ra ɢaz-ra
this-PL-and three-and this-PL extra-ADP two-and goose:ABS-and
nu-ra, nuša-ra ħäb.al-ra, w-ik'-uli sa.y
me:ABS-and we:ABS-and three-and M-say-GER be:M
The peasant started to divide the geese (like this): 'One goose, your wife and you makes three, two sons and one goose makes also three, two daughters and one goose makes three too, these extra two geese and me makes three of us,' he said.

(17) talqan debali radzi+iʔ-ub-li sa.y wa il-i-s
chief:ABS very glad+M:be-AOR-GER be:M and this-OBL-DAT
ʕur-ra murhi d-ed-i-li w-arx̂-i-li sa.y
then-and gold:ABS pl-give-AOR-GER M-send-AOR-GER be:M
The chief was very happy and he gave him a reward again and sent him away.

(18) ɢuz-ri x-ib-si dawla.če-w-si-li-s b.iʔ.alli
goose-PL:ABS bring-AOR-ADJ rich-M-ADJ-OBL-DAT however
talqay se-lra b-ed-i-li aħen
chief:OBL:ERG what:ABS-INDEF N-give-AOR-GER be.not
The chief did not give anything however to the rich man who brought the geese.

(19) ʕur-ra qubzar-li le-b-t-a-zi-lra
then-and peasant-OBL:ERG present-hpl-ADP-OBL-ILL-INDEF
sune-s talqay se+q'äyda murhi
self:OBL-DAT chief:OBL:ERG what+manner:ABS gold:ABS
d-ed-ib-Ø-al xabar b-ur-i-li sa.y
pl-give-AOR-3-INDIR story:ABS N-say-AOR-GER be:M
And the peasant told all the people how the chief had rewarded him with gold.

(20) unra-li-či-w-si dawla.če-w-si ca uqna
neighbour-OBL-SUP-M-ADJ rich-M-ADJ one M:old:ABS
q'äs+ka-yʔ-ub-li sa.y qubzar-li-s d-ed-ib-ti
envy+TH-M:be-AOR-GER be:M peasant-OBL-DAT pl-give-AOR-ADP
murhi-li-či wa b-elh-i gamuš-ra
gold-OBL-SUP and N-slaughter-GER buffalo:ABS-and
ar<b>ux-i-li sa.y-ra talqay-či ar.äq'-i
take.away:N-AOR-GER be:M-and chief:OBL-SUP leave:M-GER
sa.y
be:M
One rich old man who lived close, envied the gold given to the peasant and having slaughtered his buffalo he left and brought it to the chief.

(21) talqay il-i-zi χar<b>a?-i-li sa.y iš+q'alli
chief:OBL:ERG this-OBL-ILL ask:N-AOR-GER be:M this+FOC
ħu-ni nušab x-i-l-ri, iš-a-la b-erk-es
you-ERG we:DAT bring-AOR-GER-2 this-OBL-GEN N-eat-INF
b.eʕ.la bidzi-si mer-alra čidi.l sa<b>i-w
very delicious-ADJ place:ABS-INDEF which be:N-INT
ʔ-i-li
say-AOR-GER
The chief asked him: 'You brought us this, what is the most tasty part to eat?' he said.

(22) il uqna-ni qubzar-la ʕe.r.d.uc-i-li ɢuyruɢ-ra
this M:old-ERG peasant-GEN imitate:pl:pl-AOR-GER tail:ABS-and
kam-ra sa<r>i ʔ-i-li, džawab b-ed-i-li
skin:ABS-and be:pl say-AOR-GER answer:ABS N-give-AOR-GER
sa.y
be:M
The old man imitated the peasant and answered: 'The tail and the skin.'

(23) talqan ħu-ni nu mučla+agar+w-ar-i-l-ra
chief:ABS you-ERG me:ABS respect+absent+M-do-AOR-GER-1
ʔ-i-li il-i-či him.uk'-i-li sa.y, wa ila
say-AOR-GER this-OBL-SUP be.angry:M-AOR-GER be:M and here
it bayäği qubzar ži+w-ar-i-li sa.y
that this.very peasant:ABS call+M-do-AOR-GER be:M
The chief said: 'You showed me no respect,' and got mad at him and he invited that very same peasant again.

(24) qubzar-li-zi gamuš-la b-erk-es b.eʕ.la-ra bidzi-si
peasant-OBL-ILL buffalo-GEN N-eat-INF very-and delicious-ADJ
čidi.l mer b-ir-ar-a ʔ-i-li talqay
which place:ABS N-be-FUT3-INT say-AOR-GER chief:OBL:ERG
χar<b>a?-i-li sa.y
ask:N-AOR-GER be:M
The chief asked the peasant what part of a buffalo is most tasty to eat.

(25) qubzar-li džawab b-ed-i-li sa.y:
peasant-OBL:ERG answer:ABS N-give-AOR-GER be:M
gamuš-la nu-ni burt aħen-si b-erk-es
buffalo-GEN me-ERG cream:ABS be.not-ADJ N-eat-INF
ʕäħ-si sek'al ħe-b-al-as, ʔ-i-li
good-ADJ thing:ABS NEG-N-know-FUT1 say-AOR-GER

The peasant answered: 'I don't know anything more tasty to eat than buffalo cream.'

(26) ʕur-ra talqan qubzar-li b-ur-ib-si-li-či-w[13]
then-and chief:ABS peasant-OBL:ERG N-say-AOR-ADJ-OBL-SUP-M
debali radzi+iʔ-ub-li sa.y wa murhi d-ed-i-li
very glad+M:be-AOR-GER be:M and gold:ABS pl-give-OBL-GER
il w-arx̂-i-li sa.y
this M-send-AOR-GER be:M
Again the chief was very glad with what the peasant had said and he sent him away with gold.

(27) uqna dawla.če-w b.iʔ.alli se-lra
M:old:ABS rich-M however what:ABS-INDEF
ħe-b-ed-i-li duʕ.aʔ-i-li sa.y
NEG-N-give-AOR-GER chase-AOR-GER be:M
He chased the old rich man away however, giving him nothing.

[13] The 1959 form *buribsiličiw* is considered a more correct adjunct of *radzi+B-iʔ* than the 1976 original *buribsiliči*.

17. THE TAILOR-THIEF

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:91) was written down by Zagir Magomedov from the words of H. Aliev from the village of Urakhi.

(0) Хъулки - палтарла уста[1]
(1) Левли уили сай ца хабардерхурси урибси палтарла уста. (2) Амма гьачамалра илини чIянкIи хIебигIи палтар баркьибси ахIен.
(3) Гьачам ца адамли кьасбарили сай, секIал хIебигIяхъи илизи сунес хIябсур барахъес. (4) ВакIили палтарла усталичи бедили сакьлан хIябсур бара или, сай мякьла кайили сай, виралли бигIябгу дила чIянкIи или. (5) Палтарла уста пикрилизи викили сай, севан бигIишара ца кесек сакьлан или. (6) Бареси хIебалули, ишини айзурли бяз-бяз или тIамри дурадикахъили сай. (7) ХIябсур хIебигIяхъес вакIибси гьала-гьала уркIухъи сай, кIинайс уэс хIейубли кани буцили дукаркIес кайили сай, тахличивад герикIули сай. (8) Ил замана пайдалабарили палтарла устали кьицIкабарили ца бутIа сакьла бигIи сай.
(9) Агь, хIела хъали мабуъ, хIябра тIягIямли къяйкикIули леври кьалли, - викIули сай чIянкIила вегI, - гьаригу, гьачам гьатIи башахъен.
(10) - Гьачам гьатIи бушасли хIела сакьлайзибад селра кахIелан, - жаваб бедили сай устали.
(11) - Ил секIал бетаурли ца чумал бархIи ардякьи гIергъи, палтарла уста вайгIив зягIипикили сай. (12) Илини дугели вайти муэрти чедиули сай. (13) Ца дуги илини муэр чебаили сай ца, сунела кьарбекIлизибад халал галга бакIили ва кIапIрала мерличир сунени дигIунти чIянкIила бутIни жибжирдухъи. (14) Гьанна палтарла уста левгIев урухиубли сай, вилгIни багьандан, аллагьла хIекь акили кьалли или. (15) Илини сунела уршилизи сунени чебаибси муэр бурили, викIули сай: «Рахли аллагь икьала виубли ну багьлаиасли, нуни хъя бирулра, гIур чилалра чIянкIи хIебигIес, хIялай-залайли узес. (16) Рахли нуни хъумартурли кесек билгIясли хIуни, дила урши, нуни муэрлизиб чебаибси галга гьанбуршен.
(17) Уста багьлаиубли сай. (18) ХIялай-залай узули ардякьи сари чумал баз. (19) ЦабархIи ишичи тяхIярагарли жагаси чIянкIи хили саби. (20) Уста уэс хIейубли чIянкIи бигIес алаввакIили сай. (21) Уршили чеваили, дудешлизи гьанбушили сай сунени чебаибси муэрличила ва сунела хъяличила.
(22) Дудеш вачавархили викIули сай: «Нуни муэрли чебаибси галгаличиб иш рангла бутIа бугаги, урши».

[1] The hyphen is considered a superfluous, Russian, device, to connect the two noun phrases.

(0) qulki paltar-la usta
thief:ABS clothes-GEN master:ABS
The thief-tailor.

(1) le-w-li u?-i-li sa.y ca
present-M-GER M:be-AOR-GER be:M one
xabar+d-erx-ur-si ur-ib-si paltar-la usta
story+pl-detach-AOR-ADJ M:say-AOR-ADJ clothes-GEN master:ABS
Once upon a time there was a well-known tailor.

(2) amma hačam-alra il-i-ni č'änk'i ħe-b-iʕ-i
but once-INDEF this-OBL-ERG material:ABS NEG-N-steal-GER
paltar b-arq'-ib-si[2] aħen
clothes:ABS N-do-AOR-ADJ be.not
But he never made clothes without stealing some material.

(3) hačam ca adam-li q'as+b.ar-i-li sa.y,
once one person-OBL:ERG decision+N:do-AOR-GER be:M
sek'al ħe-b-iʕ=äq-i il-i-zi sune-s
thing:ABS NEG-N-steal=CAUS-GER this-OBL-ILL self:OBL-DAT
ħäbsur[3] b-ar=aq-es
coat:ABS N-do=CAUS-INF
Once a man decided to get him to make a garment for him without giving him the chance to steal something.

(4) w-ak'-i-li paltar-la usta-li-či b-ed-i-li
M-come-AOR-GER clothes-GEN master-OBL-SUP N-give-AOR-GER
saq'lan[4] ħäbsur b-ar-a ?-i-li, sa.y
wool:ABS coat:ABS N-do-IMP say-AOR-GER self:ABS:M
mäq'-la ka.y?-i-li sa.y, w-ir-alli
side-LOC sit.down:M-AOR-GER be:M M-can-COND3
b-iʕ-äb-gu di-la č'änk'i ?-i-li
N-steal-OPT3-but me:OBL-GEN material:ABS say-AOR-GER
He came to the tailor, gave him the material, said 'make me a coat,' and sat down himself near him; 'let he steal my material, if he can,' he said.

(5) paltar-la usta pikri-li-zi w-ik-i-li sa.y,
clothes-GEN master:ABS thought-OBL-ILL M-pass-AOR-GER be:M

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[2] The verb *-arq'/-irq'* is only used in idiomatic construction in Akusha Dargi (see the lexicon) and has a different valency; in this phrase the Akusha informants would use *-ar/-ir* 'do'.

[3] *ħäbsur* 'long, traditional coat', see the lexicon.

[4] *saq'la*, variant *saq'lan* (Ru. sukno) 'smooth woolen cloth'.

se-wan[5]	b-iʕ-iša-ra	ca	kesek	saq'lan
what:ABS-ID	N-steal-POT1-and	one	piece:ABS	wool:ABS
ʔ-i-li				
say-AOR-GER				

The tailor thought: 'How can I steal one piece of the material?'

(6)

b-ar-e-si	ħe-b-al-uli	iš-i-ni	a.yz-ur-li
N-do-POT3-ADJ	NEG-N-know-GER	this-OBL-ERG	rise:M-AOR-GER
bäz+bäz	ʔ-i-li	t'am-ri	
ONfart+ONfart	say-AOR-GER	sound-PL:ABS	
dura+d-ik=aq-i-li		sa.y	
out+pl-aux=CAUS-AOR-GER		be:M	

Not knowing what to do, he rose and let out the sounds of a fart.[6]

(7)

ħäbsur[7]	ħe-b-iʕ=äq-es		w-ak'-ib-si		hala+hala
coat:ABS	NEG-N-steal=CAUS-INF		M-come-AOR-ADJ		before+before
urk'.uq-i	sa.y,	k'i.na.ys	uʔ-es	ħe-yʔ-ub-li	
frighten:M-GER	be:M	second.time	M:be-INF	NEG-M:can-AOR-GER	
kani	b-uc-i-li	dukar.k'-es	ka.yʔ-i-li		sa.y,
belly:ABS	N-catch-AOR-GER	laugh-INF	start:M-AOR-GER		be:M
tax-li-či-w-ad		ger+ik'-uli	sa.y		
takhta-OBL-SUP-M-ELA		round+M:aux-GER	be:M		

The one who had come to guard the material was frightened at first, the second time he could not withhold himself and holding his belly he started laughing, rolling over the takhta.

(8)

il	zamana	payda-la+b-ar-i-li	paltar-la	
this	time:ABS	profit-LOC+N-do-AOR-GER	clothes-GEN	
usta-li		q'ic'+ka-b-ar-i-li	ca	but'a
master-OBL:ERG		ONcut+TH-N-do-AOR-GER	one	part:ABS
saq'la	b-iʕ-i	sa.y		
wool:ABS	N-steal-GER	be:M		

Using that moment the tailor cut a piece of the material and stole it.

(9)

ah	ħe-la	qali	ma-b-uʔ,	ħäbra
IJah	you:OBL-GEN	house:ABS	PROH-N-collapse	very
t'äʕäm-li	Gäyk+ik'-uli		le-w-ri	q'alli,
taste-OBL:ERG	ONsound+M:aux-GER		present-M-2	FOC

[5] My Akusha informants prefer *sen-sen*.

[6] The onomatopeia *bäz-bäz* refers to farting; the Russian translation 'stal xoxotat'' [started laughing] has most likely been used to evade this taboo subject.

[7] *saq'la* would be more appropriate here: he steals material, not the coat.

w-ik'-uli sa.y č'änk'i-la w-eʕ, hari-gu, hačam
M-say-GER be:M material-GEN M-owner:ABS IJwell-but once
hat'i b-aš=aq-en
still N-come=CAUS-IMP
'Oh, may your house be blessed, with what enthusiasm do you produce those sounds,' said the owner of the material, 'well, let's hear it once more.'

(10) hačam hat'i b-uš-asli ħe-la
once still N-release-COND1 you:OBL-GEN
saq'lay-zi-b-ad se-lra ka<ħe>l-an, džawab
wool:OBL-ILL-N-ELA what:ABS-INDEF stay:NEG-FUT3 answer:ABS
b-ed-i-li sa.y usta-li
N-give-AOR-GER be:M master-OBL:ERG
'If I release one more, nothing will remain of your material,' answered the tailor.

(11) il sek'al b-eta?-ur-li ca čum.al barħi
this thing:ABS N-happen-AOR-GER one some day:ABS
ar<d>äq'-i ʕerği, paltar-la usta way.ʕi-w
leave:pl-GER after clothes-GEN master:ABS badly-M
zäʕip+ik-i-li sa.y
ill+M:aux-AOR-GER be:M
Several days passed after this and the tailor fell terribly ill.

(12) il-i-ni dugeli way-ti mu?er-ti če<d>i?-uli
this-OBL-ERG at.night bad-ADP dream-PL:ABS see:pl-GER
sa.y
be:M
He was having terrible dreams at night.

(13) ca dugi il-i-ni mu?er če<b>a?-i-li
one night:ABS this-OBL-ERG dream:ABS see:N-AOR-GER
sa.y ca, sune-la q'ar+bek'-li-zi-b-ad xala-l
be:M one self:OBL-GEN crown+head-OBL-ILL-N-ELA big-ADJ
galga b-ak'-i-li wa k'ap'-r-a-la mer-li-či-r
tree:ABS N-come-AOR-GER and leaf-PL-OBL-GEN place-OBL-SUP-pl
sune-ni d-iʕ-un-ti č'änk'i-la but'-ni
self:OBL-ERG pl-steal-AOR-ADP material-GEN part-PL:ABS
žibžir+d-uq-i
ONdangling+pl-aux-GER
One night he had a dream in which a big tree came out of his head and instead of the leaves the stolen pieces of material were hanging.

(14) hanna paltar-la usta le<w>ʕe-w urux.iʔ-ub-li
now clothes-GEN master:ABS complete:M-M fear:M-AOR-GER
sa.y, w-ilʕ-ni bahandan, allah-la ħeq'
be:M M-steal-MASD:ABS because God-GEN punishment:ABS
ak-i-li q'alli ʔ-i-li
befall-AOR-GER FOC say-AOR-GER
Now the tailor suffered absolute fear, thinking that, because of his theft, the punishment of God had reached him.

(15) il-i-ni sune-la urši-li-zi sune-ni
this-OBL-ERG self:OBL-GEN boy-OBL-ILL self:OBL-ERG
če<b>aʔ-ib-si muʔer b-ur-i-li, w-ik'-uli sa.y:
see:N-AOR-ADJ dream:ABS N-say-AOR-GER M-say-GER be:M
rax-li allah iq'ala w-iʔ-ub-li nu
sudden-ADV God:ABS helper:ABS M-be-AOR-GER me:ABS
bahla+iʔ-asli, nu-ni qä b-ir-ul-ra, ʕur
healthy+M:be-COND1 me-ERG vow:ABS N-do-GER-1 then
či-la-lra č'änk'i ħe-b-iʕ-es, ħälay.zalay-li
who-GEN-INDEF material:ABS NEG-N-steal-INF honestly-ADV
uz-es
M:work-INF
He told his son the dream he had and said: 'If God will be my helper and I get better, I shall vow not to steal anyone's material anymore and work honestly.'

(16) rax-li nu-ni qumart-ur-li kesek b-ilʕ-äsli
sudden-ADV me-ERG forget-AOR-GER piece:ABS N-steal-COND1
ħu-ni, di-la urši, nu-ni muʔer-li-zi-b
you-ERG me:OBL-GEN boy:ABS me-ERG dream-OBL-ILL-N
če<b>aʔ-ib-si galga han<b>urš-en
see:N-AOR-ADJ tree:ABS remind:N-IMP
'If I shall forget and steal a piece, you, my son, remind me of the tree I saw in my dream.'

(17) usta bahla+iʔ-ub-li sa.y
master:ABS healthy+M:be-AOR-GER be:M
The master recovered.

(18) ħälay.zalay uz-uli ar<d>äq'-i sa<r>i čum.al
honestly M:work-GER leave:pl-GER be:pl some
badz
month:ABS
Some months went by in which he worked honestly.

(19) ca+barħi iš-i-či tähär+agar-li džaga-si
one+day:ABS this-OBL-SUP way+absent-GER beautiful-ADJ
č'änk'i x-i-li sa<b>i
material:ABS bring-AOR-GER be:N
One day an unbelievably beautiful piece of material was brought to him.

(20) usta uʔ-es ħe-yʔ-ub-li č'änk'i
master:ABS M:be-INF NEG-M:can-AOR-GER material:ABS
b-iʕ-es alaw+w-ak'-i-li sa.y
N-steal-INF around+M-come-AOR-GER be:M
The tailor could not resist temptation and was about to steal some material.

(21) urši-li če<w>aʔ-i-li, dudeš-li-zi han<b>uš-i-li
boy-OBL:ERG see:M-AOR-GER father-OBL-ILL remind:N-AOR-GER
sa.y sune-ni če<b>aʔ-ib-si muʔer-li-čila wa
be:M self:OBL-ERG see:N-AOR-ADJ dream-OBL-CONT and
sune-la qä-li-čila
self:OBL-GEN vow-OBL-CONT
The boy saw him and reminded his father about his dream and his vow.

(22) dudeš w-ača<w>arx-i-li w-ik'-uli sa.y
father:ABS M-be.bewildered:M-AOR-GER M-say-GER be:M
nu-ni muʔer-li-zi-b[8] če<b>aʔ-ib-si galga-li-či-b iš
me-ERG dream-OBL-ILL-N see:N-AOR-ADJ tree-OBL-SUP-N this
rang-la but'a b-ug+ag-i urši
colour-GEN part:ABS N-EMPH+absent-IMPF3 boy:ABS
The father said rather bewilderedly: 'On the tree I saw in my dream, there was no piece of this colour, son.'

[8] *muʔerlizib* is considered a more correct form than the original *muʔerli*.

18. TRICKS OF A WOMAN

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:91-92) was written down by Fatima Abakarova, a specialist of Dargi literature and folklore, in the village of Kubachi, Dakhadaev district.

(0) Хьуна гIямулти

(1) Лебли буили саби цабехI мурул-хьунул. (2) Гьачамра хъули кабиибхIели хьунуй муруйзи бурили сари, хьунул адамтани духутира мехIурбарес бирар или.

(3) - БирхIебирар! - жалвяхъили сай мурул.

(4) - ГIяхIна, хIердикIехIе! - или хьунул лехIкахъили сари.

(5) ГIяхIцад замана арбякьи гIергъи хьунуй базарличирад асили бялихъуни хъучи укадатурли сари. (6) БерхIи абухъунхIели мурул хъучи арякьи сай. (7) Камси хъу бацунмадан илини кIел халати бялихъ даргили сай ва хьунул ракIибхIели ца гIяхIси хурег бирахъис или разивиубли сай. (8) Унцас мурара хили сарира хьунул ракIили сари. (9) Муруйра хIерейс беркеси бара или илизи бялихъуни дедили сай.

(10) РакIили хъули хьунуй бялихъуни дерцIили ца шайчи кайхьили сари.

(11) ХIерира баили саби, бархIира ахъили саби, амма хьунуй беркеси лебхули руили ахIен. (12) БархIехъ хъули вакIибхIели мурул иличил ургъес вехIихьили сай: - Сен нуни хIези гибти бялихъунала беркеси хIебарибсив?

(13) - Сегъунти бялихъуни? Чинарадтив?

(14) - Хъучирад адитIунти!

(15) -ВяхI, хъучир бялихъуни дашути дирару? - вяврикIес рехIрихьили сари хьунул. (16) Иличи гIясииубси муруй биалли шантази вявдеш дарили сай, бакIибти адамтазира кабикибси анцIбукьличила бурили сай.

(17) Валлагь, иш абдалвиубли сай или, къапла ухIна кайхьили, арухили адамтани тIерхьубачил витили сай.

(18) - Ягъари ну абдалиубли ахIенра! - или вявикIули уили сай.

(19) ГIяхIил витили, хъули хили, лайкакIили, адамти арбякьунхIели, хьунуй дерцIибти бялихъуни хили, гьала кадихьили сари.

(20) -Гьуя, шанти, итди нуни даргибти бялихъуни саригу! - сагадан вявикIес вехIихьили сай мурул.

(21) БакIили адамти, витили паргъатиахъубли, арбякьи саби. (22) ХIяйнайсра илгъуна анцIбукь тикрарбиубли саби. (23) ГIур дугели кьанси замана дикибхIели хьунуй илизи бурили сари: - Гьанбиркуру, мурул, хIелара дилара жал? (24) Хьунуй духуси мурулра мехIурвиру рикIухIели, хIейру или къаршили кайзурсири. (25) Гьанна хIу мехIурварес риубрагу? (26) ХIериубрав? - ва илини сунени дарибти лерилра секIайчила бурили сари.

(27) -ХIела жайчира, -викIули уили сай мурул, - хIуни се барадлира разилирану, гьаялизирад нягъбилра датаа.
(28) Илала гIергъи гьар дахIибала дирухIели ил улгули уили сай, я аллагь, хьуна гIямултазивад верцахъаба или.

(0) ʔuna ʕämul-ti
wife:GEN trick-PL:ABS
Tricks of a woman.

(1) le-b-li b-uʔ-i-li sa<b>i ca<b>eħ
present-hpl-GER hpl-be-AOR-GER be:hpl a.pair:hpl
murul+ʔunul
husband+wife:ABS
(Once upon a time) there was a husband and wife.

(2) hačam-ra quli ka<b>iʔ-ib-ħeli ʔunuy
once-and home sit.down:hpl-AOR-WHEN wife:OBL:ERG
muruy-zi b-ur-i-li sa<r>i,
husband:OBL-ILL N-say-AOR-GER be:F
ʔunul+adam-t-a-ni duxu-ti-ra meħur+b-ar-es
woman+person-PL-OBL-ERG clever-ADP-and mad+hpl-do-INF
b-ir-ar ʔ-i-li
hpl-can-FUT3 say-AOR-GER
Once when they were sitting at home, the wife said to her husband, 'women can even drive clever people mad,' she said.

(3) b-ir+ħe-b-ir-ar, džal+w-äq-i-li sa.y
hpl-can+NEG-hpl-can-FUT3 quarrel+M-aux-AOR-GER be:M
murul
husband:ABS
'They can't,' her husband started arguing.

(4) ʕäħ.na[1] ħer+d-ik'-eħe, ʔ-i-li ʔunul
all.right look+pl-aux-FUT1p say-AOR-GER wife:ABS
leħ.kaq-i-li sa<r>i
be.silent-AOR-GER be:F
'All right, we shall see,' agreed his wife silently.

(5) ʕäħ-cad zamana ar<b>äq'-i ʕerği ʔunuy
good-EQ time:ABS leave:N-GER after wife:OBL:ERG

[1] This is the Urakhi expression for Akusha *ʕäħ sab*.

bazar-li-či-r-ad as-i-li bäliq-uni qu-či
market-OBL-SUP-pl-ELA buy-AOR-GER fish-PL:ABS field-SUP
u<ka><d>at-ur-li sa<r>i
bury:TH:pl-AOR-GER be:F
After some time had passed, the woman buried fish which she had bought at the market, in the field.

(6) berħi a<b>uq-un-ħeli murul qu-či
day:ABS rise:N-AOR-WHEN husband:ABS field-SUP
ar.äq'-i sa.y
leave:M-GER be:M
At dawn the man left for the field.

(7) kam-si qu b-ac-un-madan il-i-ni k'.el
small-ADJ field:ABS N-plough-AOR-ASA this-OBL-ERG two
xala-ti bäliq d-arg-i-li sa.y wa x̂unul
big-ADP fish:ABS pl-find-AOR-GER be:M and wife:ABS
r-ak'-ib-ħeli ca ʕäħ-si xureg b-ir=aq-is
F-come-AOR-WHEN one good-ADJ dish:ABS N-do=CAUS-FUT1
ʔ-i-li radzi+w-iʔ-ub-li sa.y
say-AOR-GER glad+M-be-AOR-GER be:M
As soon as he had ploughed a bit of the field he found two big fish and he was pleased (thinking) when my wife comes I will get her to make a good dish.

(8) unc-a-s mura-ra x-i-li sa<r>i-ra x̂unul
ox-PL:OBL-DAT hay:ABS-and bring-AOR-GER be:F-and wife:ABS
r-ak'-i-li sa<r>i
F-come-AOR-GER be:F
His wife arrived, bringing hay for the oxen.

(9) muruy-ra ħereys b-erk-e-si b-ar-a
husband:OBL:ERG-and for.dinner N-eat-POT3-ADJ N-do-IMP
ʔ-i-li il-i-zi bäliq-uni d-ed-i-li
say-AOR-GER this-OBL-ILL fish-PL:ABS pl-give-AOR-GER
sa.y
be:M
The husband gave her the fish, and asked her to make dinner with them.

(10) r-ak'-i-li quli x̂unuy bäliq-uni d-erc'-i-li
F-come-AOR-GER home wife:OBL:ERG fish-PL:ABS pl-fry-AOR-GER
ca šay-či ka.yx̂-i-li sa<r>i
one side:OBL-SUP put.into:pl-AOR-GER be:F
Once home, his wife fried the fish and put them away.

(11) ħeri-ra b-aʔ-i-li sa<b>i, barħi-ra aq-i-li
noon:ABS-and N-be-AOR-GER be:N day:ABS-and end-AOR-GER
sa<b>i, amma xunuy b-erk-e-si le<b>x-uli
be:N but wife:OBL:ERG N-eat-POT3-ADJ bring:N-GER
r-uʔ-i-li aħen
F-be-AOR-GER be.not
Noon passed and the day went by, but the woman apparently was not bringing anything to eat.

(12) barħeq quli w-ak'-ib-ħeli murul
in.evening home M-come-AOR-WHEN husband:ABS
il-i-čil urǧ-es w-eħ.ix-i-li sa.y: sen
this-OBL-COM M:quarrel-INF M-begin:M-AOR-GER be:M why
nu-ni ħe-zi g-ib-ti bäliq-un-a-la
me-ERG you:OBL-ILL give-AOR-ADP fish-PL-OBL-GEN
b-erk-e-si ħe-b-ar-ib-si-w
N-eat-POT3-ADJ NEG-N-do-AOR-ADJ-INT
When he came home in the evening, her husband started to quarrel with her: 'Why did you not make something to eat from the fish I gave you?'

(13) se=ǧun-ti bäliq-uni, čina-r-ad-ti-w
what=like-ADP fish-PL:ABS where-pl-ELA-ADP-INT
'What kind of fish? From where?'

(14) qu-či-r-ad a<d>it'-un-ti
field-SUP-pl-ELA dig.up:pl-AOR-ADP
'Those that I dug up from the field.'

(15) wäħ, qu-či-r bäliq-uni d-aš-uti d-ir-ar-u,
IJmy! field-SUP-pl fish-PL:ABS pl-come-ADP pl-can-FUT3-INT
wäw+r-ik'-es r-eħ<r>ix-i-li sa<r>i xunul
cry+F-aux-INF F-begin:F-AOR-GER be:F wife:ABS
'My! Is it possible that fish come from the field?' the woman started to cry.

(16) il-i-či ʕäsi+iʔ-ub-si muruy b.iʔ.alli
this-OBL-SUP angry+M:be-AOR-ADJ husband:OBL:ERG however
šan-t-a-zi wäw=deš d-ar-i-li sa.y,
villager-PL-OBL-ILL cry=ABSTR:ABS pl-do-AOR-GER be:M
b-ak'-ib-ti adam-t-a-zi-ra ka<b>ik-ib-si
hpl-come-AOR-ADP person-ADP-OBL-ILL-and happen:N-AOR-ADJ
anc'buq'-li-čila b-ur-i-li sa.y
event-OBL-CONT N-say-AOR-GER be:M

Mad at her, her husband shouted to the villagers however, and told the people, what happened to him.

(17) wallah iš abdal+w-i?-ub-li sa.y ?-i-li,
IJMy.God this stupid+M-be-AOR-GER be:M say-AOR-GER
ɢap-la uḥna ka.yx̂-i-li, ar.ux-i-li
bag-LOC M:inside put.into:M-AOR-GER take.away:M-AOR-GER
adam-t-a-ni t'erx̂-ub-a-čil w-it-i-li sa.y[2]
person-PL-OBL-ERG stick-PL-OBL-COM M-beat-AOR-GER be:M
'My God, he has become stupid,' they said, and the people put him in a bag, took him away and beat him with sticks.

(20) ya+ǧari nu abdal+i?-ub-li aḥen-ra ?-i-li
IJhear! me:ABS stupid+M:be-AOR-GER be.not-1 say-AOR-GER
wäw+ik'-uli u?-i-li sa.y
cry+M:say-GER M:be-AOR-GER be:M
'Look, I haven't become mad,' cried the man.

(19) ʕaḥ-il w-it-i-li, quli x-i-li,
good-ADJ M-beat-AOR-GER home bring-AOR-GER
lay+k-ak'-i-li adam-ti ar<b>äq'-un-ḥeli,
ONthrow+TH-M:aux-AOR-GER person-PL:ABS leave:hpl-AOR-WHEN
xunuy d-erc'-ib-ti bäliq-uni x-i-li,
wife:OBL:ERG pl-fry-AOR-ADP fish-PL:ABS bring-AOR-GER
hala ka<d>ix̂-i-li sa<r>i
before put.down:pl-AOR-GER be:F
Having beaten him well, they took him home and threw him down, and when the people had left, his wife brought him the fried fish and put them in front of him.

(20) huya, šan-ti, it-di nu-ni d-arg-ib-ti
IJwow! villager-ADP that-PL me-ERG pl-find-AOR-ADP
bäliq-uni sa<r>i-gu, sagadan wäw+ik'-es
fish-PL:ABS be:pl-but again cry+M:aux-INF
w-eḥ.ix̂-i-li sa.y murul
M-begin:M-AOR-GER be:M husband:ABS
'Wow, villagers, but these are the fish I found!' the man started to cry again.

(21) b-ak'-i-li adam-ti, w-it-i-li
hpl-come-AOR-GER person-ADP M-beat-AOR-GER

[2] The Russian translation 'nadeli na nego mešok i podvjazali k potolku' [they put a bag on him and hung him from the ceiling] is very free.

parğat+i?=aq-ub-li, ar<b>äq'-i sa<b>i
rest+M:be=CAUS-AOR-GER leave:hpl-GER be:hpl
The people came, calmed him down by beating him and left again.

(22) ħäy.na.ys-ra il=ğuna anc'buq' tikrar+b-i?-ub-li
third.time-and this=like event:ABS repetition+N-be-AOR-GER
sa<b>i
be:N
This happened even for a third time.

(23) ʕur dugeli q'an-si zamana d-ik-ib-ħeli
then at.night late-ADJ time:ABS pl-pass-AOR-WHEN
χunuy il-i-zi b-ur-i-li sa<r>i:
wife:OBL:ERG this-OBL-ILL N-say-AOR-GER be:F
han<b>irk-ur-u, murul, ħe-la-ra
remember:N-FUT3-INT husband:ABS you:OBL-GEN-and
di-la-ra džal
me:OBL-GEN-and quarrel:ABS
Then late at night the woman said to him: 'Do you remember, man, our argument?'

(24) χunuy duxu-si murul-ra meħur+w-ir-u
wife:OBL:ERG clever-ADJ husband:ABS-and mad+M-do-FUT3
r-ik'-uħeli, ħe-yr-u ?-i-li ɢarši-li
F-say-WHEN NEG-M:do-FUT3 say-AOR-GER opposite-ADV
ka.yz-ur-si-ri
pose:M-AOR-ADJ-2
'When I was saying that a woman will even drive a clever man crazy, you were taking the opposite stand, saying "She won't".'

(25) hanna ħu meħur+w-ar-es r-i?-ub-ra-gu
now you:ABS mad+M-do-INF F-can-AOR-1-but
'But was I able to make you mad?'

(26) ħe-r-i?-ub-ra-w, wa il-i-ni sune-ni
NEG-F-can-AOR-1-INT and this-OBL-ERG self:OBL-ERG
d-ar-ib-ti le<r>i-lra sek'ay-čila b-ur-i-li
pl-do-AOR-ADP present:pl-INDEF thing:OBL-CONT N-say-AOR-GER
sa<r>i
be:F
'Or wasn't I?' And she told him about all the things she had done.

(27) ħe-la džay-či-ra, w-ik'-uli u?-i-li
you:OBL-GEN soul:OBL-SUP-and M-say-GER M:be-AOR-GER
sa.y murul, ħu-ni se b-ar-adli-ra
be:M husband:ABS you-ERG what:ABS N-do-COND2-and
radzi-li-ra-nu, haya-li-zi-r-ad näG-bi-lra[3]
glad-ADV-1-for rope-OBL-ILL-pl-ELA hand-PL:ABS-INDEF
d-ata?-a
pl-release-IMP
'For the sake of your soul', said the man, 'whatever you do, I'll be happy, but release at least my hands from the rope.'

(28) il-a-la ʕerği har deħbala[4] d-ir-uħeli il
this-OBL-GEN after every prayers:ABS pl-do-WHEN this
ulg-uli u?-i-li sa.y, ya+allah, χuna
M:pray-GER M:be-AOR-GER be:M IJoh+God wife:GEN
ʕämul-t-a-zi-w-ad w-erc=aq-aba ?-i-li
trick-PL-OBL-ILL-M-ELA M-save=CAUS-OPT1 say-AOR-GER
After this, every time he was praying, he apparently prayed 'Oh Lord, please save me from the tricks of a woman.'

[3] For the use of the INDEF suffix here, see 5.4.

[4] The Akusha form *deħbala* 'prayers' replaces the orginal *daħibala*, which belongs to Standard Dargi and is probably an Urakhi form.

19. "BLIND" KURBAN

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:92-96) was written down by Zagir Magomedov from the words of Kartsan Kurbanov, born in 1906 in Usisha (Akusha district).

(0) «Сукъур» Къурбан
(1) Уили сай ца гIякьлучевси Къурбан бикIуси адам. (2) Иличи гIякьлу бурахъес башутири шантира. (3) Къурба руили сари кункси тIабигIятла регI хьунул. (4) Ил цархIил мурул адамличил пишна риркьусири. (5) Къурбай сунела хьуна пишни дагьурли сай ва се баришара или пикриухъи сай. (6) Къурбан илкьяйда пикриикIули левли, шилизи ухIнаухъи сай эмхIела къакъличир гIинцбира сайра ца цIудхъран, гIинцби хIейсидав или вявикIули. (7) Къурба ца пикри бакIили саби. (8) Ил гъамиубли цIудхърайзи викIули сай: «Их хъа мякьла каибхIели, адам сукъур вирути гIинцби асая или вявъа, ма хIед ишди арцну».
(9) ЦIудхърай Къурбай чебаахъибси хъа мякьла каибхIели вявъили сай: «Адам сукъурирахъути гIинцби асая!» (10) Къурба хьунуйс хапли дигиаурли саби, сунела дирути чехIедиахъес мурул сукъурвиахъес. (11) Ил дурарухъи цIудхърайчи дугьаризурли сари: «Сен-сен сукъурирув?»
(12) -ХIябал гIинц асили, илди деркахъадли, бусагIят хIейруси адам сукъурирар, - жаваб бедили сай цIудхърай....
(13) Къурбан чариубли бархIехъ беркала букуси замана хьунуй цIудхърайзирад асибти хIябалра гIинцра кайхьили сари. (14) ХIябра гIяхIти леркьалли или, Къурбай илди дерки сай ва вявъили сай: «Иш се сабив, нуни секIал чебиули ахIенрагу». (15) Хьунуй уркIрухъунсила гIердарили, кайхьахъи мурул, сари хала разидешличил шичи аррякьи сари.
(16) Илдала буили саби хъулиб хIербируси цIерхьси хIяйван. (17) Ил ганзухъуначибад гьаргала абицIуси замана, Къурбай гакбарили гIяйни кабикахъили сай. (18) Илала кьяш бячи саби. (19) Сай биалли чариубли кайхьи сай. (20) «Эй, Къурбан, нушала хIяйван кьяш бячи ларкабиублигу, се биубсив ишис? - рикIули сари хьунул муруйзи. (21) - Се баралли гIяхIсив гьанна?»
(22) - Хъярхъли белгьес гIягIнили саби, жяргабирарну, - викIули сай Къурбан.
(23) Хьунуй дуцIрухъи сунела игнаба кили кьял белгьахъи сари. (24) Къурбан биалли чеди хъули кайили хьунуйра игнабанира дирути нишначи хIерикIули сай. (25) Игнабара хьунулра биалли, Къурбай чебиуси агара или, уди-уди ихтилат бемжахъурли саби. (26) Кьял белгьи таманбиубхIели, Къурбай барахъили беркала, кьял белгьунси хъули тIалабварили сай.
(27) Буки гIергъи, гьанна дуги гIяхIна бакIаб или, игнабани унза гьаргдарили зямхъдарили кьяпIдарили сай, сай биалли хъулив кали сай.

(28) БархIи ахъили саби. (29) Къурбан кайхьи сай ца хъули. (30) Дила бекI изули саби или итил хъули карихьи сари хьунул. (31) Багьлали арякьи варх игнабара кайхьи сай.

(32) Цуг дуги баили илди бускаунси замана Къурбай хьуна игнаба гIяндакIили сай. (33) ГIянручI дуги хьунул къужрикIули сари игнабази, айзи шаладиркулину хъули арукьес или. (34) Ил шикьулхъули ахIен. (35) УркIрухъи хьунул харчризурли сари, ва цIум-цIумрухъи бекIла гъез къябдарили сари.

(36) - Ягъари, - викIули сай Къурбан, - сен гIяхIли зигаррикIусирив? (37) Диъмага балхIебикили кани шинкIаагьурли хIебиэс.

(38) - Дуги хьураваraба или вакIибси ца адам левригу, ил шаладикибхIейс вебкIили сай.

(39) - Гьанна дакIиб нушачи балагь-кьадар, - викIули сай Къурбан. (40) - ГIур баресира агарану, ишгъуна бара гьари: арукану ил икI пулан мерличирти мирхъила тIакьнала мякьла кати.

(41) Халал къияйчил ишини дуги-дугили жаназа арбухили мирхъила тIакьнала мякьла тIашбатурли сари. (42) ГIянручI мирхъила вегI дуравхъалли, мирхъила тIакьала мякьла тIашкайзурси адам. (43) Илис гьанбикили саби, ил хъулки сай или. (44) Касили илини тIерхьа илала бекI-бекIкад дикахъили сай. (45) Жаназа ца-кIел дяхъибхIели кабикили саби. (46) Дебали урухиубли сай мирхъила вегI, адам кавшира кьалли или. (47) Ил бареси хIебалули пикриухъи сай. (48) Леблисалра гIякьлу буруси Къурбан гьаникили сай ва иличи вакIили викIули сай: «Дуги мирхъи дигIес вакIили ца адам леврину, тIерхьали бяхъирагу, ил вебкIиб. (49) Ну къияйзив сайрану, бурагу, гIякьлучев Къурбан, се бариша?

(50) - Агь, хIуни барибси анцIбукь, - викIули сай илизи Къурбан, - варъа багьандан адам каршув? (51) Гьари, ишдуги ца варъала кIарара ил жаназара набчи кадаахъа, се-биалра пикрибирисну».

(52) Варъала вегIли Къурбайчи хили сай варъара жаназара. (53) Къурбай илизи жаназа тIашбатахъурли унзала гIела, пикри майкIудну, гьанна хъули чарии или, вархьили сай.

(54) Къурба хьунул карилар руили сари. (55) Чарриубли унзала гIела хIеръалли - тIашси адам. (56) «Эй чи сайрив?» - или илини ил зузварили сай. (57) Илала кьяшмала гьала сунела игнабала жаназа кабикили саби. (58) ЧIярбяхъили, ил хъули рухIнарухъи муруйзи рикIули сари: «Жаназа чарбиублигу, се бирехIе?»

(59) - ЯхIбара, дила «язихъ» хьунул, - викIули сай Къурбан, - гIур баресилра хIебаласну, арбухану ил икI пулан дубурличибси мазала хъарахъла гьала тIашбати».

(60) Халал къияйчил гIелакахъили, майъали чяхIрикIули арбухили ишини жаназа дягIила гьала тIашбатурли сари....

(61) Мазаличи хIеръэс букIун дуравхъалли, дягIила гьала тIашси адам. (62) Хъулки сай или, ишини касили хъяйхъили шали бекIлизи бяхъили сай. (63) Жаназа кабикили саби. (64) БукIун биалли, адам кавшира кьалли или уркIухъи сай. (65) Иш Къурбайчи вакIили сай: «Агь, Къурбан, набзивад маза

багьандан адам заяиубгу, се бариша?» (66) - Агь, хIела хъали мабуъ, маза багьандан адам кавшира ибси се ибсив? (67) Гьари, хIебиалли ца вецIал кигьара ка, жаназара кабаахъа се-биалра пикрибирисну, - викIули сай букIуйзи Къурбан.
(68) БукIуй Къурба хъарбаркь таманбарили сай. (69) Унзала гIела жаназа тIашбатахъурли, гьанна пикримайкIуд или, букIун хъули вархьили сай.
(70) Хьунул чарриубли хIеръалли, гIурра тIашли унзала гIелаб чебаили сари жаназа. (71) Вайрангличи рикили, хъули рухIнарухъи муруйзи рикIули сари: «ГIяхIли халкьлис гIякьлу бурес вирудгу, сен хIебалусирив их жаназа убасеси мер? (72) Сукъуриубли, мехIуриубли хIейиши?
(73) -ЗигармарикIуд, дила ригуси хьунул, - викIули сай Къурбан. (74) Цагьачам гьатIи арбуха ил жаназану икI пулан анкIила бекIаличи, някъбази гавлагра буцахъили кабати.
(75) Дурабухъи хъубзурани хIеръалли - анкIила бекIаличив анкIи дилгIуси адам чеили сай. (76) Абаили ца-кIел дяхъили сари - ил вебкIили геркавхъи сай.
(77) Ишдира Къурбайчи бакIили саби... (78) Къурбанни ишдазира хахъили сай вецIал гавлаг анкIилара, унзала гIела жаназара тIашбатахъурли сай.
(79) Хьунул чарриалли - гIурра чебаили сари унзала гIелаб жаназа. (80) Ил муруйчи рехIризурли сари.
(81) - Гьачам гьатIи яхIбара, - викIули сай Къурбан хьунуйзи. (82) Ишдуги арбухану ил жаназа хIябал гьуни декIардиркуси мерла лайбакIа.
(83) Арбухили хьунуй жаназа хIябкьяйличи лайбакIили сари.
(84) Дурабухъи адамта хIеръалли, - дяхъи агарли, хIила кIантI агарли кавшибси адам варгили сай.
(85) Илди адамтира бакIили саби Къурбайчи. (86) «Къурбан ца анцIбукь леб, - бикIули саби илди, - нушани хIябал гьуни декIардиркуси мерличив дяхъи агарли, хIи агарли кавшибси адам варгилра. (87) Чили кавшибара?»
(88) - Гьари, - викIули сай Къурбан, - шилизиб къяна хIебурути кIел хьунул адам кая набчи. (89) Илди кили саби. (90) «ХIушани, - бурили сай Къурбай илдази, - гIягIниси саби лебилра хьунрала бекIла гъез хIердарес, чила баргадалра гъез къябдарибси бекI, ил сари адам кавшибси».
(91) Лебилра шила хьунри ахтардибарили, цалра хIергира или бакIили саби Къурбайчи.
(92) - Лебилра ахтардибарадаяв гьатIи? (93) Гьари, никридухъеная.
(94) - Кьадилара, хIелара ахIенти ахтардибарра.
(95) - Илдира ахтардибарая.
(96) Ахтардибарили, бакIили Къурбайчи бикIули саби:
(97) - Валлагь, хIела хьуна бекIлизиб гъез къябдарибси, чIянкIбиубси мер кIеб.
(98) - Ил сари хIебиалли ит кавшибси. (99) Рукаяну хIушани сарира карушая.
(100) Халкьли Къурба хьунул карушили сари. (101) Къурбан биалли, кариили гIяхIси хьунул тев, бикIар, дигиличил гIямру дуркIули.

(0) sugur gurban
blind PNKurban:ABS
"Blind" Kurban.

(1) u?-i-li sa.y ca ʕäq'lu.če-w-si gurban
M:be-AOR-GER be:M one wise-M-ADJ PNKurban:ABS
b-ik'-usi adam
hpl-say-ADJ person:ABS
Once upon a time there was a wise man called Kurban.

(2) il-i-či ʕäq'lu b-ur=aq-es b-aš-uti-ri
this-OBL-SUP advice:ABS N-say=CAUS-INF hpl-come-ADP-PRET
šan-ti-ra
villager-PL:ABS-and
And the villagers came to him to ask for advice.

(3) gurba r-u?-i-li sa<r>i kunk-si t'abiʕät-la
PNKurban:GEN F-be-AOR-GER be:F light-ADJ behaviour-GEN
r-eʕ[1] xunul
F-owner:ABS wife:ABS
Kurban apparently had a wife of loose behaviour.

(4) il carhil murul+adam-li-čil piš-n-a
this other man+person-OBL-COM escapade-PL-OBL:ERG
r-irq'-usi-ri
F-do-ADJ-PRET
She was having an escapade with another man.

(5) gurbay sune-la xuna piš-ni
PNKurban:OBL:ERG self:OBL-GEN wife:GEN escapade-PL:ABS
d-ah-ur-li sa.y wa se b-ar-iša-ra
pl-know-AOR-GER be:M and what:ABS N-do-POT1-and
?-i-li pikri+uq-i sa.y
say-AOR-GER thought+M:aux-GER be:M
Kurban learned about the escapade of his wife and thought 'What can I do?'

(6) gurban il+q'äyda pikri+ik'-uli
PNKurban:ABS this+manner:ABS thought+M:aux-GER
le-w-li, ši-li-zi uhna+uq-i sa.y
present-M-GER village-OBL-ILL M:inside+M:aux-GER be:M

[1] -eʕ is sometimes used in possessive constructions: 'a woman (owner) of loose behaviour'.

emħe-la ɢaɢ-li-či-r ʕinc-bi-ra sa.y-ra[2]
donkey-GEN back-OBL-SUP-pl apple-PL:ABS-and self:ABS:M-and
ca c'udqran, ʕinc-bi ħe-ys-ida-w
one PNTsudakharian:ABS apple-PL:ABS NEG-buy-FUT2p-INT
ʔ-i-li wäw+ik'-uli
say-AOR-GER cry+M:aux-GER
While Kurban was thinking this way, a Tsudakharian[3] came to the village with apples on the back of his donkey, (crying): 'Won't you buy apples?'

(7) ɢurba ca pikri b-ak'-i-li sa<b>i
PNKurban:GEN one thought:ABS N-come-AOR-GER be:N
Kurban had a thought.

(8) il ğam+iʔ-ub-li c'udqray-zi w-ik'-uli
this near+M:be-AOR-GER PNTsudakharian:OBL-ILL M-say-GER
sa.y: ix qa mäq'-la kaʔ-ib-ħeli,
be:M that home:GEN side-LOC descend:M-AOR-WHEN
adam suɢur+w-ir-uti ʕinc-bi as-aya
person:ABS blind+M-do-ADP apple-PL:ABS buy-IMPP
ʔ-i-li wäw+ʔ-a, ma ħed iš-di
say-AOR-GER cry+say-IMP IJwell you:DAT this-PL
arc-nu
money:ABS-for
When he came near, he said to the Tsudakharian: 'When you come near that house, shout, saying "Buy apples that make a man blind," here is some money.'

(9) c'udqray ɢurbay
PNTsudakharian:OBL:ERG PNKurban:OBL:ERG
če<b>aʔ=aq-ib-si qa mäq'-la
see:N=CAUS-AOR-ADJ home:GEN side-LOC
kaʔ-ib-ħeli wäw+ʔ-i-li sa.y: adam
descend:M-AOR-WHEN cry+say-AOR-GER be:M person:ABS
suɢur+ir=aq-uti ʕinc-bi as-aya
blind+M:be=CAUS-ADP apple-PL:ABS buy-IMPP
When the Tsudakharian reached the house Kurban showed him, he cried: 'Buy apples that make a man blind.'

(10) ɢurba xunuy-s xap-li digi.ʔaʔ-ur-li sa<b>i,
PNKurban:GEN wife:OBL-DAT sudden-ADV want-AOR-GER be:N

[2] For this construction with sa<B>i, see grammar 8.9.1.
[3] Tsudakharian = inhabitant of Tsudakhar, a Dargi village in which a distinctively different dialect is spoken.

sune-la d-ir-uti če<ħe><d>i?=aq-es murul
self:OBL-GEN pl-do-ADP see:NEG:pl=CAUS-INF husband:ABS
sugur+w-i?=aq-es
blind+M-be=CAUS-INF
Kurbans wife suddenly wanted to make her husband blind so that he would not see her actions.

(11) il dura+r-uq-i c'udqray-či duha<r>iz-ur-li
this out+F-aux-GER PNTsudakharian:OBL-SUP turn.to:F-AOR-GER
sa<r>i: sen+sen sugur+ir-u-w
be:F how+how blind+M:do-FUT3-INT
She went outside and turned to the Tsudakharian: 'How do they make (someone) blind?'

(12) ħäb.al ʕinc as-i-li, il-di d-erk=aq-adli,
three apple:ABS buy-AOR-GER this-PL pl-eat=CAUS-COND2
busaʕät adam[4] sugur+ir-ar, džawab
immediately person:ABS blind+M:be-FUT3 answer:ABS
b-ed-i-li sa.y c'udqray
N-give-AOR-GER be:M PNTsudakharian:OBL:ERG
'When you have bought three apples, if you make him eat them, a man will turn blind,' answered the Tsudakharian.

(13) gurban čar+i?-ub-li barħeq berkala
PNKurban:ABS return+M:be-AOR-GER in.evening meal:ABS
b-uk-usi zamana x̂unuy
N-eat-ADJ time:ABS wife:OBL:ERG
c'udqray-zi-r-ad as-ib-ti ħäb.al-ra ʕinc-ra
PNTsudakharian:OBL-ILL-pl-ELA buy-AOR-ADP three-and apple:ABS-and
ka.yx̂-i-li sa<r>i
put.down:pl-AOR-GER be:F
When Kurban returned, at supper time, his wife also put the three apples she had bought from the Tsudakharian (on the table).

(14) ħäbra ʕäħ-ti le-r-Ø+q'alli ?-i-li,
very good-ADP present-pl-3+FOC say-AOR-GER
gurbay il-di d-erk-i sa.y wa
PNKurban:OBL:ERG this-PL pl-eat-GER be:M and
wäw+?-i-li sa.y: iš se sa<b>i-w, nu-ni
cry+say-AOR-GER be:M this what:ABS be:N-INT me-ERG

[4] The orginal phrase *heyrusi adam* 'ill person' was considered incorrect: illness has nothing to do with the situation described; therefore *he-yr-usi* (NEG-can-ADJ) was omitted.

sek'al če<b>i?-uli aħen-ra-gu
thing:ABS see:N-GER be.not-1-but
Saying: 'They are excellent,' Kurban ate them and he cried: 'What is this, I don't see a thing.'

(15) x̂unuy urk'<r>uq-un-si-la ʕe.r.d.ar-i-li,
wife:OBL:ERG frighten:F-AOR-ADJ-GEN pretend:pl:pl-AOR-GER
ka.yx̂=aq-i murul, sa<r>i xala-l
lie.down:M=CAUS-GER husband:ABS self:ABS:F big-ADJ
radzi=deš-li-čil ši-či ar<r>äq'-i sa<r>i
glad=ABSTR-OBL-COM water-SUP leave:F-GER be:F
His wife pretended to be frightened, put her husband to bed and went herself for water with great joy.

(16) il-d-a-la b-u?-i-li sa<b>i quli-b ħer+b-ir-usi
this-PL-OBL-GEN N-be-AOR-GER be:N home-N living+N-be-ADJ
c'erx̂-si ħäywan
fat-ADJ cattle:ABS
Apparently they kept fat cattle in the house.

(17) il gandz.uq-un-a-či-b-ad harga-la a<b>ic'-usi
this staircase-PL-OBL-SUP-N-ELA corridor-LOC ascend:N-ADJ
zamana, ɢurbay gak+b-ar-i-li[5]
time:ABS PNKurban:OBL:ERG ONpush+N-do-AOR-GER
ʕäy.ni ka<b>ik=aq-i-li sa.y
in.courtyard fall:N=CAUS-AOR-GER be:M
When it entered the corridor by the staircase, Kurban pushed it and it fell into the courtyard.

(18) il-a-la q'äš b-äč-i sa<b>i
this-OBL-GEN leg:ABS N-break-GER be:N
It broke its leg.

(19) sa.y b.i?.alli čar+i?-ub-li ka.yx̂-i
self:ABS:M however return+M:be-AOR-GER lie.down:M-GER
sa.y
be:M
He himself however went to bed again.

(20) ey ɢurban nuša-la ħäywan q'äš b-äč-i
IJhey PNKurban:ABS we-GEN cattle:ABS leg:ABS N-break-GER

[5] The Akusha informants would prefer *guzbarili*, which indicates a stronger push.

lar+ka-b-i?-ub-li-gu, se b-i?-ub-si-w
ONkick+TH-N-be-AOR-GER-but what:ABS N-be-AOR-ADJ-INT
iš-i-s, r-ik'-uli sa<r>i χunul muruy-zi
this-OBL-DAT F-say-GER be:F wife:ABS husband:OBL-ILL
'Hey Kurban, our cow is kicking because its leg is broken. What happened to it?' said the wife to her husband.

(21) se b-ar-alli ʕäh-si-w hanna
what:ABS N-do-COND3 good-ADJ-INT now
'What shall we do now?'

(22) qärq-li b-elh-es ʕäʕni-li sa<b>i,
quick-ADV N-slaughter-INF necessary-ADV be:N
džärga+b-ir-ar-nu,[6] w-ik'-uli sa.y gurban
dirty+N-be-FUT3-for M-say-GER be:M PNKurban:ABS
'You have to slaughter it quickly, for it will become dirty,' said Kurban.

(23) χunuy duc'+r-uq-i sune-la ignaba[7]
wife:OBL:ERG run+F-aux-GER self:OBL-GEN lover:ABS
k-i-li q'äl b-elh=aq-i sa<r>i
bring-AOR-GER cow:ABS N-slaughter=CAUS-GER be:F
His wife ran and brought her lover to get him to slaughter the cow.

(24) gurban b.i?.alli čedi quli ka.y?-i-li
PNKurban:ABS however above home sit.down:M-AOR-GER
χunuy-ra ignaba-ni-ra d-ir-uti piš-n-a-či
wife:OBL:ERG-and lover-ERG-and pl-do-ADP escapade-PL-OBL-SUP
ħer+ik'-uli sa.y
look+M:aux-GER be:M
Kurban however sat upstairs in the house and was watching at the things his wife and her lover did.

(25) ignaba-ni-ra χunuy-ra[8] b.i?.alli, gurbay
lover-ERG-and wife:OBL:ERG-and however PNKurban:OBL:ERG
če<b>i?-usi agara ?-i-li, udi+udi
see:N-ADJ absent:FUT3 say-AOR-GER below+below

[6] *džärga* means 'dirty' in the religious sense, see the lexicon. Apparently, they expect the cow to die and they have to slaughter it, when the meat is still (religiously) clean.

[7] The Akusha word for 'lover' would be *iganay*.

[8] The lover and the wife are Agents of the verb *-emdž-aq* and therefore require the ergative case, and not the absolutive, as in the original. The choice for the absolutive can be attributed to the distance to the main verb or, less likely, to a reflection of a biabsolutive construction, allowed for in some Dargi dialects, but not in Akusha or Standard Dargi.

ixtilat b-emdž=aq-ur-li sa<b>i
conversation:ABS N-heat=CAUS-AOR-GER be:hpl
The lover and the woman, however, thinking that Kurban could not see, raised the level of their indecent conversation.

(26) q'äl b-elh-i taman+b-iʔ-ub-ħeli,
cow:ABS N-slaughter-GER end+N-be-AOR-WHEN
ɢurbay b-ar=aq-i-li berkala, q'äl
PNKurban:OBL:ERG N-do=CAUS-AOR-GER meal:ABS cow:ABS
b-elh-un-si quli t'alab+w-ar-i-li sa.y
N-slaughter-AOR-ADJ home invitation+M-do-AOR-GER be:M
When they finished slaughtering the cow, Kurban invited the man who slaughtered the cow home and let (his wife) make a meal for him.

(27) b-uk-i[9] ʕerği, hanna dugi ʕäħ.na b-ak'-ab[10]
hpl-eat-GER after now night:ABS all.right N-come-OPT3
ʔ-i-li, ignaba-ni undza harg+d-ar-i-li
say-AOR-GER lover-ERG door:ABS open+pl-do-AOR-GER
zämq+d-ar-i-li q'äp'+d-ar-i-li sa.y, sa.y
ONsound+pl-do-AOR-GER close+pl-do-AOR-GER be:M self:ABS:M
b.iʔ.alli quli-w kal-i sa.y
however home-M stay-GER be:M
When they had eaten, he said 'Good night,' the lover opened the door and closed it with a sound, but he stayed in the house himself.

(28) barħi aq-i-li sa<b>i
day:ABS end-AOR-GER be:N
The day ended.

(29) ɢurban ka.yx̂-i sa.y ca quli
PNKurban:ABS lie.down:M-GER be:M one in.room
Kurban lay down in one room.

(30) di-la bek' idz-uli sa<b>i ʔ-i-li
me:OBL-GEN head:ABS hurt-GER be:N say-AOR-GER
it.il quli ka<r>ix̂-i sa<r>i x̂unul
that.other in.room lie.down:F-GER be:F wife:ABS
'I have a head-ache,' said his wife and lay down in the other room.

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[9] *buki* is an antipassive form. in which the perfective gerund ending *-i* combines with the imperfective stem *-uk* 'eat'; see grammar section 8.3.2.

[10] This is the Urakhi equivalent of Akusha *dugi ʕäħ birab* 'good night'.

(31) bahla-li ar.äq'-i w-arx ignaba-ra ka.yx̂-i
slow-ADV leave:M-GER M-with lover-and lie.down:M-GER
sa.y
be:M
Silently her lover lay down with her.

(32) cug dugi b-aʔ-i-li il-di b-uskaʔ-un-si
middle night:ABS N-be-AOR-GER this-PL hpl-sleep-AOR-ADJ
zamana gurbay x̂una ignaba
time:ABS PNKurban:OBL:ERG wife:GEN lover:ABS
ʕänd+ak'-i-li sa.y
press+M:aux-AOR-GER be:M
When midnight had come, and they were sleeping, Kurban strangled his wife's lover.

(33) ʕänruč'[11] dugi x̂unul guž+r-ik'-uli sa<r>i
early night:ABS wife:ABS ONpush+F-aux-GER be:F
ignaba-zi, a.yz-i šala.d.irk-uli-nu quli ar.uq'-es
lover-ILL rise:M-IMP become.light:pl-GER-for home leave:M-INF
ʔ-i-li
say-AOR-GER
Early in the morning the woman pushed and said to her lover 'Get up to go home, for it is getting light.'

(34) il šiq'+ulq-uli aħen
this ONmove+M:aux-GER be.not
He was not moving.

(35) urk'<r>uq-i x̂unul xarč+r-iz-ur-li sa<r>i, wa
frighten:F-GER wife:ABS ONjump+F-aux-AOR-GER be:F and
c'um+c'um+r-uq-i bek'-la ǧez
ONmoan+ONmoan+F-aux-GER head-GEN hair:ABS
gäb+d-ar-i-li sa<r>i
ONtear+pl-do-AOR-GER be:F
Frightened the woman jumped up and moaning she tore her hair out.

(36) ya+ǧari, w-ik'-uli sa.y gurban, sen ʕäħ-li[12]
IJhear! M-say-GER be:M PNKurban:ABS why good-ADV

[11] Here and in sentence 42 Akusha speakers would prefer *sawli*.
[12] Instead of *ʕäħli* in the meaning of 'very', Akusha speakers prefer *debali*.

zigar+r-ik'-usi-ri-w
ONmoan+F-aux-ADJ-2-INT
'Look,' said Kurban, 'why are you crying like that?'

(37) di?+maga[13] b-al<ħe><b>ik-i-li kani
meat+and.the.like N-agree:NEG:N-AOR-GER belly:ABS
šink'a+b-i?-ub-li[14] ħe-b-i?-es
fluid+N-be-AOR-GER NEG-N-be-POT3
'Is it perhaps the meat that doesn't agree and you have a stomach disorder?'

(38) dugi xura+w-ar-aba ?-i-li w-ak'-ib-si ca
night:ABS host+M-do-OPT1 say-AOR-GER M-come-AOR-ADJ one
adam le-w-ri-gu, il
person:ABS present-M-PRET-but this
šala.d.ik-ib-ħe.ys w-ebk'-i-li sa.y
become.light:pl-AOR-WHEN:DAT M-die-AOR-GER be:M
'At night there was a man who came saying "Give me lodgings", and by the time it got light, he had died.'

(39) hanna d-ak'-ib-Ø nuša-či balah+q'adar w-ik'-uli
now pl-come-AOR-3 we-SUP catastrophy+fate:ABS M-say-GER
sa.y ɢurban
be:M PNKurban:ABS
'Now catastrophy and fate have come to us,' said Kurban.

(40) ʕur b-ar-e-si-ra agara-nu, iš=ğuna b-ar-a
then N-do-POT3-ADJ-and absent:FUT3-for this=like N-do-IMP
hari: ar.uk-a-nu[15] il ik' pulan mer-li-či-r-ti
IJwell lead:M-IMP-for this that certain place-OBL-SUP-pl-ADP
mirqi-la t'aq'-n-a-la mäq'-la kat-i
bee-GEN box-PL-OBL-GEN side-LOC put.down:M-IMP
'Well, there is nothing else to do, do it like this: take him and put him at that certain place near the bee-hives.'

(41) xala-l ɢiyay-čil iš-i-ni dugi+dugeli[16]
big-ADJ difficulty:OBL-COM this-OBL-ERG night+at.night

[13] For compounds with *maga* 'and the like', see grammar section 7.4.

[14] Speakers of Akusha prefer *šink'abi?ubli* over the original *šink'a?ahurli* which is said to belong to the Urakhi dialect.

[15] Informants wonder if the use of the verb *ar<B>uk* 'lead (someone who walks by him/herself)' is correct here; the verb *ar<B>ux* would perhaps be more appropriate, meaning 'lead, bring (someone/something not moving him/her/itself)'. On the other hand, they consider it possible that *ar<B>uk* is used here for the special effect of the woman 'walking' with the corpse.

[16] *dugi+dugeli* replaces the incorrect *dugi+dugi-li*.

džanaza	ar<b>ux-i-li	mirqi-la	t'aq'-n-a-la
corpse:ABS	take.away:N-AOR-GER	bee-GEN	box-PL-OBL-GEN
mäq'-la	t'aš+b-at-ur-li	sa<r>i	
side-LOC	upright+N-leave-AOR-GER	be:F	

With great difficulty, she took the corpse in the middle of the night and put it upright near the bee-hives.

(42)

ʕänruč'	mirqi-la	w-eʕ	dura+wq-alli,	mirqi-la	
early	bee-GEN	M-owner:ABS	out+M:aux-COND3	bee-GEN	
t'aq'a-la	mäq'-la	t'aš+ka.yz-ur-si	adam		
box-GEN	side-LOC	upright+pose:M-AOR-ADJ	person:ABS		

Early in the morning, when the owner of the bees went out, (he saw) a standing person near the bee-hives.

(43)

il-i-s	han<b>ik-i-li	sa<b>i,	il	qulki	sa.y
this-OBL-DAT	think:N-AOR-GER	be:N	this	thief:ABS	be:M
ʔ-i-li					
say-AOR-GER					

He thought it was a thief.

(44)

kas-i-li	il-i-ni	t'erχa	il-a-la
take-AOR-GER	this-OBL-ERG	stick:ABS	this-OBL-GEN
bek'+bek'+kad	d-ik=aq-i-li[17]	sa.y	
head+head+ELA	pl-pass=CAUS-AOR-GER	be:M	

Having taken a stick he hit him several times on the head.

(45)

džanaza	ca+k'.el	d-äq-ib-ħeli	ka<b>ik-i-li	sa<b>i
corpse:ABS	one+two	pl-hit-AOR-WHEN	fall:N-AOR-GER	be:N

When he had hit him once or twice the corpse fell down.

(46)

debali	urux.iʔ-ub-li	sa.y	mirqi-la	w-eʕ,	adam
very	fear:M-AOR-GER	be:M	bee-GEN	M-owner:ABS	person:ABS
ka<w>š-i-ra	q'alli	ʔ-i-li			
kill:M-AOR-1	FOC	say-AOR-GER			

The bee owner was very frightened (thinking) 'I killed a man.'

(47)

il	b-ar-e-si	ħe-b-al-uli	pikri+uq-i
this	N-do-POT3-ADJ	NEG-N-know-GER	thought+M:aux-GER

[17] *kad* 'elative in a downwards direction' is not used in Akusha; moreover, it usually follows a locative case plus gender marker (see grammar section 4.3.): *bek'bek'kad* is a highly irregular form, which seems to denote that he was hitting the head several times 'making something pass over the head several times'. *-ik=aq* is also an unusual form to denote hitting, one would expect a verb like *-äq* 'hit'.

sa.y
be:M
Not knowing what to do, he started thinking.

(48) le-b-li-s-alra[18] ʕäq'lu b-ur-usi ɢurban
present-N-OBL-DAT-INDEF advice:ABS N-say-ADJ PNKurban:ABS
han.ik-i-li sa.y wa il-i-či
remember:M-AOR-GER be:M and this-OBL-SUP
w-ak'-i-li w-ik'-uli sa.y: dugi mirqi
M-come-AOR-GER M-say-GER be:M night:ABS bee:ABS
d-iʃ-es w-ak'-i-li ca adam le-w-ri-nu,
pl-steal-INF M-come-AOR-GER one person:ABS present-M-PRET-for
t'erχa-li b-äq-i-ra-gu, il w-ebk'-ib-Ø
stick-OBL:ERG N-hit-AOR-1-but this M-die-AOR-3
He remembered Kurban who gave advice about everything and went to him and said: 'At night there was a person who came to steal the bees and when I hit him with a stick, he died.'

(49) nu ɢiyay-zi-w sa.y-ra-nu, b-ur-a-gu, ʕäq'lu.če-w
me:ABS difficulty:OBL-ILL-M be:M-1-for N-say-IMP-but wise-M
ɢurban, se b-ar-iša
PNKurban:ABS what:ABS N-do-POT1
'I am in trouble, therefore tell me, wise Kurban, what shall I do?'

(50) ah, ħu-ni b-ar-ib-si anc'buq', w-ik'-uli sa.y
IJah you-ERG N-do-AOR-ADJ event:ABS M-say-GER be:M
il-i-zi ɢurban, warʔa bahandan adam
this-OBL-ILL PNKurban:ABS honey:ABS because person:ABS
karš-u-w
kill:M-FUT3-INT
'Oh, what did you do?' said Kurban to him, 'would one really kill someone because of honey?'

(51) hari, iš+dugi ca warʔa-la k'ara-ra il
well this+night:ABS one honey-GEN vessel:ABS-and this
džanaza-ra nab-či ka<d>aʔ=aq-a,
corpse:ABS-and me:OBL-SUP reach:pl=CAUS-IMP
se+b.iʔ.al.ra pikri+b.ir-is-nu
what:ABS+INDEF thought+N:do-FUT1-for

[18] A plural form *lebtasalra* 'to everyone' would be expected, but *leblisalra* 'about everything' is also acceptable.

'Well, bring me a bar of honey and the corpse tonight and I'll think of something.'

(52)
war?a-la	w-eʕ-li		ɢurbay-či
honey-GEN	M-owner-OBL:ERG		PNKurban:OBL-SUP
x-i-li	sa.y	war?a-ra	džanaza-ra
bring-AOR-GER	be:M	honey:ABS-and	corpse:ABS-and

The owner of the honey brought Kurban the honey and the corpse.

(53)
ɢurbay	il-i-zi		džanaza
PNKurban:OBL:ERG	this-OBL-ILL		corpse:ABS
t'aš+b-at=aq-ur-li		undza-la	ʕela,
upright+N-leave=CAUS-AOR-GER		door-GEN	after
pikri+ma-yk'-ud-nu,	hanna	quli	čar+i?-i
thought+PROH-M:aux-FUT2-for	now	home	return+M:be-IMP
?-i-li,	w-arχ-i-li	sa.y	
say-AOR-GER	M-send-AOR-GER	be:M	

Kurban made him put the body upright behind the door and said 'Don't worry, go home now,' and sent him away.

(54)
ɢurba	χunul	kari-la-r	r-u?-i-li	sa<r>i
PNKurban:GEN	wife:ABS	bakery-LOC-F	F-be-AOR-GER	be:F

Kurbans wife was apparently at the bakery.

(55)
čar+r-i?-ub-li	undza-la	ʕela	ħer.?-alli,	t'aš-si
return+F-be-AOR-GER	door-GEN	after	look-COND3	upright-ADJ
adam				
person:ABS				

When she returned, she looked behind the door, (and saw) someone standing.

(56)
ey,	či	sa.y-ri-w	?-i-li	il-i-ni	il
IJhey	who:ABS	be:M-2-INT	say-AOR-GER	this-OBL-ERG	this
zuz+w-ar-i-li		sa.y			
ONpull+M-do-AOR-GER		be:M			

'Hey, who are you?' she said and pulled him away.

(57)
il-a-la	q'äš-m-a-la	hala	sune-la	ignaba-la
this-OBL-GEN	leg-PL-OBL-GEN	before	self:OBL-GEN	lover-GEN
džanaza	ka<b>ik-i-li	sa<b>i		
corpse:ABS	fall:N-AOR-GER	be:N		

The body of her lover fell down before her feet.

(58) č'är+b.äq-i-li, il quli r-uẖna+r-uq-i
scream+N:hit-AOR-GER this home F-inside+F-aux-GER
muruy-zi r-ik'-uli sa<r>i: džanaza
husband:OBL-ILL F-say-GER be:F corpse:ABS
čar+b-iʔ-ub-li-gu, se b-ir-eẖe
return+N-be-AOR-GER-but what:ABS N-do-FUT1p
She screamed loudly, went inside and said to her husband: 'The corpse has returned, what shall we do?'

(59) yäẖ+b.ar-a, di-la yäziq x̌unul, w-ik'-uli sa.y
patience+N:do-IMP me:OBL-GEN poor wife:ABS M-say-GER be:M
gurban, ʕur b-ar-e-si-lra ẖe-b-al-as-nu,
PNKurban:ABS then N-do-POT3-ADJ-INDEF NEG-N-know-FUT1-for
ar<b>ux-a-nu il ik' pulan dubur-li-či-b-si
take.away:N-IMP-for this that certain mountain-OBL-SUP-N-ADJ
maza-la qaraq-la hala t'aš+b-at-i
sheep-GEN shed-GEN before upright+N-leave-IMP
'Be patient, my "poor" wife,' said Kurban, 'I don't know what to do either, so take it away and leave it upright in front of the sheep shed on that certain mountain.'

(60) xala-l giyay-čil ʕela.kaq-i-li,
big-ADJ difficulty:OBL-COM hang-AOR-GER
mayʔa-li čäẖ+r-ik'-uli ar<b>ux-i-li
perspiration-OBL:ERG ONshed+F-aux-GER take.away:N-AOR-GER
iš-i-ni džanaza däʕi-la hala
this-OBL-ERG corpse:ABS shed.entrance-GEN before
t'aš+b-at-ur-li sa<r>i
upright+N-leave-AOR-GER be:F
Putting him on her back with great difficulty, perspiring freely, she took the corpse and put it in front of the shed in an upright position.

(61) maza-li-či ẖer.ʔ-es buk'un dura+wq-alli
sheep-OBL-SUP look-INF shepherd:ABS out+M:aux-COND3
däʕi-la hala t'aš-si adam
shed.entrance-GEN before upright-ADJ person:ABS
And when a shepherd went out to take a look at his cattle, he saw a person upright in front of the shed.

(62) qulki sa.y ʔ-i-li, iš-i-ni kas-i-li
thief:ABS be:M say-AOR-GER this-OBL-ERG take-AOR-GER

qäyqi-li šali+bek'-li-zi b-äq-i-li sa.y
crook-OBL:ERG side+head-OBL-ILL N-hit-AOR-GER be:M
Thinking it was a thief, he took a crook and hit him on the temple.

(63) džanaza ka<b>ik-i-li sa<b>i
corpse:ABS fall:N-AOR-GER be:N
The corpse fell down.

(64) buk'un b.i?.alli, adam ka<w>š-i-ra q'alli
shepherd:ABS however person:ABS kill:M-AOR-1 FOC
?-i-li urk'.uq-i sa.y
say-AOR-GER frighten:M-GER be:M
The shepherd, however, thinking he had killed a man, became afraid.

(65) iš gurbay-či w-ak'-i-li sa.y: ah,
this PNKurban:OBL-SUP M-come-AOR-GER be:M IJah
gurban, nab-zi-w-ad maza bahandan
PNKurban:ABS me:OBL-ILL-M-ELA sheep:ABS because
adam zaya+i?-ub-gu, se b-ar-iša
person:ABS harm+M:be-AOR-but what:ABS N-do-POT1
He came to Kurban: 'Ah, Kurban, through my own fault, a person has been harmed, because of the sheep, what shall I do?'

(66) ah, ħe-la qali ma-b-u?, maza
IJah you:OBL-GEN house:ABS PROH-N-collapse sheep:ABS
bahandan adam ka<w>š-i-ra ?-ib-si se
because person:ABS kill:M-AOR-1 say-AOR-ADJ what:ABS
?-ib-si-w
say-AOR-ADJ-INT
'Ah, may your house be blessed! Saying "I killed a man because of the sheep", what did you say?'

(67) hari, ħe.b.i?.alli, ca+wec'.al kiha-ra k-a,
IJwell in.all.events one+ten ram:ABS-and bring-IMP
džanaza-ra ka<b>a?=aq-a, se+b.i?.al.ra
corpse:ABS-and reach:N=CAUS-IMP what:ABS+INDEF
pikri+b.ir-is-nu, w-ik'-uli sa.y buk'uy-zi
thought+N:do-FUT1-for M-say-GER be:M shepherd:OBL-ILL
gurban
PNKurban:ABS
'Well, if it is like that, bring me some ten rams, bring the corpse here as well, and I'll think of something,' said Kurban to the shepherd.

(68) buk'uy ɢurba qar.barq' taman+b-ar-i-li
shepherd:OBL:ERG PNKurban:GEN orders:ABS end+N-do-AOR-GER
sa.y
be:M
The shepherd carried out Kurbans orders.

(69) undza-la ʕela džanaza t'aš+b-at=aq-ur-li,
door-GEN after corpse:ABS upright+N-leave=CAUS-AOR-GER
hanna pikri+ma-yk'-ud ʔ-i-li, buk'un
now thought+PROH-M:aux-FUT2 say-AOR-GER shepherd:ABS
quli w-arχ̂-i-li sa.y
home M-send-AOR-GER be:M
Having put the corpse upright behind the door, 'now you don't worry,' (Kurband said) and sent the shepherd home.

(70) χ̂unul čar+r-iʔ-ub-li ħer.ʔ-alli, ʕur-ra
wife:ABS return+F-be-AOR-GER look-COND3 then-and
t'aš-li undza-la ʕela-b če<b>aʔ-i-li sa<r>i
upright-ADV door-GEN after-N see:N-AOR-GER be:F
džanaza
corpse:ABS
His wife returned, she looked and again saw the corpse standing behind the door.

(71) way+rang-li-či r-ik-i-li, quli r-uħna+r-uq-i
bad+colour-OBL-SUP F-pass-AOR-GER home F-inside+F-aux-GER
muruy-zi r-ik'-uli sa<r>i: ʕäħ-li xalq'-li-s
husband:OBL-ILL F-say-GER be:F good-ADV people-OBL-DAT
ʕäq'lu b-ur-es w-ir-ud-gu, sen
advice:ABS N-say-INF M-can-FUT2-but why
ħe-b-al-usi-ri-w ix džanaza u<b>as-e-si
NEG-N-know-ADJ-2-INT that corpse:ABS take.away:N-POT3-ADJ
mer
place:ABS
She turned pale, went inside the house and said to her husband: 'You are good at giving people advice, why don't you know a place to get rid of this corpse.'

(72) suɢur+iʔ-ub-li, meħur+iʔ-ub-li ħe-yʔ-iši
blind+M:be-AOR-GER mad+M:be-AOR-GER NEG-M:be-POT2
'You haven't become mad, turning blind, have you?'

(73) zigar+ma-r-ik'-ud, di-la r-ig-usi χ̂unul,
ONmoan+PROH-F-aux-FUT2 me:OBL-GEN F-love-ADJ wife:ABS

w-ik'-uli sa.y ɢurban
M-say-GER be:M PNKurban:ABS
'Don't complain, my dear wife,' said Kurban.

(74) ca+hačam hat'i ar<b>ux-a il džanaza-nu ik'
one+once still take.away:N-IMP this corpse:ABS-for that
pulan ank'i-la bek'a-li-či, näɢ-b-a-zi gawlag-ra
certain wheat-GEN heap-OBL-SUP hand-PL-OBL-ILL bag:ABS-and
b-uc=aq-i-li ka<b>at-i
N-catch=CAUS-AOR-GER put:N-IMP
'Once more take the corpse away and put it on that pile of wheat, having put a bag in his hands.'

(75) dura+b-uq-i qubzur-ani ħer.ʔ-alli, ank'i-la
out+hpl-aux-GER peasant-PL:ABS look-COND3 wheat-GEN
bek'a-li-či-w ank'i d-ilʕ-usi adam
heap-OBL-SUP-M wheat:ABS pl-steal-ADJ person:ABS
čeʔ-i-li sa.y
see:M-AOR-GER be:M
Coming outside, when the peasants looked, they saw a person on the pile of wheat, stealing it.

(76) a<b>aʔ-i-li ca+k'.el d-äq-i-li sa<r>i, il
ascend:hpl-AOR-GER one+two pl-hit-AOR-GER be:pl this
w-ebk'-i-li ger+ka-wq-i sa.y
M-die-AOR-GER round+TH-M:aux-GER be:M
They went up to him and hit him once or twice and he rolled down, dead.

(77) iš-di-ra ɢurbay-či b-ak'-i-li sa<b>i
this-PL-and PNKurban:OBL-SUP hpl-come-AOR-GER be:hpl
These people also came to Kurban.

(78) ɢurbay[19] iš-d-a-zi-ra x=aq-i-li
PNKurban:OBL:ERG this-PL-OBL-ILL-and bring=CAUS-AOR-GER
sa.y wec'.al gawlag ank'i-la-ra, undza-la ʕela
be:M ten bag:ABS wheat-GEN-and door-GEN after
džanaza-ra t'aš+b-at=aq-ur-li sa.y
corpse:ABS-and upright+N-leave=CAUS-AOR-GER be:M
Kurban made them bring ten bags of wheat and put the corpse behind the door.

[19] *ɢurbay* replaces the incorrect *ɢurbanni*.

(79) χunul čar+r-iʔ-alli, ʕur-ra če<b>aʔ-i-li sa<r>i
wife:ABS return+F-be-COND3 then-and see:N-AOR-GER be:F
undza-la ʕela-b džanaza
door-GEN after-N corpse:ABS
When his wife returned she saw the corpse behind the door again.

(80) il muruy-či r-eħ<r>iz-ur-li sa<r>i
this husband:OBL-SUP F-scold:F-AOR-GER be:F
She scolded her husband.

(81) hačam hat'i yäħ+b.ar-a, w-ik'-uli sa.y ɢurban
once still patience+N:do-IMP M-say-GER be:M PNKurban:ABS
χunuy-zi
wife:OBL-ILL
'Once more, be patient,' said Kurban to his wife.

(82) iš+dugi ar<b>ux-a-nu il džanaza ħäb.al
this+night:ABS take.away:N-IMP-for this corpse:ABS three
huni dek'ar+d-irk-usi mer-la lay+b-ak'-a
road:ABS different+pl-aux-ADJ place-LOC ONthrow+N-aux-IMP
'Take the corpse tonight and throw it at the place where three roads divide.'

(83) ar<b>ux-i-li χunuy džanaza
take.away:N-AOR-GER wife:OBL:ERG corpse:ABS
ħäb+q'äy-či[20] lay+b-ak'-i-li sa<r>i
three+twig:OBL-SUP ONthrow+N-aux-AOR-GER be:F
Having taken it away, the woman threw the corpse down on the three-forked crossing.

(84) dura+b-uq-i adam-t-a ħer.ʔ-alli, däqi
out+hpl-aux-GER person-PL-OBL:ERG look-COND3 wound:ABS
agar-li, ħi-la[21] k'ant' agar-li ka<w>š-ib-si
absent-GER blood-GEN drop:ABS absent-GER kill:M-AOR-ADJ
adam w-arg-i-li sa.y
person:ABS M-find-AOR-GER be:M
As people passed, they looked and found a dead man without any blood drops or any wounds.

(85) il-di adam-ti-ra b-ak'-i-li sa<b>i
this-PL person-PL:ABS-and hpl-come-AOR-GER be:hpl

[20] The original *ħäbq'äyliči* incorrectly contained both the oblique stem *q'äy* and the oblique suffix *-li*.
[21] *ħi* 'blood' belongs to the Urakhi dialect, the Akusha word is *ħe*; also in sentence 86.

ɢurbay-či
PNKurban:OBL-SUP
These people too came to Kurban.

(86) ɢurban ca anc'buq' le-b-Ø, b-ik'-uli sa<b>i
PNKurban:ABS one event:ABS present-N-3 hpl-say-GER be:hpl
il-di, nuša-ni ħäb.al huni dek'ar+d-irk-usi
this-PL we-ERG three road:ABS different+pl-aux-ADJ
mer-li-či-w däqi agar-li ħi agar-li,
place-OBL-SUP-M wound:ABS absent-GER blood:ABS absent-GER
ka<w>š-ib-si adam w-arg-i-l-ra
kill:M-AOR-ADJ person:ABS M-find-AOR-GER-1
'Kurban, we have a case,' they said, 'we found a dead man, without blood, without wounds at the place where three roads divide.'

(87) či-li ka<w>š-ib-a-ra
who-OBL:ERG kill:M-AOR-INT-and
'Who could have killed him?'

(88) hari, w-ik'-uli sa.y ɢurban, ši-li-zi-b
IJwell M-say-GER be:M PNKurban:ABS village-OBL-ILL-hpl
ɢäna ħe-b-ur-uti k'.el x̂unul+adam k-aya
lie:ABS NEG-N-say-ADP two woman+person:ABS bring-IMPP
nab-či
me:OBL-SUP
'Well,' said Kurban, 'bring me two women who don't tell lies in the village.'

(89) il-di k-i-li sa<b>i
this-PL bring-AOR-GER be:hpl
They were brought to him.

(90) ħuša-ni, b-ur-i-li sa.y ɢurbay
youP-ERG N-say-AOR-GER be:M PNKurban:OBL:ERG
il-d-a-zi, ʕäʕni-si sa<b>i le<b>i-lra
this-PL-OBL-ILL necessary-ADJ be:N present:hpl-INDEF
x̂un-r-a-la bek'-la ǧez ħer+d-ar-es,
woman-PL-OBL-GEN head-GEN hair:ABS look+pl-do-INF
či-la b-arg-adal-ra ǧez ɢäb+d-ar-ib-si
who-GEN N-find-COND2p-and hair:ABS ONtear+pl-do-AOR-ADJ
bek', il sa<r>i adam ka<w>š-ib-si
head:ABS this be:F person:ABS kill:M-AOR-ADJ

'You,' said Kurban to them, 'have to check out the hair of all women, if you find someone with a head containing torn hair, that is the one that killed that person.'

(91) le<b>i-lra ši-la χun-ri
present:hpl-INDEF village-GEN woman-PL:ABS
axtardi+b-ar-i-li, ca-lra ħe-r-arg-i-ra[22]
inspection+hpl-do-AOR-GER one-INDEF NEG-F-find-AOR-1
ʔ-i-li b-ak'-i-li sa<b>i ɢurbay-či
say-AOR-GER hpl-come-AOR-GER be:hpl PNKurban:OBL-SUP
They checked all the women of the village and saying 'We found not a single one', they came to Kurban.

(92) le<b>i-lra axtardi+b-ar-i-raya-w[23] hat'i
present:hpl-INDEF inspection+hpl-do-AOR-2p-INT still
'Did you really inspect all the women?'

(93) hari pikri+d-uq-enaya
IJwell thought+pl-aux-IMPP
'Well, think about it?'

(94) q'adi-la-ra, ħe-la-ra aħen-ti axtardi+b-ar-ra
kadi-GEN-and you:OBL-GEN-and be.not-ADP inspection+hpl-do-1
'We checked (everyone) except your wife and the cadi's.'

(95) il-di-ra axtardi+b-ar-aya
this-PL-and inspection+hpl-do-IMPP
'Check them too.'

(96) axtardi+b-ar-i-li, b-ak'-i-li ɢurbay-či
inspection+hpl-do-AOR-GER hpl-come-AOR-GER PNKurban:OBL-SUP
b-ik'-uli sa<b>i:
hpl-say-GER be:hpl
They checked them as well, and came to Kurban and told him:

(97) wallah ħe-la χuna bek'-li-zi-b ǧez
IJMy.God you:OBL-GEN wife:GEN head-OBL-ILL-N hair:ABS
ɢäb+d-ar-ib-si, č'änk'+b-iʔ-ub-si mer k'e-b-Ø
ONtear+pl-do-AOR-ADJ naked+N-be-AOR-ADJ place:ABS present-N-3

[22] *ħerargira* replaces the original *ħergira* which incorrectly showed masculine gender agreement.

[23] The Aorist form *axtardi+barirayaw* replaces the original Imperfect form *axtardi+baradayaw*, which combined the perfective stem *-ar* 'do' with an Imperfect ending. This combination seems to be acceptable in Urakhi, but is impossible in Akusha.

'My, there is a bald spot, where hair has been torn out, on the head of your wife.'

(98) il sa<r>i ħe.b.iʔ.alli it ka<w>š-ib-si
this be:F in.all.events that kill:M-AOR-ADJ
'Then she must be the one who killed him.'

(99) r-uk-aya-nu ħuša-ni sa<r>i-ra ka<r>uš-aya
F-lead-IMPP-for youP-ERG self:ABS:F-and kill:F-IMPP
'Lead her here and kill her.'

(100) xalq'-li ɢurba χunul ka<r>uš-i-li
people-OBL:ERG PNKurban:GEN wife:ABS kill:F-AOR-GER
sa<r>i
be:F
The people killed Kurban's wife.

(101) ɢurban b.iʔ.alli, ka<r>iʔ-i-li ʕaħ-si χunul
PNKurban:ABS however marry:F-AOR-GER good-ADJ wife:ABS
te-w-Ø, b-ik'-ar, digi-li-čil ʕämru d-urk'-uli
present-M-3 hpl-say-FUT3 love-OBL-COM life:ABS pl-live-GER
Kurban however lived (happily) after marrying a good wife, they say, spending his life with love.

20. THE MAN FROM BALKHAR AND HIS HORSE

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:96) was written down by Zagir Magomedov from the words of Kartsan Kurbanov from the village of Usisha, Akusha district.

(0) Булхъран ва ябу
(1) Гьачам ца булхъран ябуличи чедихьили тIалхIянара сайра базарличи илди дицес гIайиубли сай. (2) Вашули, вашули ил ветаили сай ца мерличи. (3) Илабси гьунчиб миъ артIили буили саби. (4) Ябу цIухIбухъи кабикили, тIалхIяна дялча или урухиубли, булхъран аллагьличи дугьайзурли сай: «Иш гьуни хатIахIейкили ахъахъес рахли, аллагь, хIуни наб кумек барадли, нуни мискинтас кIел къуруш дуртIис». (5) ГIур булхъран багьлали, мяхIкамли гьайбарили ябура сайра ватихъили[1] сай ва вайси гьуни ахъили гIяхIси гьуйчи дуравхъи сай. (6) Булхъран пикриухъи сай: «Сен нуни мискинтас кIел къуруш дуртIутив, ну декIарли вахъ давлачевли хIейишагу».
(7) Илзамана ил гьуйчивад аркьуси хIябшимай дарманагаркабикили саби ва лерилра тIалхIяна дячи сари.
(8) -Агь, хIябра биштIа-хайчи виуси[2] аллагь леври кьалли. (9) Нуни масхараригу бурибси, хIуни масхурти хIедалутив? -или булхъран хумардешличил гьунила дубла кайили сай.
(10) Илзамана ил гьуйчивад аркьуси хIябшимай дарманагариубли кайибси булхъран чеили сай ва илис гIякьлу бурили сай:
(11) - Дучану лерилра хIела дячунти тIалхIяна делкьен. (12) ГIур чиди биалра шилизи ардуха, вацни дубкIахъути дарман сари или дица, хIед халаси хайир бирарну. (13) Тяп ил викIуси барили, булхъран шилизи арякьи сай. (14) Ил шила халкьлизи багьахъур сунени вацни дубкIахъути декь хили вакIниличила.
(15) Булхърайчи хIункьрадли адамти башесбяхIиб, лерилра илала декь илдани ца камси заманала духIнар асили тамандариб. (16) Багьара биштIаси ахIенри: ца ибан тIулека бицIибти декьлис - гIяббаси. (17) Дицили илдира, арцли таврара бицIили сайра булхIран шилизи чарухъи сай.
(18) Цакамси заманала гIергъи шилизивад вакил вакIили, булхърайзи хьарбаили сай: (19) - ДарманкIун нушани асира, амма илдани вацни дубкIахъули ахIен, се барес гIягIнисив илди дебкIахъес?
(20) - Вацни дуцили илдала хIулбази дарман калкьути сари, - или жаваб бедили сай булхърай, хIулилра линкIхIебарили.
(21) Вацни дуцили гIергъи, селис гIягIнитив нушаб хIела дарман, бяхъили лерси мерличир илди кахIедуршули?

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[1] Presumably *ватихъили* is a misprint for *ватихьили: -atiq* 'lose' does not fit into the context.

[2] Most probably this is a printing error: this form has to be *вируси*, as the perfective root *-i?* cannot be followed by the imperfective participle ending *-usi*.

(22) - Илкьяйда бирадалли, гьатIира гIяхIли саби, - жаваб бедили сай гIямултар булхърай.

(0) bulqran wa yäbu
Balkharian:ABS and horse:ABS
The Balkharian[3] and his horse.

(1) hačam ca bulqran yäbu-li-či če<d>iχ-i-li
once one Balkharian:ABS horse-OBL-SUP put.on:pl-AOR-GER
t'alħäna-ra sa.y-ra bazar-li-či il-di d-ic-es
pottery:ABS-and be:M-and market-OBL-SUP this-PL pl-sell-INF
hay.i?-ub-li sa.y
set.off:M-AOR-GER be:M
Once a Balkharian went with his horse loaded with pottery to the market to sell it.

(2) w-aš-uli, w-aš-uli il w-eta?-i-li sa.y ca
M-come-GER M-come-GER this M-reach-AOR-GER be:M one
mer-li-či
place-OBL-SUP
He went on and on and came to a place.

(3) ila-b-si hun-či-b mi? art'-i-li[4] b-u?-i-li
here-N-ADJ road-SUP-N ice:ABS pour-AOR-GER N-be-AOR-GER
sa<b>i
be:N
Here the road was covered with ice.

(4) yäbu täs+b-uq-i[5] ka<b>ik-i-li, t'alħäna
horse:ABS ONslide+N-aux-GER fall:N-AOR-GER pottery:ABS
d-älč-a ?-i-li urux.i?-ub-li bulqran
pl-break-FUT3 say-AOR-GER fear:M-AOR-GER Balkharian:ABS
allah-li-či duha.yz-ur-li sa.y: iš huni
God-OBL-SUP turn.to:M-AOR-GER be:M this road:ABS
xat'a+ħe-yk-i-li aq=aq-es rax-li, allah,
deviation+NEG-M:aux-AOR-GER end=CAUS-INF sudden-ADV God:ABS
ħu-ni nab kumek+b.ar-adli, nu-ni miskin-t-a-s
you-ERG me:DAT help+N:do-COND2 me-ERG poor-ADP-OBL-DAT

[3] Balkharian, inhabitant of the Lak village of Balkhar, near Akusha. The people of Balkhar are famous for their pottery.

[4] Standard Dargi *art'* is probably an Urakhi form; Akusha speakers would use *ert'*.

[5] The original *c'uħbuqi* is not used by the Akusha informants; they would use the verb *täs+B-uq*.

k'.el ɢuruš d-urt'-is
two rouble:ABS pl-distribute-FUT1
Fearing that the horse would slide and fall and would break the pottery, the Balkharian turned to God: 'If you let me travel this road without problems, God, if you help me, I will distribute two roubles among the poor.'

(5) ʕur bulqran bahla-li mäħkam-li hay<b>ar-i-li
then Balkharian:ABS slow-ADV careful-ADV set.off:N-AOR-GER
yäbu-ra sa.y-ra w-at.iχ̂-i-li sa.y wa
horse:ABS-and be:M-and M-set.off-AOR-GER be:M and
way-si huni aq-i-li ʕäħ-si huy-či
bad-ADJ road:ABS end-AOR-GER good-ADJ road:OBL-SUP
dura+wq-i sa.y
out+M:aux-GER be:M
Then the Balkharian went very slowly and carefully and he and the horse set off and leaving the bad road behind, they came out on a good road.

(6) bulqran pikri+uq-i sa.y: sen nu-ni
Balkharian:ABS thought+M:aux-GER be:M why me-ERG
miskin-t-a-s k'.el ɢuruš d-urt'-uti-w,
poor-ADP-OBL-DAT two rouble:ABS pl-distribute-ADP-INT
nu dek'ar-li w-aq dawla.če-w-li ħe-yʔ-iša-gu
me:ABS different-ADV M-much rich-M-ADV NEG-M:be-POT1-but
The Balkharian thought: 'Why should I distribute two roubles among the poor, I am not that rich myself either.'

(7) il+zamana darǧ+b-uq-unsi yäbu[6] ka<b>ik-i-li
this+time:ABS firm+N-aux-AOR-ADJ horse:ABS fall:N-AOR-GER
sa<b>i wa le<r>i-lra t'alħäna d-äč-i sa<r>i
be:N and present:pl-INDEF pottery:ABS pl-break-GER be:pl
At that moment the horse lost its balance and fell and all the pottery broke.

(8) ah, ħäbra bišt'axayči w-ir-usi allah le-w-ri q'alli
IJah very narrow.minded M-be-ADJ God:ABS present-M-2 FOC
'Oh, what a very touchy God you appear to be.'

(9) nu-ni masxara-ri-gu b-ur-ib-si, ħu-ni masxur-ti
me-ERG joke-PRET-but N-say-AOR-ADJ you-ERG joke-PL:ABS
ħe-d-al-uti-w, ʔ-i-li bulqran
NEG-pl-know-ADP-INT say-AOR-GER Balkharian:ABS

[6] The orginal sentence begins with *ilzamana il huyčiwad arq'usi ħäbšimay darmanagar kabikili sabi...*, which is apparently a mistake in the type-setting, as it is the beginning of sentence 10. My informants came up with this phrase to repair the sentence.

xumar=deš-li-čil huni-la dub-la ka.y?-i-li
upset=ABSTR-OBL-COM road-GEN border-LOC sit.down:M-AOR-GER
sa.y
be:M
'I just said it as a joke, don't you know any jokes?' said the Balkharian and sat down on the roadside in a bad mood.

(10) il+zamana il huy-či-w-ad arq'-usi
this+time:ABS this road:OBL-SUP-M-ELA leave-ADJ
ħäbšimay darman+agar+i?-ub-li
Gapshiman:OBL:ERG medicine+absent+M:be-AOR-GER
ka.y?-ib-si bulqran če?-i-li sa.y wa
sit.down:M-AOR-ADJ Balkharian:ABS see:M-AOR-GER be:M and
il-i-s ʕäq'lu b-ur-i-li sa.y:
this-OBL-DAT advice:ABS N-say-AOR-GER be:M
This time a Gapshiman[7] came down the road and he saw the Balkharian sitting as if there was no solution and he gave him some advice:

(11) d-uč-a-nu le<r>i-lra ħe-la
pl-gather-IMP-for present:pl-INDEF you:OBL-GEN
d-äč-un-ti t'alħäna d-elq'-en
pl-break-AOR-ADP pottery:ABS pl-grind-IMP
'Gather all your broken pottery and grind it.'

(12) ʕur čidi+b.i?.alra ši-li-zi ar<d>ux-a,
then which+INDEF village-OBL-ILL take.away:pl-IMP
wac-ni d-ubk'=aq-uti darman sa<r>i ?-i-li
mouse-PL:ABS pl-die=CAUS-ADP medicine:ABS be:pl say-AOR-GER
d-ic-a, ħed xala-si xayir[8] b-ir-ar-nu
pl-sell-IMP you:DAT big-ADJ profit:ABS N-be-FUT3-for
'Take it to some village and sell it, saying that it is a poison against mice, and you will make a big profit.'

(13) täp il w-ik'-usi b-ar-i-li, bulqran
exactly this M-say-ADJ N-do-AOR-GER Balkharian:ABS
ši-li-zi ar.äq'-i sa.y
village-OBL-ILL leave:M-GER be:M
Doing exactly as the man told him, the Balkharian left for a village.

[7] Gapshiman, inhabitant of the village of Gapshima, near Akusha.
[8] For the variation of *xayir* and *xayri*, see the lexicon.

(14) il ši-la xalq'-li-zi b-ah=aq-ur-Ø
this village-GEN people-OBL-ILL N-know=CAUS-AOR-3
sune-ni wac-ni d-ubk'=aq-uti deq'
self:OBL-ERG mouse-PL:ABS pl-die=CAUS-ADP powder:ABS
x-i-li w-ak'-ni-li-čila
bring-AOR-GER M-come-MASD-OBL-CONT
The people of the village got to know about the arrival of a person bringing them powder for killing mice.

(15) bulqray-či ħunq'.rad-li adam-ti b-aš-es
Balkharian:OBL-SUP flock-OBL:ERG person-PL:ABS hpl-come-INF
b-äħ-ib-Ø,[9] le<r>i-lra il-a-la deq'
hpl-begin-AOR-3 present:pl-INDEF this-OBL-GEN powder:ABS
il-d-a-ni ca kam-si zamana-la d-uħna-r
this-PL-OBL-ERG one small-ADJ time-GEN pl-inside-pl
as-i-li taman+d-ar-ib-Ø
buy-AOR-GER end+pl-do-AOR-3
The people started to come to the Balkharian in droves and they finished by buying all his powder in a short time.

(16) baha-ra b-išt'a-si aħen-ri: ca iban.t'uleka
price:ABS-and N-small-ADJ be.not-PRET one thimble:ABS
b-ic'-ib-ti deq'-li-s, ʕäbbasi
N-fill-AOR-ADP powder-OBL-DAT dime:ABS
And the price was not small either: one dime for a thimble filled with powder.

(17) d-ic-i-li il-di-ra arc-li tawra-ra
pl-sell-AOR-GER this-PL-and money-OBL:ERG bag:ABS-and
b-ic'-i-li sa.y-ra bulqran ši-li-zi
N-fill-AOR-GER be:M-and Balkharian:ABS village-OBL-ILL
čar+uq-i sa.y
return+M:aux-GER be:M
After selling it, and filling a bag with money, the Balkharian returned to the village.

(18) ca+kam-si zamana-la ʕerği ši-li-zi-w-ad
one+small-ADJ time-GEN after village-OBL-ILL-M-ELA
wakil w-ak'-i-li, bulqray-zi
messenger:ABS M-come-AOR-GER Balkharian:OBL-ILL

[9] The original text gives the phrase *bašesbäħib* written together, though there is no grammatical or phonological reason for doing so. Therefore the infinitive and predicate have been separated here.

	χar<b>a?-i-li	sa.y:
	ask:N-AOR-GER	be:M

After some time a messenger from the village came and asked the Balkharian:

(19)

darman-k'un	nuša-ni	as-i-ra	amma	il-d-a-ni	
medicine:ABS-FOC	we-ERG	buy-AOR-1	but	this-PL-OBL-ERG	
wac-ni	d-ubk'=aq-uli	aħen,	se	b-ar-es	
mouse-PL:ABS	pl-die=CAUS-GER	be.not	what:ABS	N-do-INF	
ʕäʕni-si-w	il-di	d-ebk'=aq-es			
necessary-ADJ-INT	this-PL	pl-die=CAUS-INF			

'We bought the poison, but it is not killing mice, what do we have to do to kill them?'

(20)

wac-ni	d-uc-i-li	il-d-a-la	ħul-b-a-zi	
mouse-PL:ABS	pl-catch-AOR-GER	this-PL-OBL-GEN	eye-PL-OBL-ILL	
darman	kalq'-uti	sa<r>i	ʔ-i-li	džawab
medicine:ABS	strew-ADP	be:pl	say-AOR-GER	answer:ABS
b-ed-i-li	sa.y	bulqray,	ħuli-lra[10]	
N-give-AOR-GER	be:M	Balkharian:OBL:ERG	eye:ABS-INDEF	
link'+ħe-b-ar-i-li				
ONwink+NEG-N-do-AOR-GER				

'You catch the mice and throw the medicine into their eyes,' answered the Balkharian without even winking.

(21)

wac-ni	d-uc-i-li	ʕerği,	se-li-s	
mouse-PL:ABS	pl-catch-AOR-GER	after	what-OBL-DAT	
ʕäʕni-ti-w	nušab	ħe-la	darman,	
necessary-ADP-INT	we:DAT	you:OBL-GEN	medicine:ABS	
b-äq-i-li	le-r-si	mer-li-či-r	il-di	
N-hit-AOR-GER	present-pl-ADJ	place-OBL-SUP-pl	this-PL	
ka<ħe><d>urš-uli				
kill:NEG:pl-GER				

'After we have caught the mice, what do we need your poison for, instead we can kill them by beating?'

(22)

il+q'äyda	b-ir-adalli,	hat'i-ra	ʕäħ-li	sa<b>i,	
this+manner:ABS	N-do-COND2p	still-and	good-ADV	be:N	
džawab	b-ed-i-li	sa.y	ʕämul-t=ar	bulqray	
answer:ABS	N-give-AOR-GER	be:M	trick-PL=AD	Balkharian:OBL:ERG	

'If you do it that way, that is also good,' said the clever Balkharian.

[10] For the use of the INDEF suffix here, see 5.4.

21. THE LIST OF FOOLS

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:97-98) was written down by Zapir Abdullaev and published earlier in Abdullaev & Gasanova (1959:130-131).

(0) МехIуртала лугIи
(1) Гьачам талхъай Малла Насрадинничи хъарбарили сай сунела кIялгIялизиб[1] лебти лебилра мехIуртала лугIи касахъес.
(2) Малла Насрадинни пикрибарили сай, эгер сунени вазиртира нукертира белкIалли, талхъан илдачи дукарикIни, иличибли илди сунела душманти бетарни. (3) Малла Насрадин пикриухъи сай ва «Талхъанна кIялгIялизибти мехIурти» ибси бекIра кабатурли халати хIурпрачил чIянкIли талхъаннацун у белкIи кагъар бедили сай.
(4) Талхъай мехIуртала лугIилизиб чIянкIли сунела у чебаибхIели левгIев гIясивиубли хьарбаили сай: - Се сабив иш?
(5) - Ил мехIуртала лугIи саби, жаваб бедили сай Малла Насрадинни.
(6) - ХIела пикри хIясибли, дила кIялгIялизив левси мехIур ца валан - илра ну?
(7) - ГIе, талхъан, хIуйчив мехIур нуни ишав чилра хIергира.
(8) - Секьайда кабилзахъада хIуни ну мехIур виъни? - вявбяхъили сай талхъай.
(9) - ХIу, аравираби, талхъан! (10) ХIуникIун набчи хъарбаради хIела кIялгIялизибти лебилра мехIуртала лугIи барахъес. (11) ХIебиалли, хIуни балули виэс чебиркур хIела кIялгIялизибти адамти лебилра хIедикIахIелра бахъалгъунти мехIурти биъни. (12) Илди мехIурти биъни балукъи кIялгIялизи кабатурли хIерра бирули, илдала халаси хIурматра бируси хIу бегIлара мехIур сайри.
(13) Талхъай багьурли сай сунес селра буреси кахIелни ва пикриухъи викIули сай: (14) - ГIяхIна[2], эгер илди адамти нуни мехIурти ахIи, духути ва гIякьлучебти адамти биъни кабизахъасли, хIуни илхIели се бирида?
(15) - ИлхIелира ил лугIилизиб чIянкIли хIела у кавлан.
(16) - Сен? (17) - СенкIун хIуни хъарбарири мехIуртала лугIи касахъес.
(18) Эгер кIялгIялизибти адамти мехIурти ахIи, гIякьлучебти сабни балукъи, илди духути адамти мехIуртази халбарибси бегIла мехIур хIу сайри.
(19) Талхъай багьурли сай гIурра сунес буреси кахIелни ва левгIев гIясииубли[3] викIули сай:
(20) - Эгер дила кIялгIялизив ца абдал левни ва илра хIу виъни нуни кабизахъасли, илхIели хIуни се бирида?
(21) - ИлхIелира мехIуртала лугIилизиб чIянкIли хIела у кавлан.

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[1] The 1959 version as *кIалгIя* (change in orthography).
[2] The 1959 text had *ахIна* (change in orthography).
[3] The 1959 text has *гIясивиубли* (change in orthography).

(22) - Сен? (23) - СенкIун гIякьлучевси адамли абдалличи мехIуртала лугIи барахъес хъархIебиру.
(24) - Эгер нуни бусагIят жаллад тIалабварили хIела лезми абитIахъес хъарбарасли, илхIели се бирида?
(25) - ИлхIели цархIилтани хIези бархьдеш хIебуресли ишабси хIела у буи, дила лукIас.

(0) meħur-t-a-la luʕi
mad-ADP-OBL-GEN list:ABS
The list of fools.

(1) hačam talqay Malla+Nasradin-ni-či
once chief:OBL:ERG PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL-SUP
qar+b.ar-i-li sa.y sune-la k'älʕä-li-zi-b
order+N:do-AOR-GER be:M self:OBL-GEN castle-OBL-ILL-N
le-b-ti le<b>i-lra meħur-t-a-la luʕi
present-hpl-ADP present:hpl-INDEF mad-ADP-OBL-GEN list:ABS
kas=aq-es[4]
take=CAUS-INF
Once the chief ordered Malla Nasradin to make a list of all the fools in his castle.

(2) Malla+Nasradin-ni pikri+b.ar-i-li sa.y eger
PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG thought+N:do-AOR-GER be:M if
sune-ni wazir-ti-ra nuker-ti-ra b-elk'-alli,
self:OBL-ERG adviser-PL:ABS-and noble-PL:ABS-and hpl-write-COND3
talqan il-d-a-či dukar.ik'-ni, il-i-či<b>li
chief:ABS this-PL-OBL-SUP laugh:M-MASD:ABS this-OBL-INS:N
il-di sune-la dušman-ti b-etar-ni
this-PL self:OBL-GEN enemy-PL:ABS hpl-happen-MASD:ABS
Malla Nasradin thought, if he would write down the advisers and nobles, the chief would laugh at them and they would become his enemies because of this.

(3) Malla+Nasradin pikri+uq-i sa.y wa talqan-na
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS thought+M:aux-GER be:M and chief-GEN
k'älʕä-li-zi-b-ti meħur-ti ʔ-ib-si bek'-ra
castle-OBL-ILL-hpl-ADP mad-PL:ABS say-AOR-ADJ head:ABS-and
ka<b>at-ur-li xala-ti ħurp-r-a-čil č'änk'-li
put:N-AOR-GER big-ADP letter-PL-OBL-COM naked-ADV

[4] The 1959 text has *baraqes* 'to get to make' instead of *kasaqes* 'to get to put together', here and in sentence 17 as well.

talqan-na-cun u b-elk'-i kağar b-ed-i-li
chief-GEN-LIM name:ABS N-write-GER paper:ABS N-give-AOR-GER
sa.y
be:M
Malla Nasradin thought a little, and having put the heading (saying) 'Fools in the castle of the chief' (on the paper), he wrote only the name of the chief in big letters and gave him the paper.

(4) talqay meħur-t-a-la luʕi-li-zi-b č'änk'-li
chief:OBL:ERG mad-ADP-OBL-GEN list-OBL-ILL-N naked-ADV
sune-la u če<b>aʔ-ib-ħeli le<w>ʕe-w
self:OBL-GEN name:ABS see:N-AOR-WHEN complete:M-M
ʕäsi+w-iʔ-ub-li χar<b>aʔ-i-li sa.y: se
angry+M-be-AOR-GER ask:N-AOR-GER be:M what:ABS
sa<b>i-w iš
be:N-INT this
When the chief saw only his own name on the list of fools, he got very angry and asked 'What is this?'

(5) il meħur-t-a-la luʕi sa<b>i, džawab
this mad-ADP-OBL-GEN list:ABS be:N answer:ABS
b-ed-i-li sa.y Malla+Nasradin-ni
N-give-AOR-GER be:M PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG
'This is the list of fools,' said Malla Nasradin.

(6) ħe-la pikri ħäsib.li, di-la
you:OBL-GEN thought:ABS according.to me:OBL-GEN
k'älʕä-li-zi-w le-w-si meħur ca w-alan-Ø
castle-OBL-ILL-M present-M-ADJ mad one M-appear.to.be-3
il-ra nu
this-and me:ABS
'According to your thinking, there is apparently one fool in this castle and it is me?'

(7) ʕe, talqan ħe-yči.w[5] meħur nu-ni iša-w
IJhey chief:ABS you-COMP:M mad me-ERG here-M
či-lra ħe-rg-i-ra
who:ABS-INDEF NEG-M:fmd-AOR-1
'No chief, I don't find anyone more foolish than you around here.'

[5] The original *ħuyčiw* is considered incorrect by speakers of Akusha; they suggest *ħeyčiw*, whereas the 1959 version has *ħečiw*.

(8) se+q'äyda ka<b>ilz=aq-id-a[6] ħu-ni nu
what+manner:ABS prove:N=CAUS-FUT2-INT you-ERG me:ABS
meħur w-i?-ni, wäw+b.äq-i-li sa.y
mad M-be-MASD:ABS cry+N:hit-AOR-GER be:M
talqay
chief:OBL:ERG
'How do you prove that I am a fool?' shouted the chief.

(9) ħu ara+w-ir-abi talqan
you:ABS healthy+M-be-OPT2 chief:ABS
'May you be healthy, chief!'

(10) ħu-ni-k'un nab-či qar+b.ar-i-ri[7] ħe-la
you-ERG-FOC me:OBL-SUP order+N:do-AOR-2 you:OBL-GEN
k'älʕä-li-zi-b-ti le<b>i-lra meħur-t-a-la
castle-OBL-ILL-hpl-ADP present:hpl-INDEF mad-ADP-OBL-GEN
luʕi b-ar=aq-es
list:ABS N-do=CAUS-INF
'But you asked me to make a list of fools in your castle.'

(11) ħe.b.i?.alli ħu-ni b-al-uli w-i?-es če<b>irk-ur
in.all.events you-ERG N-know-GER M-be-INF must:N-FUT3
ħe-la k'älʕä-li-zi-b-ti adam-ti
you:OBL-GEN castle-OBL-ILL-hpl-ADP person-PL:ABS
le<b>i-lra ħe-d-ik'-aħel-ra b-aqal=ğun-ti
present:hpl-INDEF NEG-pl-say-COND1p-and hpl-much=like-ADP
meħur-ti b-i?-ni
mad-ADP hpl-be-MASD:ABS
'In any case, you must know that a lot of people in your castle, if we don't say all of them, are fools.'

(12) il-di meħur-ti b-i?-ni b-al-uɢi
this-PL mad-ADP hpl-be-MASD:ABS N-know-CONC
k'älʕä-li-zi ka<b>at-ur-li ħer-ra+b-ir-uli
castle-OBL-ILL put:hpl-AOR-GER living-and+hpl-be-GER
il-d-a-la xala-si ħurmat-ra b-ir-usi ħu
this-PL-OBL-GEN big-ADJ honor:ABS-and N-do-ADJ you:ABS

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[6] The original *kabilzaqada* is incorrect for speakers of Akusha; *kabilzaqida* is also found in the 1959 version.

[7] The Aorist form *qarbariri* replaces the original Imperfect form *qarbaradi* which combined the perfective stem *-ar* 'do' with an Imperfect ending. This combination seems to be acceptable in Urakhi, but is impossible in Akusha.

b.eʕ.la-ra[8] meħur sa.y-ri
very-and mad be:M-2
'Although you know they are fools, you let them stay in your castle and give them a living and great honor, you are the biggest fool.'

(13) talqay b-ah-ur-li sa.y sune-s
chief:OBL:ERG N-know-AOR-GER be:M self:OBL-DAT
se-lra b-ur-e-si ka<ħe>l-ni wa
what:ABS-INDEF N-say-INF-ADJ stay:NEG-MASD:ABS and
pikri+uq-i w-ik'-uli sa.y:
thought+M:aux-GER M-say-GER be:M
The chief realized that there was nothing left for him to say and he replied thoughtfully:

(14) ʕäħ.na,[9] eger il-di adam-ti nu-ni meħur-ti
all.right if this-PL person-PL:ABS me-ERG mad-ADP
aħ-i, duxu-ti wa ʕäq'lu.če-b-ti adam-ti
be.not-GER clever-ADP and wise-hpl-ADP person-PL:ABS
b-iʔ-ni ka<b>iz=aq-asli, ħu-ni il-ħeli
hpl-be-MASD:ABS pose:hpl=CAUS-COND1 you-ERG this-WHEN
se b-ir-id-a
what:ABS N-do-FUT2-INT
'All right, if I prove to you that these people are not mad, but clever and wise, what will you do then?'

(15) il-ħeli-ra il luʕi-li-zi-b č'änk'-li ħe-la
this-WHEN-and this list-OBL-ILL-N naked-ADV you:OBL-GEN
u kawl-an
name:ABS remain-FUT3
'Then on the list only your name will remain.'

(16) sen
why
'Why?'

(17) sen-k'un ħu-ni qar+b.ar-i-ri meħur-t-a-la
why-FOC you-ERG order+N:do-AOR-2 mad-ADP-OBL-GEN
luʕi kas=aq-es
list:ABS take=CAUS-INF
'Because you ordered me to make a list of fools.'

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[8] The 1959 text had *beʕla*.

[9] This is the Urakhi equivalent of Akusha *ʕäħ sab* 'all right'.

(18) eger k'älʕä-li-zi-b-ti adam-ti meħur-ti
if castle-OBL-ILL-N-ADP person-PL:ABS mad-PL:ABS
aħ-i, ʕäq'lu.če-b-ti sa-b-ni b-al-uɢi, il-di
be.not-GER wise-hpl-ADP be-hpl-MASD:ABS N-know-CONC this-PL
duxu-ti adam-ti meħur-t-a-zi xal<b>ar-ib-si
clever-ADP person-PL:ABS mad-ADP-OBL-ILL declare:hpl-AOR-ADJ
b.eʕ.la meħur ħu sa.y-ri
very mad you:ABS be:M-2
'If there are no foolish people in this castle, although you knew they are wise, you, who declared clever people to be fools, are the biggest fool yourself.'

(19) talqay b-aħ-ur-li sa.y ʕur-ra sune-s
chief:OBL:ERG N-know-AOR-GER be:M then-and self:OBL-DAT
b-ur-e-si ka<ħe>l-ni wa le<w>ʕe-w
N-say-INF-ADJ stay:NEG-MASD:ABS and complete:M-M
ʕäsi+iʔ-ub-li w-ik'-uli sa.y:
angry+M:be-AOR-GER M-say-GER be:M
The chief knew then that there was nothing left to say and in complete anger he said:

(20) eger di-la k'älʕä-li-zi-w ca abdal
if me:OBL-GEN castle-OBL-ILL-M one stupid
le-w-ni wa il-ra ħu w-iʔ-ni
present-M-MASD:ABS and this-and you:ABS M-be-MASD:ABS
nu-ni ka<b>iz=aq-asli, il-ħeli ħu-ni se
me-ERG pose:N=CAUS-COND1 this-WHEN you-ERG what:ABS
b-ir-id-a
N-do-FUT2-INT
'If there is one fool in my castle and I prove that that is you, what do you do then?'

(21) il-ħeli-ra meħur-t-a-la luʕi-li-zi-b č'änk'-li
this-WHEN-and mad-ADP-OBL-GEN list-OBL-ILL-N naked-ADV
ħe-la u kawl-an
you:OBL-GEN name:ABS remain-FUT3
'Then your name remains on the list of fools.'

(22) sen
why
'Why?'

(23) sen-k'un ʕäq'lu.če-w-si adam-li abdal-li-či
why-FOC wise-M-ADJ person-OBL:ERG stupid-OBL-SUP

meħur-t-a-la luʕi b-ar=aq-es
mad-ADP-OBL-GEN list:ABS N-do=CAUS-INF
qar+ħe-b.ir-u
order+NEG-N:do-FUT3
'Because a wise man would not order a list of fools to be made by another fool.'

(24) eger nu-ni busaʕät džallad[10] t'alab+w-ar-i-li
if me-ERG immediately executioner:ABS invitation+M-do-AOR-GER
ħe-la ledzmi a<b>it'=aq-es qar+b.ar-asli
you:OBL-GEN tongue:ABS cut.off:N=CAUS-INF order+N:do-COND1
il-ħeli se b-ir-id-a
this-WHEN what:ABS N-do-FUT2-INT
'If I should order the executioner to come and cut off your tongue immediately, what would you do?'

(25) il-ħeli carħil-t-a-ni ħe-zi barχ=deš
this-WHEN other-ADP-OBL-ERG you:OBL-ILL true=ABSTR:ABS
ħe-b-ur-es-li iša-b-si[11] ħe-la u
NEG-N-say-INF-GER here-N-ADJ you:OBL-GEN name:ABS
b-uʔ-i, di-la[12] luk'-as
N-lose-GER me:OBL-GEN write-FUT1
'Then I would write my name down, having removed yours, so that others would not tell you the truth.'

[10] The 1959 text had *ħillači* '(*ħilla* 'blood feud').
[11] The 1959 text has *luʕilizibsi* 'in the list' here.
[12] The 1959 text did not omit *u*, and had *ħela u buʔi, dila u luk'as*.

22. MALLA NASRADIN AND THE CADI

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:98-100) was written down by Zagir Magomedov from the words by I.M. Gasanguseynov, born in 1928, from the village of Ayamakhi, Sergokala district. The story actually consist of two parts: the moral of the first part (sentences 1-33) is 'if you don't tell people what you have, no one knows you have it and it cannot be taken away from you'. The second half of the story is supposed to show the arrogance of the religious clergy: through sentence 59 the story relates that the cadi, instead of giving a straightforward answer and explaining the situation, wants to look erudite. The solution he proposes however, turns against him. Malla Nasradin does not allow himself to be offended.

(0) Малла Насрадинра кьадира
(1) Гьачам Малла Насрадинни берцIили гIяргIяра сайра пулав барили сай. (2) Кабихьили сунела гьала Насрадин укес хIядуриубли сай. (3) Амма укес вехIихьес гьалав ил пикриухъи сай: «Гьанна ну гIяхIил-декIар укес дигули ахIенра, рахли, бусагIят нуни пулаврa гIяргIяра деркасли, селра тIагIям агарли кани бицIахънигъуна бирар. (4) Кани бицIахъес пулавли ахIи мучари беркира вири. (5) Юх! Гьари, ца шадив аркьяс, къунзулхъас базарличивад, ил замайс ну гуширус, илхIели халал тIягIямличил пулавра букас».
(6) Сунела мерличиб батурли сай илини пулавли бицIибси кIабатI. (7) ГIекIили унза, унзала мякьлабси къаркъала уди умхьу кабихьили, шадив арякьи сай.
(8) Гьунчиб илис цугбикили саби кIел жагьил адам. (9) Игьдибар агарли илдачи хIеръили, Малла Насрадин викIули сай:
(10) - Чина аркьулрав хIуша, мялгIунти?
(11) Илди иличи тамашабиубли, секIалра хIеили хIербизурли саби.
(12) - Агь, хIуша гIурра гъайра хIейкIулрагу, - вехIизурли сай Насрадин, - нуни балас хIуша чина аркьулрал. (13) ХIуша мялгIунти, аркьулра дила пулав беркес. (14) Гьу? Багьуррав? (15) ХIера, ит саби дила юрт, хъулиб нуни батурра пулаврa, берцIибси гIяргIяра, унза гIекIира, умхьу унзала мякьлабси къаркъала уди кабихьира. (16) Рахли, абхьили унза, хIушани дила пулав беркадалли, хIуша нуни кьадичу аркура».
(17) Дурили жагьтази илдира, Малла Насрадин гьуни буцили гьайиубли сай. (18) Жагьтира, ил мехIур сай или гьайбиубли саби. (19) Амма Малла Насрадинна юртла мякьла бетаалли, илдани унзала мякьлаб чебаили саби чузи ибсигъуна къаркъа. (20) Илдазивад цали ахъбуцили сай къаркъа. (21) Илаб, марлира, баргили саби умхьу. (22) Унза абхьили хIеръалли, чебаили саби пулавли бицIили кIабатI, чедиб берцIибси гIяргIяра сабира. (23) БухIнабухъунтала беркайчи иштяхIдухъи сари, ва илди кабиили, берки пулав, Малла Насрадиннис, датурли сари лигубицун. (24) АркьухIели, илдани гIекIили унза, умхьу къаркъала уди кабихьили саби.

(25) Барили гIяхIцад шадиб-гьунира сайра, Малла Насрадин хъули чарухъи сай ва пикриухъи сай: «Беркунара итдани дила пулав, хIеберкунара? (26) Рахли, къаркъала удиб умхьу хеб биалли - пулав илдани хIеберкун, агара биалли - беркун».
(27) Илини къаркъа ахъбуцили сай, къаркъала удиб умхьу баргили сай. (28) Унза абхьили хIеръалли, чебаили сай лигуба бицIибси кIабатI. (29) ХIейгибизурдешли Малла Насрадин лев мерличив шипIвяргIили сай. (30) КIабатIла мякьла тIашизурли ил пикриухъи сай: «Чили беркунара дила пулав? (31) Къаркъала удиб умхьу баргхIебаргили виасри, итди жагьтани беркун викIес вираси. (32) Умхьу сунела мерличиб сабри. (33) ГIяйиблабарес илди асухIебирар...»
(34) Малла Насрадин пикриикIули левли, ца тIентI бакIили лигубачи кабиили саби. (35) Насрадин хIякизурли, багьлали тIентIла кьяшми дуцили сай. (36) ТIентI биалли батбухъес дигули «зизз» илил тIамали биркьули саби. (37) Малла Насрадин гIясииубли сай.
(38) «Агь, - вявъили сай илини, - берки дила пулавра, гIяргIяра, гIурра хIу «зизз» бикIулрив? (39) ХIу багьандан ну гушли калес чевкъули саби. (40) ГIурра хIу урези агарли «зизз» бикIулри! (41) ТIашбизи, гьари, нуни бархьдеш бургисну. (42) Баши, аркьехIе кьадичу|, - или Малла Насрадин тIентIра сайра кьадичи гьайиубли сай.
(43) - Кьади, - викIули сай илизи, - ну вакIилра хIечи суд барахъес. (44) Нуни хъулиб батурли пулавра, берцIибси гIяргIяра нура шадив вякьунра. (45) Унза гIекIира, умхьу къаркъала уди кабихьира. (46) ЧариубхIели, нуни умхьу сунела мерличиб баргира, амма я пулав, я гIяргIя хIедаргира. (47) Илди дерки сари иш тIентIли: нуни иш гIеладухъунти лигубачиб буцира. (48) Илди деркни хIейули, гIурра саби набзи «зззззз» бикIули саби! (49) ХIуни кьуръайзи хIеръану, ишис сегъуна танбихI чебаахъилил бура»
(50) Кьадини бакIахъили кьуръан, ил мехIур чевикахъес багьандан, хIеръили илизи викIули сай: (51) «Иш кунглизиб белкIи саби, тIентI батаэс гIягIниси саби, чина ил кабиалра ил кабиибил мерличи бяхъес гIягIниси саби иш тIерхьали (кьадини бедили сай сунела тIерхьа). (52) ИлхIели балад, гIяйибла вегI чи саял, гIяйиб агарси чи саял. (53) Рахли тIентIличи агахъадли, гIяйибла бегI саби тIентI, хIегахъадли - иличиб гIяйиб агара».
(54) - Тяп или белкIив ил кунглизиб? - хьарбаили сай Насрадинни.
(55) - Саби, - жаваб бедили сай кьадини. (56) Малла Насрадинни тIентI бархьаили сай. (57) Хъулибад лас-ласбухъи, ил кьадила андаличи кабиили саби. (58) Малла Насрадинни гIела-гьала чIикьитIи бяхъили сай - кьади хIили чяхIикIули кайкили сай.
(59) Малла Насрадин иличи валкайкили хъули чарухъи сай.
(60) Кьади багьлаиубси замана, илини сунела лагълизи буйрухъбарили сай, Малла Насрадиннис дяхъяхъес. (61) Илини илис дяхъили сай. (62) Малла Насрадин гIурра вакIили сай кьадичи.
(63) - Се гIягIнилив хIед? - хьарбаили сай кьадини илизи гьими-гьимили.

(64) - Ну гIурра хIечи вакIилра бархьдеш баргес, - викIули сай Насрадин, - хIела лагъли наб дяхъиб, илис танбихI барес гIягIниси саби. (65) ХIеръа кунглизину, барга, гьари, илис се белкIил илала хIекьлизиб.
(66) Кьадини хIеръили сай, кIинайс тIалабварили сунела лагъ, буйрухъбарили сай Малла Насрадис 20 кепек дедахъес, жузлизи или белкIи саби или. (67) Малла Насрадинни сасили сай гIяббаси. (68) Иличи хIеръили, викIули сай: «Иш 20 кепек ахIенну, 15 кепек саби. Ма, хIед». (69) Лагъли биалли 20 кепек саби или сасили ахIен. (70) ИлхIели Малла Насрадинни кьадис бедили сай ил арц, тиладибарили бархьдеш сунези баргахъес.
(71) Кьадини арц сасибмад, Малла Насрадинни кьадила бекIлизи дяхъили сай.
(72) - Се бирулрив хIуни, мялгIун! - вявъили сай кьадини.
(73) - Се бирулрал чехIейулрав? - викIули сай Малла Насрадин, - хIела лагъли гьала-гьала дяхъили, гIур гиб наб арц, нуни биалли хIед гьала-гьала арц лугулра, гIур дирхъулра.

(0) Malla+Nasradin-ra q'adi-ra
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS-and cadi:ABS-and
Malla Nasradin and the cadi.

(1) hačam Malla+Nasradin-ni b-erc'-i-li ʕärʕä-ra
once PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG N-fry-AOR-GER hen:ABS-and
sa.y-ra pulaw b-ar-i-li sa.y
be:M-and pilaf:ABS N-do-AOR-GER be:M
Once Malla Nasradin fried himself a chicken and prepared some pilaf.

(2) ka<b>iχ̂-i-li sune-la hala Nasradin
put:N-AOR-GER self:OBL-GEN before PNNasradin:ABS
uk-es[1] ħädur+iʔ-ub-li sa.y
M:eat-INF ready+M:be-AOR-GER be:M
Having served it out for himself, Nasradin was ready to eat.

(3) amma uk-es w-eħ.iχ̂-es hala-w il
but M:eat-INF M-start:M-INF before-M this
pikri+uq-i sa.y: hanna nu ʕäħ-il+dek'ar
thought+M:aux-GER be:M now me:ABS good-ADJ+particular
uk-es dig-uli aħen-ra, rax-li busaʕät nu-ni
M:eat-INF want-GER be.not-1 sudden-ADV immediately me-ERG
pulaw-ra ʕärʕä-ra d-erk-asli, se-lra[2]
pilaf:ABS-and hen:ABS-and pl-eat-COND1 what:ABS-INDEF

[1] The verb *-uk* 'eat' is used in an antipassive construction, see grammar section 8.3.2.
[2] Instead of *selra* 'nothing' Akusha informants would expect the genitive *selalra* 'of nothing'.

t'äʕäm[3] agar-li kani b-ic'=aq-ni=ǧuna
taste:ABS absent-GER belly:ABS N-fill=CAUS-MASD=like
b-ir-ar
N-be-FUT3
But before he started eating, he thought: 'I don't want to eat right now, if I eat this pilaf and the chicken immediately, it will be like filling my stomach without tasting it.'

(4) kani b-ic'=aq-es pulaw-li aħ-i
belly:ABS N-fill=CAUS-INF pilaf-OBL:ERG be.not-GER
mučari b-erk-i-ra w-ir-i
maize.doughnut:ABS N-eat-GER-and M-can-IMPF3
'To fill my stomach one could eat a doughnut instead of pilaf.'

(5) yux, hari, ca šadi-w arq'-äs, ɢunz+ulq-as
IJno IJwell one in.distraction-M leave-FUT1 ONwalk+M:aux-FUT1
bazar-li-či-w-ad, il zamay-s nu
market-OBL-SUP-M-ELA this time:OBL-DAT me:ABS
guš+ir-us, il-ħeli xala-l t'äʕäm-li-čil
hungry+M:be-FUT1 this-WHEN big-ADJ taste-OBL-COM
pulaw-ra b-uk-as
pilaf:ABS-and N-eat-FUT1
'No, I'll go to the village and have a stroll around the market and I will be hungry by that time and then I'll eat the pilaf with great relish.'

(6) sune-la mer-li-či-b b-at-ur-li sa.y
self:OBL-GEN place-OBL-SUP-N N-leave-AOR-GER be:M
il-i-ni pulaw-li b-ic'-ib-si k'abat'
this-OBL-ERG pilaf-OBL:ERG N-fill-AOR-ADJ tray:ABS
He left a tray filled with pilaf in its place.

(7) ʕek'-i-li undza, undza-la mäq'-la-b-si
lock-AOR-GER door:ABS door-GEN side-LOC-N-ADJ
ɢarɢa-la udi umx̌u ka<b>ix̌-i-li, šadi-w
stone-GEN below key:ABS put:N-AOR-GER in.distraction-M
ar.äq'-i sa.y
leave:M-GER be:M
He locked the door, put the key under a stone near the door and left for the village.

[3] The spelling *mlaʒlям* does not render the phonological shape of the word /t'äʕäm/ correctly.

(8) hun-či-b il-i-s cug+b-ik-i-li sa<b>i
road-SUP-N this-OBL-DAT middle+hpl-aux-AOR-GER be:hpl
k'.el džah-il adam
two young-ADJ person:ABS
On the road he met two young people.

(9) ihdibar[4] agar-li il-d-a-či ħer.ʔ-i-li
trust:ABS absent-GER this-PL-OBL-SUP look-AOR-GER
Malla+Nasradin w-ik'-uli sa.y:
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS M-say-GER be:M
Malla Nasradin looked upon them suspiciously and said:

(10) čina arq'-ul-ra-w ħuša mälʕun-ti
where leave-GER-2p-INT youP:ABS swindler-PL:ABS
'Where are you going, you swindlers?'

(11) il-di il-i-či tamaša+b-iʔ-ub-li, sek'al-ra
this-PL this-OBL-SUP wonder+hpl-be-AOR-GER thing:ABS-and
ħe-ʔ-i-li ħer+b-ik'-uli[5] sa<b>i
NEG-say-AOR-GER look+hpl-aux-GER be:hpl
They were surprised and without saying anything they looked at him.

(12) ah, ħuša ʕur-ra ğay-ra+ħe-yk'-ul-ra-gu,
IJah youP:ABS then-and word-and+NEG-M:aux-GER-2p-but
w-eħ.iz-ur-li sa.y Nasradin, nu-ni b-al-as
M-scold:M-AOR-GER be:M PNNasradin:ABS me-ERG N-know-FUT1
ħuša čina arq'-ul-ra-l
youP:ABS where leave-GER-2p-INDIR
'Ah, and you do not speak either,' scolded Nasradin, 'I know where you are going.'

(13) ħuša mälʕun-ti, arq'-ul-ra di-la
youP:ABS swindler-PL:ABS leave-GER-2p me:OBL-GEN
pulaw b-erk-es
pilaf:ABS N-eat-INF
'You swindlers are going to eat my pilaf.'

(14) hu, b-ah-ur-ra-w
IJwell N-know-AOR-1-INT
'Well? Did I guess?'

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[4] The Akusha speakers are confused about the use of *ihdibar* here; it is the Urakhi word for 'trust'; the corresponding Akusha word *ihdiyar* however, means 'reason'; in Akusha 'trust' would be *birxaʔud*.

[5] The original verb *ħerbizurli* belongs to the Urakhi dialect; Akusha speakers would use *ħerbik'uli*.

(15) ħera, it sa<b>i di-la yurt, quli-b
IJyou.see that be:N me:OBL-GEN house:ABS home-N
nu-ni b-at-ur-ra pulaw-ra, b-erc'-ib-si ʕärʕä-ra,
me-ERG N-leave-AOR-1 pilaf:ABS-and N-fry-AOR-ADJ hen:ABS-and
undza ʕek'-i-ra, umχu undza-la mäq'-la-b-si
door:ABS lock-AOR-1 key:ABS door-GEN side-LOC-N-ADJ
ɢarɢa-la udi ka<b>iχ-i-ra
stone-GEN below put:N-AOR-1
'You see, that is my house, in the house I left the pilaf, the fried chicken, I locked the door and put the key under the stone near the door.'

(16) rax-li, abχ-i-li undza, ħuša-ni di-la
sudden-ADV open-AOR-GER door:ABS youP-ERG me:OBL-GEN
pulaw b-erk-adalli, ħuša nu-ni q'adi-či[6]
pilaf:ABS N-eat-COND2p youP:ABS me-ERG cadi-SUP
ark-u-ra
lead.away-FUT-2p
'If you unlock the door and eat my pilaf, I will take you to the cadi.'

(17) d-ur-i-li džah-t-a-zi il-di-ra,
pl-say-AOR-GER young-ADP-OBL-ILL this-PL-and
Malla+Nasradin huni b-uc-i-li
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS road:ABS N-catch-AOR-GER
hay.i?-ub-li sa.y
set.off:M-AOR-GER be:M
Having said all this to these youngsters, Malla Nasradin went on his way.

(18) džah-ti-ra il meħur sa.y ?-i-li
young-ADP-and this mad be:M say-AOR-GER
hay<b>i?-ub-li sa<b>i
set.off:hpl-AOR-GER be:hpl
And the youngsters continued their way too, thinking he was mad.

(19) amma Malla+Nasradin-na yurt-la mäq'-la
but PNMalla+Nasradin-GEN house-GEN side-LOC
b-eta?-alli, il-d-a-ni undza-la mäq'-la-b
hpl-reach-COND3 this-PL-OBL-ERG door-GEN side-LOC-N
če<b>a?-i-li sa<b>i ču-zi ?-ib-si=ğuna
see:N-AOR-GER be:hpl self:PL:OBL-ILL say-AOR-ADJ=like

[6] The original ending *-ču* 'towards' here and in sentence 42, does not belong to the Akusha dialect or to Standard Dargi, but it does to a range of other Dargi dialects.

ɢarɢa
stone:ABS
But when they reached Malla Nasradin's house, they saw the stone near his door, similar to the one he mentioned to them.

(20) il-d-a-zi-w-ad ca-li aq+b-uc-i-li
this-PL-OBL-ILL-M-ELA one-OBL:ERG high+N-catch-AOR-GER
sa.y ɢarɢa
be:M stone:ABS
One of them lifted up the stone.

(21) ila-b, mar-li-ra, b-arg-i-li sa<b>i umχu
here-N real-ADV-and N-find-AOR-GER be:hpl key:ABS
Here they really did find the key.

(22) undza abχ-i-li ħer.ʔ-alli, če<b>aʔ-i-li
door:ABS open-AOR-GER look-COND3 see:N-AOR-GER
sa<b>i pulaw-li b-ic'-i-li k'abat', čedi-b
be:hpl pilaf-OBL:ERG N-fill-AOR-GER tray:ABS above-N
b-erc'-ib-si ʕärʕä-ra sa<b>i-ra
N-fry-AOR-ADJ hen:ABS-and be:N-and
They unlocked the door and when they looked, they saw a tray filled with pilaf and a fried chicken on top of it.

(23) b-uħna+b-uq-un-t-a-la berkay-či
hpl-inside+hpl-aux-AOR-ADP-OBL-GEN meal:OBL-SUP
ištäħ+d-uq-i sa<r>i, wa il-di ka<b>iʔ-i-li,
desire+pl-aux-GER be:pl and this-PL sit.down:hpl-AOR-GER
b-erk-i pulaw, Malla+Nasradin-ni-s
N-eat-GER pilaf:ABS PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL-DAT
d-at-ur-li sa<r>i lig-ubi-cun
pl-leave-AOR-GER be:pl bone-PL:ABS-LIM
A desire to eat something was felt by those who went inside, and after they sat down, they ate the pilaf and only the bones were left for Malla Nasradin.

(24) arq'-uħeli, il-d-a-ni ʕek'-i-li undza, umχu
leave-WHEN this-PL-OBL-ERG lock-AOR-GER door:ABS key:ABS
ɢarɢa-la udi ka<b>iχ-i-li sa<b>i
stone-GEN below put:N-AOR-GER be:hpl
When they left, they locked the door and put the key under the stone near the door.

(25) b-ar-i-li ʕäh-cad šadi-b+huni-ra sa.y-ra,
N-do-AOR-GER good-EQ in.distraction-N+road:ABS-and be:M-and
Malla+Nasradin quli čar+uq-i sa.y wa
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS home return+M:aux-GER be:M and
pikri+uq-i sa.y: b-erk-un-a-ra it-d-a-ni
thought+M:aux-AOR be:M N-eat-AOR-INT-and that-PL-OBL-ERG
di-la pulaw, ħe-b-erk-un-a-ra
me:OBL-GEN pilaf:ABS NEG-N-eat-AOR-INT-and
After he had been some time in the village, Malla Nasradin returned home and thought: 'Will they have eaten my pilaf or won't they?'

(26) rax-li ɢarɢa-la udi-b umχu xe-b-Ø b-iʔ-alli,
sudden-ADV stone-GEN below-N key:ABS present-N-Ø N-be-COND3
pulaw il-d-a-ni ħe-b-erk-un-Ø, agara
pilaf:ABS this-PL-OBL-ERG NEG-N-eat-AOR-3 absent:FUT3
b-iʔ-alli, b-erk-un-Ø
N-be-COND3 N-eat-AOR-3
'If the key is under the stone, they will not have eaten my pilaf, if it is not, they ate it.'

(27) il-i-ni ɢarɢa aq+b-uc-i-li sa.y,
this-OBL-ERG stone:ABS high+N-catch-AOR-GER be:M
ɢarɢa-la udi-b umχu b-arg-i-li sa.y
stone-GEN below-N key:ABS N-find-AOR-GER be:M
He lifted the stone and found the key under the stone.

(28) undza abχ-i-li ħer.ʔ-alli, če<b>aʔ-i-li
door:ABS open-AOR-GER look-COND3 see:N-AOR-GER
sa.y lig-ub-a b-ic'-ib-si k'abat'
be:M bone-PL-OBL:ERG N-fill-AOR-ADJ tray:ABS
He opened the door and when he looked, he saw the tray filled with bones.

(29) ħeygi+b-iz-ur=deš-li Malla+Nasradin
dislike+N-aux-AOR=ABSTR-OBL:ERG PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS
le-w-Ø mer-li-či-w šip'+w-ärʕ-i-li sa.y
present-M-3 place-OBL-SUP-M ONhush+M-cool.off-AOR-GER be:M
With grief Malla Nasradin sat at his place without a word.

(30) k'abat'-la mäq'-la t'aš+iz-ur-li il
tray-GEN side-LOC stop+M:aux-AOR-GER this
pikri+uq-i sa.y: či-li b-erk-un-a-ra
thought+M:aux-GER be:M who-OBL:ERG N-eat-AOR-INT-and

di-la pulaw
me:OBL-GEN pilaf:ABS
He stopped near the tray and thought: 'Who can have eaten my pilaf?'

(31) ɢaʁɢa-la udi-b umx̂u b-arg+ħe-b-arg-i-li
stone-GEN below-N key:ABS N-find+NEG-N-find-AOR-GER
w-i?-as.ri it-di džah-t-a-ni b-erk-un-Ø w-ik'-es
M-be-IRR1 that-PL young-ADP-OBL-ERG N-eat-AOR-3 M-say-INF
w-ir-asi
M-can-IMPF1
'If I had not found the key under the stone, I could have said it was those youngsters.'

(32) umx̂u sune-la mer-li-či-b sa-b-ri
key:ABS self:OBL-GEN place-OBL-SUP-N be-N-PRET
'The key was in its place (however).'

(33) ʕäyib-la-b-ar-es il-di asu+ħe-b.ir-ar
guilt-LOC-hpl-do-INF this-PL allow+NEG-N:be-FUT3
'I cannot blame them.'

(34) Malla+Nasradin pikri+ik'-uli le-w-li, ca
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS thought+M:aux-GER present-M-GER one
t'ent' b-ak'-i-li lig-ub-a-či ka<b>i?-i-li
fly:ABS N-come-AOR-GER bone-PL-OBL-SUP sit.down:N-AOR-GER
sa<b>i
be:N
While Malla Nasradin was thinking, a fly came and sat down on the bones.

(35) Nasradin ħäk.iz-ur-li, bahla-li t'ent'-la
PNNasradin:ABS stop:M-AOR-GER slow-ADV fly-GEN
q'äš-mi d-uc-i-li sa.y
leg-PL:ABS pl-catch-AOR-GER be:M
Malla Nasradin stopped, and slowly caught the legs of the fly.

(36) t'ent' b.i?.alli b-at<b>uq-es dig-uli «zizz» ?-i-li
fly:ABS however N-free:N-INF want-GER ONzzz say-AOR-GER
t'ama-li b-irq'-uli sa<b>i
voice-OBL:ERG N-do-GER be:N
The fly however wanted to get free, and made the sound 'zzz'.

(37) Malla+Nasradin ʕäsi+i?-ub-li sa.y
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS angry+M:be-AOR-GER be:M
Malla Nasradin got angry.

(38) ah, wäw+?-i-li sa.y il-i-ni, b-erk-i
IJah cry+say-AOR-GER be:M this-OBL-ERG N-eat-GER
di-la pulaw-ra ʕärʕä-ra, ʕur-ra ħu
me:OBL-GEN pilaf:ABS-and hen:ABS-and then-and you:ABS
«zizz» b-ik'-ul-ri-w
ONzzz N-say-GER-2-INT
'Ah,' he cried, 'you ate my pilaf and chicken and then you dare saying "zzz" ?'

(39) ħu bahandan nu guš-li kal-es če<b>urɢ-uli[7]
you:ABS because me:ABS hungry-OBL stay-INF have.to:N-GER
sa<b>i
be:N
'Because of you I have to stay hungry?'

(40) ʕur-ra ħu urezi agar-li «zizz» b-ik'-ul-ri
then-and you:ABS shame:ABS absent-ADV ONzzz N-say-GER-2
'Then without shame you even say "zzz" ?'

(41) t'aš+b-iz-i, hari, nu-ni barχ=deš
stop+N-aux-IMP IJwell me-ERG true=ABSTR:ABS
b-urg-is-nu
N-find-FUT1-for
'Stop, I shall find out the truth.'

(42) b-aš-i arq'-ehe q'adi-či, ?-i-li
N-come-IMP leave-FUT1p cadi-SUP say-AOR-GER
Malla+Nasradin t'ent'-ra sa.y-ra q'adi-či
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS fly:ABS-and self:ABS:M-and cadi-SUP
hay.i?-ub-li sa.y
set.off:M-AOR-GER be:M
'Come, we will go to the cadi,' said Malla Nasradin, and he and the fly set off to the cadi.

(43) q'adi, w-ik'-uli sa.y il-i-zi, nu
cadi:ABS M-say-GER be:M this-OBL-ILL me:ABS
w-ak'-i-l-ra ħe-či sud
M-come-AOR-GER-1 you:OBL-SUP jurisdiction:ABS

[7] Akusha *če<B>urɢ* replaces the original *čewɢ* , which was considered incorrect.

b-ar=aq-es
N-do=CAUS-INF
'Cadi,' he said to him, 'I come to you for jurisdiction.'

(44) nu-ni quli-b b-at-ur-li pulaw-ra, b-erc'-ib-si
me-ERG home-N N-leave-AOR-GER pilaf:ABS-and N-fry-AOR-ADJ
ʕärʕä-ra nu-ra šadi-w w-äq'-un-ra
hen:ABS-and me:ABS-and in.distraction-M M-go-AOR-1
'I left pilaf at home and a fried chicken and I went to the village.'

(45) undza ʕek'-i-ra, umx̂u ɢarɢa-la udi ka<b>ix̂-i-ra
door:ABS lock-AOR-1 key:ABS stone-GEN below put:N-AOR-1
'I locked the door and put the key under the stone.'

(46) čar+iʔ-ub-ħeli, nu-ni umx̂u sune-la
return+M:be-AOR-WHEN me-ERG key:ABS self:OBL-GEN
mer-li-či-b b-arg-i-ra, amma ya pulaw, ya
place-OBL-SUP-N N-find-AOR-1 but or pilaf:ABS or
ʕärʕä ħe-d-arg-i-ra
hen:ABS NEG-pl-find-AOR-1
'When I returned, I found the key in its place but neither the pilaf, nor the chicken were there.'

(47) il-di d-erk-i sa<r>i iš t'ent'-li: nu-ni iš
this-PL pl-eat-GER be:pl this fly-OBL:ERG me-ERG this
ʕela+d-uq-un-ti lig-ub-a-či-b b-uc-i-ra
after+pl-aux-AOR-ADP bone-PL-OBL-SUP-N N-catch-AOR-1
'They were eaten by this fly: I caught him at the bones that were left.'

(48) il-di d-erk-ni ħe-yʔ-uli, ʕur-ra sa<b>i
this-PL pl-eat-MASD:ABS NEG-pl:be-GER then-and self:ABS:N
nab-zi «zzzzz» b-ik'-uli sa<b>i
me:OBL-ILL ONzzz N-say-GER be:N
'As if it had not eaten them, it even said "zzz" to me.'

(49) ħu-ni q'urʔay-zi ħer.ʔ-a-nu, iš-i-s
you-ERG Koran:OBL-ILL look-IMP-for this-OBL-DAT
se=ğuna tanbiħ če<b>aʔ=aq-i-li-l
what=like punishment:ABS see:N=CAUS-AOR-GER-INDIR
b-ur-a
N-say-IMP
'Look in the Koran and tell me what kind of punishment it decrees for this.'

(50) q'adi-ni b-ak'=aq-i-li q'ur?an il meћur
cadi-ERG N-come=CAUS-AOR-GER Koran:ABS this mad
če<w><w>ik=aq-es[8] bahandan, ћer.?-i-li il-i-zi
leave.alone:M:M=CAUS-INF in.order.to look-AOR-GER this-OBL-ILL
w-ik'-uli sa.y:
M-say-GER be:M
The cadi got the Koran, and to get rid of this fool, he looked and said to him:

(51) iš kung-li-zi-b[9] b-elk'-i sa<b>i, t'ent' b-ata?-es
this book-OBL-ILL-N N-write-GER be:N fly:ABS N-release-INF
ʕäʕni-si sa<b>i, čina il ka<b>i?-al-ra il
necessary-ADJ be:N where this sit.down:N-COND3-and this
ka<b>i?-ib-il[10] mer-li-či b-äq-es ʕäʕni-si
sit.down:N-AOR-ADJ place-OBL-SUP N-hit-INF necessary-ADJ
sa<b>i iš t'erχa-li (q'adi-ni b-ed-i-li sa.y
be:N this stick-OBL:ERG cadi-ERG N-give-AOR-GER be:M
sune-la t'erχa)
self:OBL-GEN stick:ABS
'It is written in this book that you have to release the fly and wherever it settles, you have to hit it with this stick on the place where it has sat down,' (and the cadi gave him his stick).

(52) il-ћeli b-al-ad, ʕäyib-la w-eʕ či
this-WHEN N-know-FUT2 guilt-GEN M-owner:ABS who:ABS
sa.y-al, ʕäyib agar-si či sa.y-al
be:M-INDIR guilt:ABS absent-ADJ who:ABS be:M-INDIR
'Then you will know, who is guilty and who is not.'

(53) rax-li t'ent'-li-či ag=aq-adli, ʕäyib-la
sudden-ADV fly-OBL-SUP hit=CAUS-COND2 guilt-GEN
b-eʕ sa<b>i t'ent', ћe-g=aq-adli,
N-owner:ABS be:N fly:ABS NEG-hit=CAUS-COND2
il-i-či-b ʕäyib agara
this-OBL-SUP-N guilt:ABS absent:FUT3
'If you hit the fly, he is guilty, if you don't hit him, he has no guilt.'

(54) täp ?-i-li b-elk'-i-w il kung-li-zi-b
exactly say-AOR-GER N-write-GER-INT this book-OBL-ILL-N

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[8] The original verb *čewikaqes* lacks a gender marker and is therefore incorrect.

[9] *kung* 'book, scripture in Arabic of religious, moral or juridical content'.

[10] The adjective suffix *-il* does not occur in the dialect of Akusha as the participle ending, but in other dialects it does. The usual Akusha ending would be *-si*.

χ̂ar<b>a?-i-li sa.y Nasradin-ni
ask:N-AOR-GER be:M PNNasradin-OBL:ERG
'Is it written exactly like that?' asked Nasradin.

(55) sa<b>i, džawab b-ed-i-li sa.y q'adi-ni
be:N answer:ABS N-give-AOR-GER be:M cadi-OBL:ERG
'It is,' answered the cadi.

(56) Malla+Nasradin-ni t'ent' b-arχ̂a?-i-li sa.y
PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG fly:ABS N-release-AOR-GER be:M
Malla Nasradin released the fly.

(57) quli-b-ad las+las+b-uq-i il q'adi-la anda-li-či
room-N-ELA turn+turn+N-aux-GER this cadi-GEN forehead-OBL-SUP
ka<b>i?-i-li sa<b>i
sit.down:N-AOR-GER be:N
He flew turning through the room and sat down on the forehead of the cadi.

(58) Malla+Nasradin-ni ʕela+hala č'iq'.it'-i
PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG after+before stretch:M-GER
b-äq-i-li sa.y q'adi ħi-li[11]
N-hit-AOR-GER be:M cadi:ABS blood-OBL:ERG
čäħ+ik'-uli ka.yk-i-li sa.y
ONshed+M:aux-GER fall.down:M-AOR-GER be:M
Malla Nasradin stretched back and forth and hit, the cadi fell down shedding blood.

(59) Malla+Nasradin il-i-či w-al<ka>yk-i-li
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS this-OBL-SUP M-agree:TH:M-AOR-GER
quli čar+uq-i sa.y
home return+M:aux-GER be:M
Malla Nasradin was pleased with this and returned home.

(60) q'adi bahla+i?-ub-si zamana, il-i-ni
cadi:ABS healthy+M:be-AOR-ADJ time:ABS this-OBL-ERG
sune-la lağ-li-zi buyruq+b.ar-i-li sa.y,
self:OBL-GEN slave-OBL-ILL decree+N:do-AOR-GER be:M
Malla+Nasradin-ni-s d-äq=äq-es
PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL-DAT pl-hit=CAUS-INF
When the cadi got over his wounds, he told his slave to go hit Malla Nasradin.

[11] *ħi* is the Urakhi equivalent of Akusha *ħe* 'blood'.

(61) il-i-ni il-i-s d-äq-i-li sa.y
this-OBL-ERG this-OBL-DAT pl-hit-AOR-GER be:M
He (went and) hit him.

(62) Malla+Nasradin ʕur-ra w-ak'-i-li sa.y
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS then-and M-come-AOR-GER be:M
q'adi-či
cadi-SUP
Malla Nasradin came to the cadi.

(63) se ʕäʕni-li-w ħed, x̂ar<b>a?-i-li sa.y
what:ABS necessary-ADV-INT you:DAT ask:N-AOR-GER be:M
q'adi-ni il-i-zi himi+himi-li
cadi-ERG this-OBL-ILL angry+angry-ADV
'What do you need (from me)?' asked the cadi of him angrily.

(64) nu ʕur-ra ħe-či w-ak'-i-l-ra
me:ABS then-and you:OBL-SUP M-come-AOR-GER-1
barx̂=deš b-arg-es, w-ik'-uli sa.y Nasradin,
true=ABSTR:ABS N-find-INF M-say-GER be:M PNNasradin:ABS
ħe-la lağ-li nab d-äq-ib-Ø, il-i-s
you:OBL-GEN slave-OBL:ERG me:DAT pl-hit-AOR-3 this-OBL-DAT
tanbiħ b-ar-es ʕäʕni-si sa<b>i
punishment:ABS N-do-INF necessary-ADJ be:N
'I came to you to seek justice,' said Nasradin, 'your slave hit me, he has to be punished.'

(65) ħer.ʔ-a kung-li-zi-nu, b-arg-a, hari, il-i-s
look-IMP book-OBL-ILL-for N-find-IMP IJwell this-OBL-DAT
se b-elk'-i-l il-a-la
what:ABS N-write-GER-INDIR this-OBL-GEN
ħeq'-li-zi-b
reason-OBL-ILL-N
'Look into your book, and find what is written with regard to this.'

(66) q'adi-ni ħer.ʔ-i-li sa.y, k'i.na.ys
cadi-ERG look-AOR-GER be:M second.time
t'alab+w-ar-i-li sune-la lağ
invitation+M-do-AOR-GER self:OBL-GEN slave:ABS
buyruq+b.ar-i-li sa.y Malla+Nasradi-s ğa.l
decree+N:do-AOR-GER be:M PNMalla+Nasradin-DAT twenty
kepek d-ed=aq-es, džuz-li-zi ʔ-i-li
copeck:ABS pl-give=CAUS-INF book-OBL-ILL say-AOR-GER

b-elk'-i sa<b>i ʔ-i-li
N-write-GER be:N say-AOR-GER
The cadi looked and invited his slave for the second time and ordered him to give Malla Nasradin twenty copecks, 'that is written in the book,' he said.

(67) Malla+Nasradin-ni sas-i-li sa.y ʕäbbasi
PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG take-AOR-GER be:M dime:ABS
Malla Nasradin took the dime.

(68) il-i-či ħer.ʔ-i-li, w-ik'-uli sa.y: iš ğa.l
this-OBL-SUP look-AOR-GER M-say-GER be:M this twenty
kepek aħen-nu wec'.nu šu.ra kepek sa<b>i,
copeck:ABS be.not-for ten five copeck:ABS be:N
ma, ħed
IJwell you:DAT
He looked at it and said: 'It is not twenty copecks, but fifteen, here, they are yours.'

(69) laǧ-li b.iʔ.alli ğa.l kepek sa<b>i ʔ-i-li
slave-OBL:ERG however twenty copeck:ABS be:N say-AOR-GER
sas-i-li aħen
take-AOR-GER be.not
The slave however did not take it, saying it is twenty copecks.

(70) il-ħeli Malla+Nasradin-ni q'adi-s b-ed-i-li
this-WHEN PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG cadi-DAT N-give-AOR-GER
sa.y il arc, tiladi+b-ar-i-li barx̂=deš
be:M this money:ABS request+N-do-AOR-GER true=ABSTR:ABS
sune-zi b-arg=aq-es
self:OBL-ILL N-find=CAUS-INF
Then Malla Nasradin gave this money to the cadi, asking him to find the truth for him.

(71) q'adi-ni arc sas-ib-mad, Malla+Nasradin-ni
cadi-ERG money:ABS take-AOR-ASA PNMalla+Nasradin-ERG
q'adi-la bek'-li-zi d-äq-i-li sa.y
cadi-GEN head-OBL-ILL pl-hit-AOR-GER be:M
As soon as he took the money, Malla Nasradin hit the cadi on the head.

(72) se b-ir-ul-ri-w ħu-ni, mälʕun,
what:ABS N-do-GER-2-INT you-ERG swindler:ABS

wäw+ʔ-i-li sa.y q'adi-ni
cry+say-AOR-GER be:M cadi-ERG
'What did you do, idiot?' shouted the cadi.

(73) se b-ir-ul-ra-l če<ħe>yʔ-ul-ra-w w-ik'-uli
what:ABS N-do-GER-1-INDIR see:NEG:M-GER-1-INT M-say-GER
sa.y Malla+Nasradin, ħe-la lağ-li
be:M PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS you:OBL-GEN slave-OBL:ERG
hala+hala d-äq-i-li, ʕur g-ib-Ø nab
before+before pl-hit-AOR-GER then give-AOR-3 me:DAT
arc, nu-ni b.iʔ.alli ħed hala+hala
money:ABS me-ERG however you:DAT before+before
arc lug-ul-ra, ʕur d-irq-ul-ra
money:ABS give-GER-1 then pl-hit-GER-1
'Don't you see what I am doing?' said Malla Nasradin, 'your slave hit me first and then gave me money; I, on the contrary, give you money first and then hit you.'

23. THE PRICE OF A DIME

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:100) was written down by Zapir Abdullaev from the words of Umalat Imamzagirov, born 1931, from the village of Garatsani, Kaytag district.

(0) ГІяббасила багьа
(1) Гьачам Малла Насрадин гьуникад аркьули левли, сунес хабарра агарли ца адамли илала хъянтІализи хункІли бяхъили сай. (2) Малла Насрадин гІясивиубли сай ва ласиубли илис бяхъес вализурли сай.
(3) - Эй, ашна, хІебагьурра, - викІули сай ил Насрадиннизи.
(4) - Багьадлира хІебагьадлира хІуни наб хІязлис бяхъирину, ваши кьадичи судличи, - или Насрадинни ил арукили сай. (5) Кьади баягъи ил бяхъибси адамла гьалмагъ уили сай. (6) Кьади илис бяхънилис гІяббаси бедес гІягІнили саби викІули сай.
(7) Бяхъибси адам кьадизи, валлагь, гьанна набзиб гІяббаси агарану хъули вякьи лебхис или, дуравхъи ветахъили сай. (8) Малла Насрадин ца сагІят хІерли кайили сай, гьеч ил адам дакІуухъи ахІен. (9) ИлхІели Насрадин сай виргІявиргниличи шакикили сайну, ца пикри-пикриухъи, кьадичи гъамиубли сай ва гьари, кьади, гьанна ну кьанирулрану, бяхънила багьа гІяббаси биалли, итини хибси гІяббаси хІед каса, гьари, бизахъурли, витІ-витІакІили вируГІевли кьадила хъянтІани хункІли бяхъили, дураухъи хъули арякьи сай.

(0) ʕäbbasi-la baha
dime-GEN price:ABS
The price of a dime.

(1) hačam Malla+Nasradin huni-kad arq'-uli
once PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS road-ELA leave-GER
le-w-li, sune-s xabar-ra agar-li ca
present-M-GER self:OBL-DAT story:ABS-and absent-GER one
adam-li il-a-la qänt'a-li-zi xunk'-li
person-OBL:ERG this-OBL-GEN neck-OBL-ILL fist-OBL:ERG
b-äq-i-li sa.y
N-hit-AOR-GER be:M
Once Malla Nasradin was walking along the road when a man hit him in the neck with his fist for no reason.

(2) Malla+Nasradin ʕäsi+w-i?-ub-li sa.y wa
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS angry+M-be-AOR-GER be:M and

las+iʔ-ub-li il-i-s b-äq-es
turn+M:be-AOR-GER this-OBL-DAT N-hit-INF
w-al.iz-ur-li sa.y
M-decide:M-AOR-GER be:M
Malla Nasradin became angry and turning around decided to hit him.

(3) ey, ašna, ħe-b-ah-ur-ra,[1] w-ik'-uli sa.y il
IJhey fellow NEG-N-know-AOR-1 M-say-GER be:M this
Nasradin-ni-zi
PNNasradin-OBL-ILL
'Hey fellow, I did not know,' said this man to Nasradin.

(4) b-ah-adli-ra ħe-b-ah-adli-ra ħu-ni nab
N-know-COND2-and NEG-N-know-COND2-and you-ERG me:DAT
ħäz-li-s b-äq-i-ri-nu, w-aš-i q'adi-či
joke-OBL-DAT N-hit-AOR-2-for M-come-IMP cadi-SUP
sud-li-či, ʔ-i-li Nasradin-ni il
jurisdiction-OBL-SUP say-AOR-GER PNNasradin-OBL:ERG this
ar.uk-i-li sa.y
lead:M-AOR-GER be:M
'Whether you knew or you did not know, you hit me for fun, come to the cadi for jurisdiction,' said Nasradin and led him (to the cadi).

(5) q'adi bayäği il b-äq-ib-si adam-la halmağ
cadi:ABS this.very this N-hit-AOR-ADJ person-GEN friend:ABS
uʔ-i-li sa.y
M:be-AOR-GER be:M
The cadi apparently was a friend of the person who hit him.

(6) q'adi il-i-s b-äq-ni-li-s ʕäbbasi
cadi:ABS this-OBL-DAT N-hit-MASD-OBL-DAT dime:ABS
b-ed-es ʕäʕni-li sa<b>i w-ik'-uli sa.y
N-give-INF necessary-ADV be:N M-say-GER be:M
The cadi said it would be necessary to give Nasradin a dime for hitting him.

(7) b-äq-ib-si adam q'adi-zi, wallah hanna
N-hit-AOR-ADJ person:ABS cadi-ILL IJMy.God now
nab-zi-b ʕäbbasi agara-nu quli w-äq'-i
me:OBL-ILL-N dime:ABS absent:FUT3-for home M-go-GER

[1] Here and in the next sentence the forms of the verb *-ah* with neutral gender agreement mean something like 'I did not know (it)' and 'if you knew/did not know it'; some Akusha informants consider the forms strange: they would expect forms with masculine markers like *waħehurri* 'I did not know/recognize you' and *wahaslira, ħehaslira* 'if you knew me or did not know me'.

le<b>x-is ʔ-i-li, dura+wq-i
bring:N-FUT1 say-AOR-GER out+M:aux-GER
w-etaq-i-li sa.y
M-disappear-AOR-GER be:M
The man who had hit him, (said) to the cadi: 'Oh dear, I do not have a dime with me, I shall go home and bring it,' and when he left, he disappeared.

(8) Malla+Nasradin ca saʕät ħer-li
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS one hour:ABS waiting-OBL:ERG
ka.yʔ-i-li sa.y, heč il adam
sit.down:M-AOR-GER be:M completely this person:ABS
dak'u+uq-i aħen
appear+M:aux-GER be.not
Malla Nasradin sat waiting for one hour, the man did not appear at all.

(9) il-ħeli Nasradin sa.y
this-WHEN PNNasradin:ABS self:ABS:M
w-irʕä<w>irg-ni-li-či šak+ik-i-li sa.y-nu,
M-deceive:M-MASD-OBL-SUP guess+M:aux-AOR-GER be:M-for
ca pikri+pikri+uq-i, q'adi-či ğam+iʔ-ub-li
one thought+thought+M:aux-GER cadi-SUP near+M:be-AOR-GER
sa.y wa hari, q'adi, hanna nu q'an+ir-ul-ra-nu,
be:M and IJwell cadi:ABS now me:ABS late+M:be-GER-1-for
b-äq-ni-la baha ʕäbbasi b-iʔ-alli,
N-hit-MASD-GEN price:ABS dime:ABS N-be-COND3
it-i-ni x-ib-si ʕäbbasi ħed kas-a, hari,
that-OBL-ERG bring-AOR-ADJ dime:ABS you:DAT take-IMP IJwell
b-iz=aq-ur-li w-it'+w-it'ak'-i-li
N-hurt=CAUS-AOR-GER M-swing.back+M-swing.back-AOR-GER
w-iru.ʕe-w-li q'adi-la qänt'a.ni xunk'-li[2]
M-complete:M-ADV cadi-GEN in.neck fist-OBL:ERG
b-äq-i-li dura+uq-i quli ar.äq'-i sa.y
N-hit-AOR-GER out+M:aux-GER home leave:M-GER be:M
Then Nasradin guessed that he had been deceived and after some thinking, he went to the cadi and said 'Well, cadi, I am late now and if the price of hitting is a dime, you yourself take the dime he will bring,' and wrenching his arm back until it hurt, he hit the cadi mightily with his fist in the neck, and left for home.

[2] Akusha informants object to the use of an ergative adjunct here, referring to the same entity as the class marker *b-* in the verb. For the valency of *-äq/irq*, see grammar section 8.2.3.

24. "WHY DID YOU SIT UP THERE IN THE SKY?"

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:100-101) was written down by Zapir Abdullaev and earlier published in Abdullaev & Gasanova (1959:133).

(0) Сен хIу заки айибсирив?
(1) Малла Насрадинра талхъанра гьала-гьала къаршибикниличила ишкьяйда бурули бирар.
(2) Талхъай Малла Насрадин сунела кIялгIялизи[1] тIалабварибси сай бикIар.
(3) Малла Насрадин вакIили хIеръалли, хъали бицIили адамти чебаили сай.
(4) Лебилра илди мява барили чIябарличи кабиили буили саби. (5) ЧIянкIли талхъан кайили уили сай лебгIеб ахъси тахличи. (6) Маллани талхъайс суждабарили, викIули сай: ХIу аравираби, аллагь!
(7) - Ну аллагь ахIенра, - жаваб бедили сай талхъай. - Ну...
(8) Малла Насрадинни ил буруси таманбарахъес ватурли ахIен: - ХIу багьандан гIямру дедес хIядурлира ну, израгIил!
(9) - СейкIусирив хIу? - викIули сай талхъан.
(10) - Сегъуна израгIил вирусира ну?
(11) - Нуни балули ахIенра, -жаваб бедили сай Малла Насрадинни, - я аллагь, я израгIил хIейадли, сен хIу ишди халкь кьяйда кахIейрули, заки айибсирив?

(0) sen ħu zaki a.y?-ib-si-ri-w
why you:ABS in.sky ascend-M-AOR-ADJ-2-INT
'Why did you sit up there in the sky?'

(1) Malla+Nasradin-ra talqan-ra hala+hala
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS-and chief:ABS-and before+before
ɢarši+b-ik-ni-li-čila iš+q'äyda b-ur-uli
meet+hpl-aux-MASD-OBL-CONT this+manner:ABS N-say-GER
b-ir-ar
N-be-FUT3
The very first meeting of Malla Nasradin and the chief is usually spoken about in the following way.

(2) talqay Malla+Nasradin sune-la
chief:OBL:ERG PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS self:OBL-GEN
k'älʕä-li-zi t'alab+w-ar-ib-si sa.y b-ik'-ar
castle-OBL-ILL invitation+M-do-AOR-ADJ be:M hpl-say-FUT3
They say the chief invited Malla Nasradin into his castle.

[1] The 1959 text has *кIалгIя* (change in orthography).

(3) Malla+Nasradin w-ak'-i-li ħer.ʔ-alli qali
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS M-come-AOR-GER look-COND3 house:ABS
b-ic'-i-li adam-ti če<b>aʔ-i-li sa.y
N-fill-AOR-GER person-PL:ABS see:hpl-AOR-GER be:M
Malla Nasradin arrived and when he looked, he saw that the house was filled with people.

(4) le<b>i-lra il-di mäwa b-ar-i-li
present:hpl-INDEF this-PL circle:ABS N-do-AOR-GER
č'äbar-li-či ka<b>iʔ-i-li b-uʔ-i-li sa<b>i
floor-OBL-SUP sit.down:hpl-AOR-GER hpl-be-AOR-GER be:hpl
They apparently all sat on the floor in a circle.

(5) č'änk'-li talqan ka.yʔ-i-li uʔ-i-li
naked-ADV chief:ABS sit.down:M-AOR-GER M:be-AOR-GER
sa.y le<b>ʕe-b aq-si tax-li-či
be:M very:N-N high-ADJ takhta-OBL-SUP
Only the chief apparently sat on a very high takhta[2].

(6) Malla-ni talqay-s sužda+b.ar-i-li w-ik'-uli
PNMalla-ERG chief:OBL-DAT regard+N:do-AOR-GER M-say-GER
sa.y: ħu ara+w-ir-abi allah
be:M you:ABS healthy+M-be-OPT2 God:ABS
The mullah gave his regards to the chief, saying 'May you be healthy, God!'

(7) nu allah aħen-ra, džawab b-ed-i-li sa.y
me:ABS God:ABS be.not-1 answer:ABS N-give-AOR-GER be:M
talqay, nu
chief:OBL:ERG me:ABS
'I am not God,' answered the chief, 'I (am)...'

(8) Malla+Nasradin-ni il b-ur-usi taman+b-ar=aq-es
PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG this N-say-ADJ end+N-do=CAUS-INF
w-at-ur-li aħen, ħu bahandan ʕämru d-ed-es
M-leave-AOR-GER be.not you:ABS because life:ABS pl-give-INF
ħädur-li-ra nu, IzraʕiI[3]
ready-ADV-1 me:ABS PNIzrael:ABS
Malla Nasradin did not let him finish speaking: 'For you I am prepared to give my life, Izrael!'

[2] A takhta is a large and wide wooden bench placed in the room or on the verandah.
[3] Izrael is one of the four archangels.

(9) se+yk'-usi-ri-w[4] ħu, w-ik'-uli sa.y talqan
what+M:say-ADJ-2-INT you:ABS M-say-GER be:M chief:ABS
'What are you saying?' said the chief.

(10) se=ğuna Izraʕil w-ir-usi-ra nu
what=like PNIzrael:ABS M-be-ADJ-1 me:ABS
'What kind of Izrael am I?'

(11) nu-ni b-al-uli aħen-ra, džawab b-ed-i-li
me-ERG N-know-GER be.not-1 answer:ABS N-give-AOR-GER
sa.y Malla+Nasradin-ni, ya allah, ya Izraʕil
be:M PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG or God:ABS or PNIzrael:ABS
ħe-yʔ-adli, sen ħu iš-di xalq' q'äyda
NEG-M:be-COND2 why you:ABS this-PL people:ABS manner:ABS
ka<ħe>yr-uli zaki a.yʔ-ib-si-ri-w[5]
sit.down:NEG:M-GER in.sky ascend:M-AOR-ADJ-2-INT
'I don't know,' answered Malla Nasradin, 'when you are neither God, nor Izrael, why then are you not sitting down like the people, and why did you sit up there in the sky?'

[4] This contraction of a pronoun and a verb may be regular in the spoken language, it rarely is reflected in print however.

[5] The 1959 text has *ayʔibsiril* with the indirect speech suffix instead of the interrogative marker.

25. MALLA NASRADIN AND HIS DONKEY

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:101) was written down by A. Aliev in the year 1928 in the village of Urakhi, Sergokala district, from the words of Umiyat Sulejmanova.

(0) Малла Насрадин ва илала эмхIе
(1) Малла Насрадинна буили саби сунес дебали дигуси ца эмхIе. (2) Насрадинни гьар бархIи ил балхусири. (3) Ахирра илис бетIили саби ил мурталра суненицун балхес. (4) Ил хьунуйзи викIули сай: «ИшбархIила гIелабад эмхIе хIуни балхен». (5) Хьунуй биалли къаршидеш дарили сари, нуни хIебалхасну, хIуни балхен или. (6) Ишди гIяхIцадхIи кали саби жалтабиркьули, чили балхес гIягIнисил эмхIе. (7) Ахирра ишдани кьасбарили саби кьадизи хьарбаэс, чили балхес гIягIнисил эмхIе.
(8) Илдала жалтачи лехIизурли кьади викIули сай: «ИшбархIиличибад бехIбихьили чили хIушазибад гьалаб гъайалра, илини балха эмхIе». (9) Иличи кьабулбикили мурулра хьунулра хъули чарбиубли саби. (10) Ардякьи сари чумал бархIи - гьеч ишдала дубшабад гъай дурабухъи ахIен. (11) Ца бархIи хъулиб батурли мурулра вецIал дус виубси уршира, Насрадинна хьунул ца гIягIнидеш лебли дурарухъи сари. (12) Уршилисра бетIили хъуливад дуравхъи сай. (13) Тяп ил замана Насрадинна хъули бухIнабухъи саби хъулкни. (14) Илдани лебилра хъулибси секIал бигIи арбякьи саби. (15) Малла Насрадинни биалли, илди чебаибкъи, эмхIе хIебахес багьандан гъайили ахIен.
(16) Чарриубси хьунуй чебаили сари бигIи бацIси хъали ва чIярбяхъили сари: «Чинара нушала ваяхI!?»
(17) - Агьа, - викIули сай Малла Насрадин, дила жал чедибикибу, хIебикибу? Гьанна кьалли хIуни балхад эмхIе!
(18) - ХIебалхас, ил жявлил гашали бебкIилину, рикIули сари хьунул.

(0)	Malla+Nasradin	wa	il-a-la	emʜe	
	PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS	and	this-OBL-GEN	donkey:ABS	
	Malla Nasradin and his donkey.				
(1)	Malla+Nasradin-na	b-u?-i-li	sa<b>i	sune-s	
	PNMalla+Nasradin-GEN	N-be-AOR-GER	be:N	self:OBL-DAT	
	debali dig-usi	ca	emʜe		
	very want-ADJ	one	donkey:ABS		
	Malla Nasradin apparently had a donkey which he loved very much.				
(2)	Nasradin-ni	har	barʜi	il	b-alx-usi-ri
	PNNasradin-OBL:ERG	every	day:ABS	this	N-feed-ADJ-PRET

Nasradin fed it every day.

(3) axir-ra il-i-s b-et'-i-li sa<b>i il
end:ABS-and this-OBL-DAT N-bore-AOR-GER be:N this
murt-alra sune-ni-cun b-alx-es
when-INDEF self:OBL-ERG-LIM N-feed-INF
And eventually it bored him that he was the only one who had to feed it.

(4) il χunuy-zi w-ik'-uli sa.y: iš+barħi-la ʕerği[1]
this wife:OBL-ILL M-say-GER be:M this+day-GEN after
emħe ħu-ni b-alx-en
donkey:ABS you-ERG N-feed-IMP
He said to his wife: 'From this day on, you feed the donkey.'

(5) χunuy b.iʔ.alli ɢarši=deš d-ar-i-li
wife:OBL:ERG however opposite=ABSTR:ABS pl-do-AOR-GER
sa<r>i: nu-ni ħe-b-alx-as-nu ħu-ni b-alx-en
be:F me-ERG NEG-N-feed-FUT1-for you-ERG N-feed-IMP
ʔ-i-li
say-AOR-GER
His wife however opposed him (saying): 'I won't feed it, you feed it.'

(6) iš-di ʕäħ-cad-ħi kal-i sa<b>i džal-t-a
this-PL good-EQ-ILH stay-GER be:hpl quarrel-PL-OBL:ERG
b-irq'-uli, či-li b-alx-es ʕäʕni-si-l
hpl-do-GER who-OBL:ERG N-feed-INF necessary-ADJ-INDIR
emħe
donkey:ABS
They remained arguing quite a long time about who had to feed the donkey.

(7) axir-ra iš-d-a-ni q'as+b.ar-i-li sa<b>i
end:ABS-and this-PL-OBL-ERG decision+N:do-AOR-GER be:hpl
q'adi-zi χar<b>aʔ-es, či-li b-alx-es ʕäʕni-si-l
kadi-ILL ask:N-INF who-OBL:ERG N-feed-INF necessary-ADJ-INDIR
emħe
donkey:ABS
In the end they decided to ask the cadi who should feed the donkey.

(8) il-d-a-la džal-t-a-či leħ.iz-ur-li
this-PL-OBL-GEN quarrel-PL-OBL-SUP listen:M-AOR-GER

[1] Akusha *ʕerği* replaces the original *ʕelabad* which is incorrect for speakers of Akusha.

q'adi w-ik'-uli sa.y: iš+barħi-li-či-b-ad
cadi:ABS M-say-GER be:M this+day-OBL-SUP-N-ELA
b-eħ<b>iχ-i-li či-li ħuša-zi-b-ad hala-b
N-start:N-AOR-GER who-OBL:ERG youP-ILL-N-ELA before-N
ğay+ʔ-al-ra, il-i-ni b-alx-a emħe
word+say-COND3-and this-OBL-ERG N-feed-FUT3 donkey:ABS
The cadi listened to their argument and said: 'From today onwards, whichever one of you says the first word, this one will feed the donkey.'

(9) il-i-či q'abul+b-ik-i-li murul-ra
this-OBL-SUP agree+hpl-aux-AOR-GER husband:ABS-and
χunul-ra quli čar+b-iʔ-ub-li sa<b>i
wife:ABS-and home return+hpl-be-AOR-GER be:hpl
They agreed on this and husband and wife returned home.

(10) ar<d>äq'-i sa<r>i čumal barħi heč iš-d-a-la
leave:pl-GER be:pl some day:ABS completely this-PL-OBL-GEN
muħli-la-b-ad[2] ğay dura+b-uq-i aħen
mouth-LOC-N-ELA word:ABS out+N-aux-GER be.not
Several days passed and no word came from their mouths.

(11) ca barħi quli-b b-at-ur-li murul-ra
one day:ABS home-hpl hpl-leave-AOR-GER husband:ABS-and
wec'.al dus w-iʔ-ub-si urši-ra, Nasradin-na
ten year:ABS M-be-AOR-ADJ boy:ABS-and PNNasradin-GEN
χunul ca ʕäʕni=deš le-b-li
wife:ABS one necessary=ABSTR:ABS present-N-GER
dura+r-uq-i sa<r>i
out+F-aux-GER be:F
One day Nasradin's wife went out on an errand, leaving her husband and her ten-year-old son at home.

(12) urši-li-s-ra b-et'-i-li quli-w-ad dura+wq-i
boy-OBL-DAT-and N-bore-AOR-GER home-M-ELA out+M:aux-GER
sa.y
be:M
The boy was bored too and went out.

(13) täp il zamana Nasradin-na quli
exactly this time:ABS PNNasradin-GEN home

[2] Akusha *muħlilabad* replaces the original *dubšabad* which is considered an Urakhi form (*dub* 'edge').

b-uħna+b-uq-i sa<b>i qulk-ni
hpl-inside+hpl-aux-GER be:hpl thief-PL:ABS
Exactly at this moment thieves entered Nasradin's house.

(14) il-d-a-ni le<b>i-lra quli-b-si sek'al
this-PL-OBL-ERG present:N-INDEF home-N-ADJ thing:ABS
b-iʕ-i ar<b>äq'-i sa<b>i
N-steal-GER leave:hpl-GER be:hpl
They stole everything in the house and left.

(15) Malla+Nasradin-ni b.iʔ.alli, il-di če<b>aʔ-ib-ɢi,
PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG however this-PL see:hpl-AOR-CONC
emħe ħe-b-ax-es bahandan ğay+ʔ-i-li
donkey:ABS NEG-N-feed-INF in.order.to word+say-AOR-GER
aħen
be.not
Although Malla Nasradin saw them he did not say a word in order to not have to feed the donkey.

(16) čar+r-iʔ-ub-si xunuy če<b>aʔ-i-li sa<r>i
return+F-be-AOR-ADJ wife:OBL:ERG see:N-AOR-GER be:F
b-iʕ-i b-ac'-si qali wa č'är+b.äq-i-li
N-steal-AOR N-empty-ADJ house:ABS and scream+N:hit-AOR-GER
sa<r>i: čina-r-a nuša-la wayāħ
be:F where-pl-INT we-GEN belongings:ABS
The woman who returned, saw the empty house with everything stolen and started screaming: 'Where are our belongings?'

(17) aha, w-ik'-uli sa.y Malla+Nasradin, di-la
IJah M-say-GER be:M PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS me:OBL-GEN
džal čedi+b-ik-ib-u, ħe-b-ik-ib-u, hanna
quarrel:ABS above+N-aux-AOR-INT NEG-N-pass-AOR-INT now
q'alli ħu-ni b-alx-ad emħe
FOC you-ERG N-feed-FUT2 donkey:ABS
'Ah,' said Malla Nasradin, 'did my argument win or didn't it? Now you have to feed the donkey.'

(18) ħe-b-alx-as, il džäwlil gaša-li
NEG-N-feed-FUT1 this already hunger-OBL:ERG
b-ebk'-i-li-nu, r-ik'-uli sa<r>i xunul
N-die-AOR-GER-for F-say-GER be:F wife:ABS
'I won't (have to) feed it, as it died long ago of hunger,' said his wife.

26. NASRADIN'S STRENGTH

This text (Akhlakov & Khalillov 1976:102) was written down by Zapir Abdullaev from the words of Umulat Imanzagirov from the village of Garatsani, Kaytag district. It was earlier published in Abdullaev & Gasanova (1959:135).

(0) Насрадинна цIакь
(1) Гьачам гумайзи цалабикибтала жал бетаурли саби, валлагь, жагьил замана адамлизиб бируси цIакь ухънаваибхIели беткайхъур или. (2) Малла Насрадинра ил бархьси ахIен, адамлизиб ухънаваибхIелира жагьхIели сунезиб лебси цIакь кавлан или кайзурли сай. (3) Набзиб, масала, итхIели лебси цIакь гьаннара лебал.
(4) - Юх, - бикIули саби адамти, - ил секIал биэс хIебирар.
(5) - Бирар, - викIули сай Насрадин, - масала, дила хъа гьалабси къаркъа нуни жагьхIелира ахъбуцес хIейраси, гьаннара хIейрус.

(0) Nasradin-na c'aq'
PNNasradin-GEN strength:ABS
The strength of Nasradin.

(1) hačam gumay-zi ca-la+b-ik-ib-t-a-la
once godekan-ILL one-LOC+hpl-aux-AOR-ADP-OBL-GEN
džal b-eta?-ur-li sa<b>i, wallah, džah-il
quarrel:ABS N-happen-AOR-GER be:N IJMy.God young-ADJ
zamana adam-li-zi-b b-ir-usi c'aq'
time:ABS person-OBL-ILL-N N-be-ADJ strength:ABS
uqna+w-a?-ib-ħeli b-etkayq-ur ?-i-li
M:old+M-be-AOR-WHEN N-disappear-FUT3 say-AOR-GER
Once a quarrel occurred among the people gathered at the godekan[1]: 'Oh dear, the strength of a man in his younger days will disappear when he gets older.'

(2) Malla+Nasradin-ra il b-arx̂-si aħen
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS-and this N-right-ADJ be.not
adam-li-zi-b uqna+w-a?-ib-ħeli-ra džah-ħeli
person-OBL-ILL-N M:old+M-be-AOR-WHEN-and young-WHEN
sune-zi-b le-b-si c'aq' kawl-an
self:OBL-ILL-N present-N-ADJ strength:ABS remain-FUT3

[1] Godekan is the name of the place and of the custom of elderly men gathering in Daghestanian villages.

ʔ-i-li ka.yz-ur-li sa.y
say-AOR-GER pose:M-AOR-GER be:M
Malla Nasradin did not hold this to be true, saying that the strength a man had when he was young, will remain also when he gets old.

(3) nab-zi-b, masala it-ħeli le-b-si c'aq'
me:OBL-ILL-N for.instance that-WHEN present-N-ADJ strength:ABS
hanna-ra le-b-Ø.[2]
now-and present-N-3
'I, for instance, have the strength that I had then, now as well.'

(4) yux, b-ik'-uli sa<b>i adam-ti, il sek'al
IJno hpl-say-GER be:hpl person-PL:ABS this thing:ABS
b-iʔ-es ħe-b-ir-ar
N-be-INF NEG-N-can-FUT3
'No,' said the people, 'that cannot be true.'

(5) b-ir-ar, w-ik'-uli sa.y Nasradin masala
N-can-FUT3 M-say-GER be:M PNNasradin:ABS example:ABS
di-la qa hala-b-si ɢarɢa nu-ni
me:OBL-GEN home:GEN before-N-ADJ stone:ABS me-ERG
džah-ħeli-ra aq+b-uc-es ħe-yr-asi, hanna-ra
young-WHEN-and high+N-catch-INF NEG-M:can-IMPF1 now-and
ħe-yr-us
NEG-M:can-FUT1
'It is,' said Nasradin, 'for instance, I could not lift the stone in front of my house when I was young, and neither can I now.'

[2] The form *leb* of the 1959 variant, without the indirect speech suffix, is considered more correct than the original form *lebal*.

27. MALLA NASRADIN AND THE VILLAGERS

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:102-104) was written down by I. Guseynov, journalist of the republic's newspaper *Leninla bayraq* [Lenin's Banner]. It consists of two parts. As they have a rather loose connection between each other, they will be given separately. In the grammar section, the second part will be referred to as text 27a.

There must have existed a complete chronicle of Malla Nasradin stories: the *Sbornik Svedenii o Kavakzskix gorcax*, Tiflis, vol. VII, 1873 contains a chronicle in eight parts in Russian translation: 1. Malla Nasradin and the cadi (text 22 in this book); 2. Malla Nasradin and the devil (text 28); 3. Malla Nasradin and the thieves (text 30); 4. Malla Nasradin and the fight with his own village (this text) and 5. Malla Nasradin is dying (text 32). The fourth texts consists again of four parts (a. they harm his home; b. they kill his mother; c. they burn his house and d. they throw him into the sea), the last two of which are given here.

(0) Малла Насрадинра шантира

(0') Шила халкьли Малла Насрадинна юрт цIали игули саби.

(1) Гьачам Малла Насрадинни, хIебалас сен-сен сабрил, сунела шила шанти дебали батIун. (2) Насрадиннис чеббицIес кьасбарили, илдани илала юртличи чябхъин барили саби ва, сай варгхIергили, илдани илала юрт цIали бигубли саби. (3) Насрадинни юрт бигубли гIелар калунти га дучиб, гавлагуни дицIили умхIачи чедихьиб ва шагьарлизи ватихьиб. (4) Гали дицIес гьалар гавлагунала лутIмази Насрадинни ца-ца кIи-кIел арцла гIяббасуни кадихьиб.

(5) Шагьарлизив ил ца ухъна давлачевличи хьураиуб. (6) Савли айзурли Насрадин тIяхIикIес, вявикIес, висес вяхIили сай.

(7) - Дила гавлагуни арцли дицIибтири, хъа вегIли биалли дугели илди дигIи, илдала мерличи га какьурли сари, - викIули сай Насрадин ва хъа вегI кьадичи арукили сай.

(8) Кьади пикриухъи сай: эгер Насрадин вархьли викIули виалли, гавлагунала лутIмазир гIяббасуни калес гIягIниси саби. (9) КъалабабикIути хъулкнани гавлагуни таманни умударес хIебирар. (10) Кьади ил баягъи давлачевла хъули арякьи сай, гавлагуназирад га дацIдарахъес хъарбирули сай. (11) ХIерикIалли - гавлагунала лутIмазир арцла гIяббасуни.

(12) Кьадини Насрадин вархьли викIни кабизахъурли саби ва хъа вегIличи илала лерилра гавлагуни цIуба арцли дицIахъес хъарбарили сай.

(13) Арцла гавлагуначил шилизи чарухъунси Насрадинни шантас баркалла балахъули сай.

(14) - Сен дебали разииублирив? - хьарбиули саби шантани.

(15) -ХIушани дила юрт цIали бигубрая. (16) ГIелар калунти га нуни шагьарлизи духира. (17) Илдала гьарил гавлаглис наб ца гавлаг хIясибли цIуба

арцла гиб. (18) ЧIянкIли илабти адамтази эс гIягIнибиркур га бигубси юртла сари или.
(19) Шанти чула юртани игес бехIбихьиб. (20) ДакIибти гара сабра шагьарлизи арбякьун. (21) ЦIуба арцла гавлаглис гала гавлаг асая или вявбикIесбяхIиб. (22) Шагьарла адамтани илди мехIуртази бейгIун ва хури кусдариб.

(0) Malla+Nasradin-ra šan-ti-ra
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS-and villager-PL:ABS-and
Malla Nasradin and the villagers.

(0') ši-la xalq'-li Malla+Nasradin-na yurt
village-GEN people-OBL:ERG PNMalla+Nasradin-GEN house:ABS
c'a-li ig-uli sa<b>i
fire-OBL:ERG burn-GER be:N
The people of the village burn Malla Nasradin's house (with fire).

(1) hačam Malla+Nasradin-ni, ħe-b-al-as sen+sen
once PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG NEG-N-know-FUT1 why+why
sa-b-ri-l, sune-la ši-la šan-ti
be-N-PRET-INDIR self:OBL-GEN village-GEN villager-PL:ABS
debali b-at'-un-Ø
very N-criticize-AOR-3
Once Malla Nasradin, I don't know why it was, had heavily insulted his villagers.

(2) Nasradin-ni-s če.b.b.ic'-es q'as+b.ar-i-li
PNNasradin-OBL-DAT revenge:N:N-INF decision+N:do-AOR-GER
il-d-a-ni il-a-la yurt-li-či čäbqin
this-PL-OBL-ERG this-OBL-GEN house-OBL-SUP attack:ABS
b-ar-i-li sa<b>i wa sa.y
N-do-AOR-GER be:hpl and self:ABS:M
w-arg+ħe-rg-i-li il-d-a-ni il-a-la
M-find+NEG-M:find-AOR-GER this-PL-OBL-ERG this-OBL-GEN
yurt c'a-li b-ig-ub-li sa<b>i
house:ABS fire-OBL:ERG N-burn-AOR-GER be:hpl
They decided to take revenge on Nasradin and they attacked his house and, not finding him there, they set his house on fire.

(3) Nasradin-ni yurt b-ig-ub-li ʕela-r
PNNasradin-OBL:ERG house:ABS N-burn-AOR-GER after-pl
kal-un-ti ga d-uč-ib-Ø, gawlag-uni
stay-AOR-ADP coal:ABS pl-gather-AOR-3 bag-PL:ABS

d-ic'-i-li umħ-a-či če<d>iχ-ib-Ø wa
pl-fill-AOR-GER donkey-PL:OBL-SUP put.on:pl-AOR-3 and
šahar-li-zi w-at.iχ-ib-Ø
town-OBL-ILL M-leave:M-AOR-3
After his house was burned, Nasradin gathered the coal that was left, filled bags with it, put them on his donkeys and went to town.

(4) ga-li d-ic'-es hala-r gawlag-un-a-la
coal-OBL:ERG pl-fill-INF before-pl bag-PL-OBL-GEN
lut'-m-a-zi Nasradin-ni ca+ca k'i+k'.el
bottom-PL-OBL-ILL PNNasradin-OBL:ERG one+one two+two
arc-la ʕäbbas-uni ka<d>iχ-ib-Ø
silver-GEN dime-PL:ABS put:pl-AOR-3
Before filling the bags with coal, Nasradin put a few coins in the bottom of the bags.

(5) šahar-li-zi-w il ca uqna+dawla.če-w-li-či
town-OBL-ILL-M this one M:old+rich-M-OBL-SUP
χura+iʔ-ub-Ø
host+M:be-AOR-3
In town he was hosted by an old rich man.

(6) sawli a.yz-ur-li Nasradin t'äħ+ik'-es,
early rise:M-AOR-GER PNNasradin:ABS jump+M:aux-INF
wäw+ik'-es, w-is-es w-äħ-i-li sa.y
cry+M:aux-INF M-cry-INF M-begin-AOR-GER be:M
When he got up early, Nasradin started to jump, shout and cry.

(7) di-la gawlag-uni arc-li
me:OBL-GEN bag-PL:ABS silver-OBL:ERG
d-ic'-ib-ti-ri, qa w-eʕ-li b.iʔ.alli
pl-fill-AOR-ADP-PRET home:GEN M-owner-OBL:ERG however
dugeli il-di d-iʕ-i, il-d-a-la mer-li-či
at.night this-PL pl-steal-GER this-PL-OBL-GEN place-OBL-SUP
ga kaq'-ur-li sa<r>i, w-ik'-uli sa.y
coal:ABS strew-AOR-GER be:pl M-say-GER be:M
Nasradin wa qa w-eʕ q'adi-či
PNNasradin:ABS and home:GEN M-owner:ABS cadi-SUP
ar.uk-i-li sa.y
lead:M-AOR-GER be:M
'My bags were filled with money, the owner of the house however, stole it in the night, and instead put coal in the bags,' said Nasradin and took the owner of the house to the cadi.

(8) q'adi pikri+uq-i sa.y: eger Nasradin
cadi:ABS thought+M:aux-GER be:M if PNNasradin:ABS
w-arχ̂-li w-ik'-uli w-iʔ-alli, gawlag-un-a-la
M-right-ADV M-say-GER M-be-COND3 bag-PL-OBL-GEN
lut'-m-a-zi-r ʕäbbas-uni kal-es ʕäʕni-si
bottom-PL-OBL-ILL-pl dime-PL:ABS stay-INF necessary-ADJ
sa<b>i[1]
be:N
The cadi thought: 'If Nasradin tells the truth, there must be some coins left at the bottom of the bags.'

(9) ɢalaba+b-ik'-uti qulk-n-a-ni gawlag-uni taman-ni
quick+hpl-aux-ADP thief-PL-OBL-ERG bag-PL:ABS end-ADV
umu+d-ar-es ħe-b-ir-ar
clean+pl-do-INF NEG-hpl-be-FUT3
'Hurrying thieves do not clean bags completely.'

(10) q'adi il bayäği dawla.če-w-la quli ar.äq'-i sa.y,
cadi:ABS this this.very rich-M-GEN home leave:M-GER be:M
gawlag-un-a-zi-r-ad ga d-ac'+d-ar=aq-es
bag-PL-OBL-ILL-pl-ELA coal:ABS pl-empty+pl-do=CAUS-INF
qar+b.ir-uli sa.y
order+N:do-GER be:M
The cadi went to the house of this particular rich man and ordered him to empty the bags of coal.

(11) ħer+ik'-alli, gawlag-un-a-la lut'-m-a-zi-r
look+M:aux-COND3 bag-PL-OBL-GEN bottom-PL-OBL-ILL-pl
arc-la ʕäbbas-uni
silver-GEN dime-PL:ABS
When he looked, there were coins in the bottom of the bags.

(12) q'adi-ni Nasradin w-arχ̂-li w-ik'-ni
cadi-ERG PNNasradin:ABS M-right-ADV M-say-MASD:ABS
ka<b>iz=aq-ur-li sa<b>i wa qa
pose:N=CAUS-AOR-GER be:N and home:GEN
w-eʕ-li-či il-a-la le<r>i-lra gawlag-uni
M-owner-OBL-SUP this-OBL-GEN present:pl-INDEF bag-PL:ABS
c'ub.a arc-li d-ic'=aq-es qar+b.ar-i-li
white silver-OBL:ERG pl-fill=CAUS-INF order+N:do-AOR-GER

[1] Some informants consider *ʕäʕniti sari* , i.e. plural agreement with the dimes, better.

sa.y
be:M
The cadi was convinced that Nasradin had spoken the truth and he ordered the owner of the house to fill all the bags with silver.

(13) arc-la gawlag-un-a-čil ši-li-zi
silver-GEN bag-PL-OBL-COM village-OBL-ILL
čar+uq-un-si Nasradin-ni šan-t-a-s
return+M:aux-AOR-ADJ PNNasradin-OBL:ERG villager-PL-OBL-DAT
barkalla b-al=aq-uli sa.y
IJthanks N-know=CAUS-GER be:M
On return to the village with bags filled with silver Nasradin was telling the villagers 'thank you'.

(14) sen debali radzi+i?-ub-li-ri-w, χar<b>i?-uli sa<b>i
why very glad+M:be-AOR-GER-2-INT ask:N-GER be:hpl
šan-t-a-ni
villager-PL-OBL-ERG
'Why are you so glad?' asked the villagers.

(15) ħuša-ni di-la yurt c'a-li
youP-ERG me:OBL-GEN house:ABS fire-OBL:ERG
b-ig-ub-raya
N-burn-AOR-2p
'You burned my house.'

(16) ʕela-r kal-un-ti ga nu-ni šahar-li-zi
after-pl stay-AOR-ADP coal:ABS me-ERG town-OBL-ILL
d-ux-i-ra
pl-take-AOR-1
'The remaining coal I brought to town.'

(17) il-d-a-la har-il gawlag-li-s nab ca
this-PL-OBL-GEN every-ADJ bag-OBL-DAT me:DAT one
gawlag ħäsib.li c'ub.a arc-la g-ib-Ø
bag:ABS according.to white silver-GEN give-AOR-3
'For every bag with coal they gave me a bag filled with silver.'

(18) č'änk'-li ila-b-ti adam-t-a-zi ?-es
naked-ADV here-hpl-ADP person-PL-OBL-ILL say-INF
ʕäʕni+b-irk-ur ga b-ig-ub-si yurt-la
necessary+N-aux-FUT3 coal:ABS N-burn-AOR-ADJ house-GEN

sa<r>i ʔ-i-li
be:pl say-AOR-GER
'Only you have to tell the people it is the coal of a burned house,' he said.

(19) šan-ti ču-la yurt-ani ig-es
villager-PL:ABS self:PL:OBL-GEN house-PL:ABS burn-INF
b-eħ<b>iχ̂-ib-Ø
hpl-start:hpl-AOR-3
The villagers started to burn their houses.

(20) d-ak'-ib-ti ga-ra sa-b-ra šahar-li-zi
pl-come-AOR-ADP coal:ABS-and self-hpl-and town-OBL-ILL
ar<b>äq'-un-Ø
leave:hpl-AOR-3
They left for town with the coal they got.

(21) c'ub.a arc-la gawlag-li-s ga-la gawlag as-aya
white silver-GEN bag-OBL-DAT coal-GEN bag:ABS buy-IMPP
ʔ-i-li wäw+b-ik'-es b-äħ-ib-Ø[2]
say-AOR-GER cry+hpl-aux-INF hpl-begin-AOR-3
'Buy a bag of coal for a bag of silver,' they started to cry.

(22) šahar-la adam-t-a-ni il-di meħur-t-a-zi
town-GEN person-PL-OBL-ERG this-PL mad-ADP-OBL-ILL
b-eyʕ-un-Ø wa xu-ri kus+d-ar-ib-Ø
hpl-consider-AOR-3 and dog-PL:ABS ONprovocation+pl-do-AOR-3
The people of that town considered them fools and set the dogs on them.

(0) Шила жамигIятли Малла Насрадин урхьулизи лайикIули сай.
(1) Шила лебилра жамигIят цалабикиб ва Насрадиннис сегъуна танбихI барни гIяхIсил пикрибариб. (2) ЦабехI бикIулри, ил кавшес гIягIниси саби, цархIилти - чевяхIкахъес, хIябэсти - гъаргъубала цIурлиу кайхьес, авэсти биалли бикIулри ил урхьулизи лайвакIес гIягIниси саби, ванзаличир илала къуралра кахIелахъес багьандан. (3) Насрадин урхьулизи лайвакIес шантани хIукму бариб. (4) Ил уцили, гавлагла ухIна катур, гавлагла хъар бигьун ва сай урхьула дубла арухиб. (5) Ишдани кьасбарилри урхьулизи лайвакIес гьалав Насрадин цIиркIти мурчIачил витес... (6) Ил багьандан шанти арбякьи саби мурчIи алъэс вацIализи, урхьула дублаб Насрадин ухIнавли гавлагра батурли сабира.

[2] The original text gives the phrase *wäwbik'esbäħib* written together, though there is no grammatical or phonological reason for doing so. Therefore the infinitive and predicate have been separated here.

(7) Ил замана ил мерличивад гьайдарили мазара сайра аркьуси мазала букIуй шишбикIуси гавлаг чебаили сай. (8) Гъамиубли гачикалли - адам.
(9) - Се бирулрив хIуни гавлаглизиб? (10) Чили ва сен хIу ила катурсирив? - хьарбаили сай букIуй Малла Насрадиннизи.
(11) -Шила жамигIятлис дигули саби ну чула хан варес. (12) Наб марли, хандеш хIейгулра. (13) Ил багьандан илдани ну гавлагла катурли лайвакIес кьасбарили саби.
(14) - Сен хIейгулрив, гьатIи?
(15) - Халкьлис ахIенну, наб нуни зегъа кабизахъес бажардихIейрус
(16) -Сепайда, -викIули сай букIун, -ну хIела мерличиев ахIи. (17) Ну разидешличил кьабулиркаси.
(18) - Марлив? - хьарбиули сай Насрадинни.
(19) - Валлагь, кьабулиркаси, - викIули сай букIун.
(20) Эгер хIед хан виэс дигули гIергъи, дила палтар чегьи, урхьула дубла тIашизи. (21) Илди лябкьян, хIу урцури ва арукили пачала тахличи калтари.
(22) БукIуй къалабали Малла Насрадинна палтар чегьур, урхьу дубла дуцIухъун ва илав тIашизур. (23) Ила гьеркличил кабаибти шантани букIун урхьнази лайвакIиб.
(24) ХIябал бархIи дикили гIергъи Насрадин азир мазала дурзамличил шилизи чарухъун. (25) УркIбухъунти шанта Насрадиннизи хьарбаиб: - ХIед се бетаура?
(26) Се маза сарив илди?
(27) Насрадинни шантас сай урхьнази лайвакIни багьандан баркалла багьахъур:
- Гьанна нуни балас маза чинар даргес вирарал. (28) Ихар, урхьула лутIилар, илди сецад-дигара херри. (29) Сепайда, ца нуницун дахъал дуцес хIейубра. (30) Чусра маза дикахъес багьандан шантала бахъалгъунти урхьнази тIяхIбухъун. (31) Илди кьанни ахIи чархIебулхъухIели, гIелаб калунти шантани Насрадин кьакьавакIахъиб. (32) ИлхIели Насрадинни иб:
- Урхьназибтас дигули саби ихарти лерилра маза чус кадукес, амма ихар дахъал маза хер, тIяхIбухъунтаницун илди маза кадукес хIебирар. (33) ИлхIели гIелаб калунтира урхьнази тIяхIбухъун, цалра маза кахIелахъес багьандан.
(34) Илала гIергъи Малла Насрадин паргъатли хIериуб.

(0)	ši-la	džamiʕät-li	Malla+Nasradin
	village-GEN	community-OBL:ERG	PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS
	urx̌u-li-zi	lay+ik'-uli	sa.y
	sea-OBL-ILL	ONthrow+M:aux-GER	be:M
	The village community throws Malla Nasradin into the sea.		

(1)	ši-la	le<b>i-lra		džamiʕät	
	village-GEN	present:N-INDEF		community:ABS	
	ca-la+b-ik-ib-Ø		wa	Nasradin-ni-s	se=ğuna
	one-LOC+N-aux-AOR-3		and	PNNasradin-OBL-DAT	what=like

tanbiħ b-ar-ni ʕäħ-si-l
punishment:ABS N-do-MASD:ABS good-ADJ-INDIR
pikri+b.ar-ib-Ø
thought+N:do-AOR-3
The whole village community gathered and considered what would be a good punishment for Nasradin.

(2) ca<b>eħ b-ik'-ul-ri, il ka<w>š-es ʕäʕni-si
a.pair:hpl hpl-say-GER-PRET this kill:M-INF necessary-ADJ
sa<b>i, carħil-ti če<w>äħ.kaq-es, ħäb+ʔ.es-ti
be:N other-ADP hang.downwards:M-INF three+ORD-ADP
ɢarɢ-ub-a-la c'ur-li-ʔu ka.yx̂-es,
stone-PL-OBL-GEN heap-OBL-SUB put.down:M-INF
aw+ʔ.es-ti b.iʔ.alli b-ik'-ul-ri il urx̂u-li-zi
four+ORD-ADP however hpl-say-GER-PRET this sea-OBL-ILL
lay+w-ak'-es ʕäʕni-si sa<b>i, wanza-li-či-r
ONthrow+M-aux-INF necessary-ADJ be:N earth-OBL-SUP-pl
il-a-la ɢur-alra ka<ħe>l=aq-es bahandan
this-OBL-GEN trace:ABS-INDEF stay:NEG=CAUS-INF in.order.to
Some said that it was necessary to kill him, others suggested to hang him, yet others suggested putting to put him under a heap of stones, another said that he should be thrown into the sea so that not a single trace of him would remain on earth.

(3) Nasradin urx̂u-li-zi lay+w-ak'-es
PNNasradin sea-OBL-ILL ONthrow+M-aux-INF
šan-t-a-ni ħukmu b-ar-ib-Ø
villager-PL-OBL-ERG decision:ABS N-do-AOR-3
The villagers decided to throw Nasradin into the sea.

(4) il uc-i-li, gawlag-la uħna kat-ur-Ø,
this M:catch-AOR-GER bag-GEN M:inside put.down:M-AOR-3
gawlag-la qar b-ih-un-Ø wa sa.y urx̂u-la
bag-GEN top:ABS N-bind-AOR-3 and self:ABS:M sea-GEN
dub-la ar.ux-ib-Ø
border-LOC take.away:M-AOR-3
They caught him and put him inside a bag, bound the top of the bag and took him to the seashore.

(5) iš-d-a-ni q'as+b.ar-i-l-ri urx̂u-li-zi
this-PL-OBL-ERG decision+N:do-AOR-GER-PRET sea-OBL-ILL
lay+w-ak'-es hala-w Nasradin c'irk'-ti
ONthrow+M-aux-INF before-M PNNasradin:ABS thin-ADP

murč'-a-čil w-it-es
twig-PL:OBL-COM M-beat-INF
They decided to beat Nasradin with thin sticks before throwing him into the sea.

(6) il bahandan šan-ti ar<b>äq'-i sa<b>i
this because villager-PL:ABS leave:hpl-GER be:hpl
murč'-i al?-es wac'a-li-zi, urχu-la dub-la-b
twig-PL:ABS cut-INF forest-OBL-ILL sea-GEN border-LOC-N
Nasradin uħna-w-li gawlag-ra b-at-ur-li
PNNasradin:ABS M:inside-M-ADV bag:ABS-and N-leave-AOR-GER
sa<b>i-ra
be:hpl-and
Because of this the villagers left into the forest to cut twigs and left the bag with Nasradin at the seashore.

(7) il zamana il mer-li-či-w-ad hay<d>ar-i-li
this time:ABS this place-OBL-SUP-M-ELA set.off:pl-AOR-GER
maza-ra sa.y-ra arq'-usi maza-la
sheep:ABS-and be:M-and leave-ADJ sheep-GEN
buk'uy šiš+b-ik'-usi gawlag če<b>a?-i-li
shepherd:OBL:ERG ONstir+N-aux-ADJ bag:ABS see:N-AOR-GER
sa.y
be:M
At that moment a shepherd who was passing by that place with his sheep, saw the bag moving.

(8) ğam+i?-ub-li gač+ik-alli adam
near+M:be-AOR-GER ONtouch+M:aux-COND3 person:ABS
He came near, touched it, a human being.

(9) se b-ir-ul-ri-w ħu-ni gawlag-li-zi-b
what:ABS N-do-GER-2-INT you-ERG bag-OBL-ILL-N
'What are you doing in that bag?'

(10) či-li wa sen ħu ila kat-ur-si-ri-w,
who-OBL:ERG and why you:ABS here put:M-AOR-ADJ-2-INT
χar<b>a?-i-li sa.y buk'uy Malla+Nasradin-ni-zi
ask:N-AOR-GER be:M shepherd:OBL:ERG PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL-ILL
'Who put you into this bag and why,' asked the shepherd of Malla Nasradin.

(11) ši-la džamiʕät-li-s dig-uli sa<b>i nu
village-GEN community-OBL-DAT want-GER be:N me:ABS

	ču-la	xan	w-ar-es
	self:PL:OBL-GEN	khan:ABS	M-do-INF
	'The village community wants me to become their khan.'		

(12)	nab	mar-li	xan=deš	ħe-yg-ul-ra
	me:DAT	real-OBL	khan=ABSTR:ABS	NEG-love-GER-1
	'I, frankly, don't want the reign.'			

(13)	il	bahandan	il-d-a-ni	nu	gawlag-la	kat-ur-li
	this	because	this-PL-OBL-ERG	me:ABS	bag-GEN	put:M-AOR-GER
	lay+w-ak'-es		q'as+b.ar-i-li		sa<b>i	
	ONthrow+M-aux-INF		decision+N:do-AOR-GER		be:hpl	
	'Therefore they decided to throw me (into the sea) after putting me into a bag.'					

(14)	sen	ħe-yg-ul-ri-w,	hat'i
	why	NEG-love-GER-2-INT	still
	'Why don't you want it?'		

(15)	xalq'-li-s	aħen-nu,	nab	nu-ni	zeğa
	people-OBL-DAT	be.not-for	me:DAT	me-ERG	control:ABS
	ka<b>iz=aq-es	bažardi+ħe-yr-us			
	pose:N=CAUS-INF	possibility+NEG-M:be-FUT1			
	'I cannot control myself, let alone the people.'				

(16)	se+payda,	w-ik'-uli	sa.y	buk'un,	nu
	what+profit:ABS	M-say-GER	be:M	shepherd:ABS	me:ABS
	ħe-la	mer-li-či-w	aħ-i		
	you:OBL-GEN	place-OBL-SUP-M	be.not-GER		
	'A pity,' said the shepherd, 'that I am not in your place.'				

(17)	nu	radzi=deš-li-čil	q'abul+irk-asi
	me:ABS	glad=ABSTR-OBL-COM	agree+M:aux-IMPF1
	'I would agree with gladness.'		

(18)	mar-li-w,	xar<b>i?-uli	sa.y	Nasradin-ni
	real-ADV-INT	ask:N-GER	be:M	PNNasradin-OBL:ERG
	'Really?' asked Nasradin.			

(19)	wallah	q'abul+irk-asi,	w-ik'-uli	sa.y	buk'un
	IJMy.God	agree+M:aux-IMPF1	M-say-GER	be:M	shepherd:ABS
	'O yes, I would agree,' said the shepherd.				

(20) eger ħed xan w-iʔ-es dig-uli ʕerği,
if you:DAT khan:ABS M-be-INF want-GER after
di-la paltar čeh-i, urχu-la dub-la
me:OBL-GEN clothes:ABS wear-IMP sea-GEN border-LOC
t'aš+iz-i
stop+M:aux-IMP
'If you want to be khan, put on my clothes and stay here at the seashore.'

(21) il-di lä<b>q'-än, ħu urc-u-ri wa
this-PL go:hpl-FUT3 you:ABS catch-FUT3-2 and
ar.uk-i-li pača-la tax-li-či kalt-a-ri
lead:M-AOR-GER governor-GEN takhta-OBL-SUP put:M-FUT3-2
'They will come, take you and put you on a king's throne.'

(22) buk'uy ɢalaba-li Malla+Nasradin-na paltar
shepherd:OBL:ERG quick-ADV PNMalla+Nasradin-GEN clothes:ABS
čeh-ur-Ø, urχu dub-la duc'+uq-un-Ø wa ila-w
wear-AOR-3 sea:ABS border-GEN run+M:aux-AOR-3 and here-M
t'aš+iz-ur-Ø
stop+M:aux-AOR-3
The shepherd quickly put on Malla Nasradin's clothes, ran to the seashore and waited there.

(23) ila herk-li-čil ka<b>aʔ-ib-ti šan-t-a-ni
here exhaustion-OBL-COM reach:N-AOR-ADP villager-PL-OBL-ERG
buk'un urχ-n-a-zi lay+w-ak'-ib-Ø
shepherd:ABS sea-PL-OBL-ILL ONthrow+M-aux-AOR-3
The villagers reached him exhausted and threw the shepherd into the waves.

(24) ħäb.al barħi d-ik-i-li ʕerği Nasradin azir
three day:ABS pl-pass-AOR-GER after PNNasradin:ABS thousand
maza-la durzam-li-čil ši-li-zi čar+uq-un-Ø
sheep-GEN flock-OBL-COM village-OBL-ILL return+M:aux-AOR-3
After three days Nasradin returned to the village with a flock of a thousand sheep.

(25) urk'<b>uq-un-ti šan-t-a Nasradin-ni-zi
frighten:hpl-AOR-ADP villager-PL-OBL:ERG PNNasradin-OBL-ILL
χar<b>aʔ-ib-Ø: ħed se b-etaʔ-ur-Ø-a
ask:N-AOR-3 you:DAT what:ABS N-happen-AOR-3-INT
The frightened villagers asked Nasradin: 'What happened to you?'

(26) se maza sa<r>i-w il-di
what:ABS sheep:ABS be:pl-INT this-PL
'What sheep are these?'

(27) Nasradin-ni šan-t-a-s sa.y
PNNasradin-OBL:ERG villager-PL-OBL-DAT self:ABS:M
urx̂-n-a-zi lay+w-ak'-ni bahandan barkalla
sea-PL-OBL-ILL ONthrow+M-aux-MASD:ABS because IJthanks
b-ah=aq-ur-Ø: hanna nu-ni b-al-as maza
N-know=CAUS-AOR-3 now me-ERG N-know-FUT1 sheep:ABS
čina-r d-arg-es w-ir-ar-al
where-pl pl-find-INF M-can-FUT3-INDIR
Nasradin thanked the villagers for throwing him into the waves (saying): 'Now I know where to find sheep.'

(28) ixa-r, urx̂u-la lut'i-la-r, il-di se-cad+digara
there-pl sea-GEN bottom-LOC-pl this-PL what-EQ+INDEF
xe-r-ri
present-pl-PRET
'There, on the bottom of the sea, there were as many as you'd like.'

(29) se+payda, ca nu-ni-cun d-aqal d-uc-es
what+profit:ABS one me-ERG-LIM pl-much pl-catch-INF
ħe-y?-ub-ra
NEG-M:be-AOR-1
'A pity I could not catch many of them on my own.'

(30) ču-s-ra maza d-ik=aq-es bahandan
self:PL:OBL-DAT-and sheep:ABS pl-pass=CAUS-INF in.order.to
šan-t-a-la b-aqal=ğun-ti urx̂-n-a-zi
villager-PL-OBL-GEN hpl-much=like-ADP sea-PL-OBL-ILL
t'äħ+b-uq-un-Ø
jump+hpl-aux-AOR-3
To get sheep for themselves too, a lot of villagers jumped into the waves.

(31) il-di q'an-ni aħ-i čar+ħe-b-ulq-uħeli, ʕela-b
this-PL late-ADV be.not-GER return+NEG-hpl-aux-WHEN after-hpl
kal-un-ti šan-t-a-ni Nasradin
stay-AOR-ADP villager-PL-OBL-ERG PNNasradin:ABS
q'aq'a+w-ak'=aq-ib-Ø
narrow+M-aux=CAUS-AOR-3
When they did not return after a long time, the villagers who stayed behind started questioning Nasradin.

(32) il-ħeli Nasradin-ni ʔ-ib-Ø:
this-WHEN PNNasradin-OBL:ERG say-AOR-3
urx̂-n-a-zi-b-t-a-s dig-uli sa<b>i ixa-r-ti
sea-PL-OBL-ILL-hpl-ADP-OBL-DAT want-GER be:hpl there-pl-ADP
le<r>i-lra maza ču-s ka<d>uk-es,
present:pl-INDEF sheep:ABS self:PL:OBL-DAT lead.out:pl-INF
amma ixa-r d-aqal maza xe-r-Ø,
but there-pl pl-much sheep:ABS present-pl-3
t'äħ+b-uq-un-t-a-ni-cun il-di maza
jump+hpl-aux-AOR-ADP-OBL-ERG-LIM this-PL sheep:ABS
ka<d>uk-es ħe-b-ir-ar
lead.out:pl-INF NEG-hpl-can-FUT3
Then Nasradin said: 'Those that are in the sea want to bring all the sheep back with them, but there are so many sheep there, that those who jumped into the sea alone cannot bring all those sheep with them.'

(33) il-ħeli ʕela-b kal-un-ti-ra urx̂-n-a-zi
this-WHEN after-hpl stay-AOR-ADP-and sea-PL-OBL-ILL
t'äħ+b-uq-un-Ø ca-lra maza ka<ħe>l=aq-es
jump+hpl-aux-AOR-3 one-INDEF sheep:ABS stay:NEG=CAUS-INF
bahandan
in.order.to
Then those who stayed behind also jumped into the waves, so that no single sheep would be left there.

(34) il-a-la ʕerği Malla+Nasradin parğat-li
this-OBL-GEN after PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS rest-ADV
ħer+iʔ-ub-Ø
live+M:be-AOR-3
After this Malla Nasradin lived in peace.

28. MALLA NASRADIN AND THE DEVIL

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:104-105) was written down by Zagir Magomedov from the words of I. Guseynov, journalist of the republic's newspaper *Leninla bayraq* [Lenin's Banner].

(0) Малла насрадинра шайтIанра
(1) Гьачам шайтIай кьасбарили саби Малла Насрадин виргIявиргес.
(2) Малла Насрадин ил сунечи лябкьули чебаибмад, шакикили сай сен, се мурадли ил сунечи лябкьулил. (3) Ил дуцIухъи сунела юртла чедиб далдарбухъунси шурла уди хъуцIари ибкьаили тIашкайзурли сай.
(4) ШайтIан мякьла гьамбиубли, илизи бикIули саби:
- Наб хIу виргIявиргес дигулра, Малла Насрадин. (5) Лебу хIела набчил жал?
(6) БусагIят дила замана агара, жаваб бедили сай Малла Насрадинни. (7) Илала дурабадра, набчил барх дила гавлагра агара, ил агарли ну хIечил жалта хIеркьус. (8) Рахли дигалли, нуни гавлаг лебхис, амма ил хайчи, хIу буцили иш шурира хIура тIашбизи.
(9) - Сен? - хьарбаили саби шайтIай.
(10) - СенкIун иш шури кабиркули саби, кабикалли, дила юрт булъули саби.
(11) ШайтIан кьабулбикили саби. (12) Ил шурличи, ибкьбизурли тIашбизурли саби. (13) Малла Насрадин арякьи сай хъули. (14) ШайтIан пикрибухъи саби.
(15) ГIяхIси ахIенрира бархьили иш шури ихала юрт буахъаслири: нукIун их виргIявиргес бакIибсира. (16) Шури бурцис или ил бархьаънира, Насрадин виргIявиргни саби. (17) ШайтIан шурла удибад уббацIили саби, амма шури шишрабухъи ахIен.
(18) - Гьанна чарбиэс асубирар, нуни хIу биргIябиргирину, - викIули сай чариубси Малла Насрадин. (19) Шури кабикес пикрира лебси ахIенри.
(20) Насрадин, шайтIан цIахбарили, гумайзи арякьи сай. (21) Илис гIелабад шайтIанра арбякьи саби.
(22) - ХIуни ну виргIявиргес бируси ахIенри, - викIули сай шайтIайзи гумайлав, - нуни биалли хIу хIеркIличи букили, шинни хIебужахъи чарбирури.
(23) - Валлагь, хIейруд ил барес, бикIули саби шайтIан.
(24) - Гьари, вирадли, ваши.
(25) Гьайбиубли арбякьи саби илди хIеркIличи. (26) ХIеркIличи бакIибси замана, Малла Насрадин ласвяхъили дугьайзурли сай шайтIайчи:
- НушакIун дакIилра, бикьруми чинаба?
(27) - Сегъунти бикьруми?
(28) - Се сегъунти? ХIу бикIуд, шинни бужира, ну викIус, хIебужади. (29) Ил багьандан бикьруми биэс гIягIнити саби.
(30) - Или биалли ваши бикьруми лебкехIе, - или илди гумайзи чарбиуб.

(31) - ХIеркIличи нуша дякьунрав? - или хьарбаиб Малла Насрадинни шайтIайзи, гумайзи чарбиубхIели.
(32) - Дякьунра, - жаваб бедиб шайтIай.
(33) - ХIу шинни бужирив?
(34) - ХIебужира.
(35) - БиргIябиргирив хIу нуни?
(36) Илала гIергъи шайтIан саби удибикниличи мутIигIбакIибси саби.

(0) Malla+Nasradin-ra šayt'an-ra
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS-and devil:ABS-and
Malla Nasradin and the devil.

(1) hačam šayt'ay q'as+b.ar-i-li sa<b>i
once devil:OBL:ERG decision+N:do-AOR-GER be:N
Malla+Nasradin w-irʕä<w>irg-es
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS M-deceive:M-INF
Once the devil decided to deceive Malla Nasradin.

(2) Malla+Nasradin il sune-či lä<b>q'-uli
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS this self:OBL-SUP go:N-GER
če<b>a?-ib-mad, šak+ik-i-li sa.y sen, se
see:N-AOR-ASA guess+M:aux-AOR-GER be:M why what:ABS
murad-li il sune-či lä<b>q'-uli-l
goal-OBL:ERG this self:OBL-SUP go:N-GER-INDIR
When Malla Nasradin saw him coming, he guessed why, with what goal he came to him.

(3) il duc'+uq-i sune-la yurt-la čedi-b
this run+M:aux-GER self:OBL-GEN house-GEN above-N
daldar+b-uq-un-si šur-la udi quc'ari
ONhanging+N-aux-AOR-ADJ rock-GEN below shoulder:ABS
ibq'a?-i-li t'aš+ka-yz-ur-li sa.y
support-AOR-GER upright+TH-M:aux-AOR-GER be:M
He ran and stood under the rock hanging over his house, holding it with his shoulder.

(4) šayt'an mäq'-la ğam+b-i?-ub-li, il-i-zi
devil:ABS side-LOC near+N-be-AOR-GER this-OBL-ILL
b-ik'-uli sa<b>i: nab ħu w-irʕä<w>-irg-es
N-say-GER be:N me:DAT you:ABS M-deceive:M-INF
dig-ul-ra, Malla+Nasradin
want-GER-1 PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS
The devil came near him and said: 'I want to deceive you, Malla Nasradin.'

(5) le-b-Ø-u ħe-la nab-čil džal
present-N-3-INT you:OBL-GEN me:OBL-COM quarrel:ABS
'Do you have a quarrel with me?'

(6) busaʕät di-la zamana agara, džawab
now me:OBL-GEN time:ABS absent:FUT3 answer:ABS
b-ed-i-li sa.y Malla+Nasradin-ni
N-give-AOR-GER be:M PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG
'I don't have time for you at the moment,' said Malla Nasradin.

(7) il-a-la dura-b-ad-ra, nab-čil b-arx di-la
this-OBL-GEN out-N-ELA-and me:OBL-COM N-with me:OBL-GEN
gawlag-ra agara, il agar-li nu
bag:ABS-and absent:FUT3 this absent-GER me:ABS
ħe-čil džal-t-a ħe-rq'-us
you:OBL-COM quarrel-PL-OBL:ERG NEG-M:do-FUT1
'Besides that, I don't have my bag with me, and without that I won't quarrel with you.'

(8) rax-li dig-alli, nu-ni gawlag le<b>x-is, amma
sudden-ADV want-COND3 me-ERG bag:ABS bring:N-FUT1 but
il x-ayči, ħu b-uc-i-li iš šuri-ra
this bring-UNTIL you:ABS N-catch-AOR-GER this rock:ABS-and
ħu-ra t'aš+b-iz-i
you:ABS-and upright+N-aux-IMP
'If you want, I will bring my bag, but until I bring it, you support this rock and stand here.'

(9) sen, x̂ar<b>aʔ-i-li sa<b>i šayt'ay
why ask:N-AOR-GER be:N devil:OBL:ERG
'Why?' asked the devil.

(10) sen-k'un iš šuri ka<b>irk-uli sa<b>i ka<b>ik-alli
why-FOC this rock:ABS fall:N-GER be:N fall:N-COND3
di-la yurt b-ulʔ-uli sa<b>i
me:OBL-GEN house:ABS N-destroy-GER be:N
'Because this rock is falling down and if it falls, my house will be destroyed.'

(11) šayt'an q'abul+b-ik-i-li sa<b>i
devil:ABS agree+N-aux-AOR-GER be:N
The devil agreed.

(12) il šur-li-či, ibq'+b-iz-ur-li
this rock-OBL-SUP support+N-aux-AOR-GER
t'aš+b-iz-ur-li sa<b>i
upright+N-aux-AOR-GER be:N
He stood there holding the rock.

(13) Malla+Nasradin ar.äq'-i sa.y quli
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS leave:M-GER be:M home
Malla Nasradin went home.

(14) šayt'an pikri+b-uq-i sa<b>i
devil:ABS thought+N-aux-GER be:N
The devil thought for some time.

(15) ʕäħ-si aħen-ri-ra b-arχ-i-li iš šuri
good-ADJ be.not-PRET-and N-send-AOR-GER this rock:ABS
ix-a-la yurt b-uʔ=aq-asli.ri: nu-k'un
that-OBL-GEN house:ABS N-destroy=CAUS-IRR1 me:ABS-FOC
ix w-irʕä<w>irg-es b-ak'-ib-si-ra
that M-deceive:M-INF N-come-AOR-ADJ-1
'Would it not be good to let the rock go and to destroy his house, I did come to deceive him.'

(16) šuri b-urc-is ʔ-i-li il
rock:ABS N-catch-FUT1 say-AOR-GER this
b-arχaʔ-ni-ra, Nasradin w-irʕä<w>irg-ni
N-release-MASD:ABS-and PNNasradin:ABS M-deceive:M-MASD:ABS
sa<b>i
be:N
'Having said that I will hold it and then release it, is also deceiving Nasradin.'

(17) šayt'an šur-la udi-b-ad
devil:ABS rock-GEN below-N-ELA
u<b><b>ac'-i-li sa<b>i amma šuri
leave.from.under:N:N-AOR-GER be:N but rock:ABS
šiš-ra+b-uq-i aħen
ONstir-and+N-aux-GER be.not
The devil left from under the rock but the rock did not move at all.

(18) hanna čar+b-iʔ-es asu+b.ir-ar, nu-ni ħu
now return+N-be-INF allow+N:be-FUT3 me-ERG you:ABS
b-irʕä<b>irg-i-ri-nu, w-ik'-uli sa.y čar+iʔ-ub-si
N-deceive:N-AOR-2-for M-say-GER be:M return+M:be-AOR-ADJ

Malla+Nasradin
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS
'You can return now, I have teased you,' said Malla Nasradin who returned.

(19) šuri ka<b>ik-es pikri-ra le-b-si
rock:ABS fall:N-INF thought:ABS-and present-N-ADJ
aħen-ri
be.not-PRET
There was no way the rock would fall.

(20) Nasradin, šayt'an c'ax+b-ar-i-li, gumay-zi
PNNasradin:ABS devil:ABS shame+N-do-AOR-GER godekan-ILL
ar.äq'-i sa.y
leave:M-GER be:M
Nasradin left for the godekan having embarassed the devil.

(21) il-i-s ʕela-b-ad šayt'an-ra ar<b>äq'-i sa<b>i
this-OBL-DAT after-N-ELA devil:ABS-and leave:N-GER be:N
The devil followed him.

(22) ħu-ni nu w-irʕä<w>irg-es b-ir-usi aħen-ri,
you-ERG me:ABS M-deceive:M-INF N-can-ADJ be.not-2
w-ik'-uli sa.y šayt'ay-zi gumay-la-w, nu-ni
M-say-GER be:M devil:OBL-ILL godekan-LOC-M me-ERG
b.iʔ.alli ħu ħerk'-li-či b-uk-i-li, šin-ni
however you:ABS river-OBL-SUP N-lead-AOR-GER water-OBL:ERG
ħe-b-udž=aq-i-li[1] čar+b-ir-u-ri
NEG-N-drink=CAUS-AOR-GER return+N-do-FUT3-2
'You could not tease me,' said (Nasradin) to the devil at the godekan, 'I however, can lead you to the river, and let you return without letting you drink water.'

(23) wallah, ħe-yr-ud il b-ar-es, b-ik'-uli sa<b>i
IJMy.God NEG-M:can-FUT2 this N-do-INF N-say-GER be:N
šayt'an
devil:ABS
'Oh no, you can't,' said the devil.

[1] The original *ħebudžaqi* is incorrect or a misprint: the correct gerund form is *-erdž-i-li*. In sentences 22, 28, 33, 34 the imperfective stem *-udž* is used in perfective forms, like the Aorist and the Gerund, which is possible for this verb in the antipassive construction, see grammar section 8.3.2.

(24) hari, w-ir-adli, w-aš-i
IJwell M-can-COND2 M-come-IMP
'Well, if you can, come with me.'

(25) hay<b>i?-ub-li ar<b>äq'-i sa<b>i il-di
set.off:hpl-AOR-GER leave:hpl-GER be:hpl this-PL
ħerk'-li-či
river-OBL-SUP
And setting off they went to the river.

(26) ħerk'-li-či b-ak'-ib-si zamana, Malla+Nasradin
river-OBL-SUP N-come-AOR-ADJ time:ABS PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS
las+w-äq-i-li duha.yz-ur-li sa.y šayt'ay-či:
turn+M-aux-AOR-GER turn.to:M-AOR-GER be:M devil:OBL-SUP
nuša-k'un d-ak'-i-l-ra, biq'r-umi čina-b-a
we:ABS-FOC pl-come-AOR-GER-1 witness-PL:ABS where-hpl-INT
When they came to the river, Malla Nasradin turned and said to the devil: 'We have arrived, but where are the witnesses?'

(27) se=ğun-ti biq'r-umi
what=like-ADP witness-PL:ABS
'What kind of witnesses?'

(28) se se=ğun-ti, ħu b-ik'-ud, šin-ni
what:ABS what=like-ADP you:ABS N-say-FUT2 water-OBL:ERG
b-udž-i-ra, nu w-ik'-us, ħe-b-udž-adi
N-drink-AOR-1 me:ABS M-say-FUT1 NEG-N-drink-IMPF2
'What do you mean "What kind?" You will say "I drank water," I will say "you did not".'

(29) il bahandan biq'r-umi b-i?-es ʕäʕni-ti sa<b>i
this because witness-PL:ABS hpl-be-INF necessary-ADP be:hpl
'Therefore witnesses are necessary.'

(30) ?-i-li b-i?-alli w-aš-i biq'r-umi
say-AOR-GER N-be-COND3 M-come-IMP witness-PL:ABS
le<b>k-eħe, ?-i-li il-di gumay-zi
bring:hpl-FUT1p say-AOR-GER this-PL godekan-ILL
čar+b-i?-ub-Ø
return+hpl-be-AOR-3
'If it is as you say, come, let's get witnesses,' he said, and they returned to the godekan.

(31) ħerk'-li-či nuša d-äq'-un-ra-w, ʔ-i-li
river-OBL-SUP we:ABS pl-go-AOR-1-INT say-AOR-GER
ʕar<b>aʔ-ib-Ø Malla+Nasradin-ni šayt'ay-zi,
ask:N-AOR-3 PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG devil:OBL-ILL
gumay-zi čar+b-iʔ-ub-ħeli
godekan-ILL return+hpl-be-AOR-WHEN
'Did we go to the river?' asked Malla Nasradin of the devil, when they returned to the godekan.

(34) d-äq'-un-ra, džawab b-ed-ib-Ø šayt'ay
pl-go-AOR-1 answer:ABS N-give-AOR-3 devil:OBL:ERG
'We did,' answered the devil.

(33) ħu šin-ni b-udž-i-ri-w
you:ABS water-OBL:ERG N-drink-AOR-2-INT
'Did you drink water?'

(34) ħe-b-udž-i-ra
NEG-N-drink-AOR-1
'I did not.'

(35) b-irʕä<b>irg-i-ri-w ħu nu-ni
N-deceive:N-AOR-2-INT you:ABS me-ERG
'Did I tease you?'

(36) il-a-la ʕerǧi šayt'an sa<b>i
this-OBL-GEN after devil:ABS self:ABS:N
udi+b-ik-ni-li-či mut'iʕ+b-ak'-ib-si sa<b>i
below+N-aux-MASD-OBL-SUP submissive+N-aux-AOR-ADJ be:N
The devil acknowledged his defeat.

29. AN UNSUCCESSFUL JOURNEY

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:105-106) was written down by Zapir Abdullaev.

(0) ГьархIебизурси архIя
(1) Малла Насрадин архIяли аркьухIели, гьунчиб цабехI хIяб икъути къаршибикили саби.
(2) «Ассаламу гIялайкум, баракат биаб!»- викIули сай Малла Насрадин хIяб икъантази. (3) ХIяб икъанти гьимбукIили сабину, хапдарили цали кIатIа, цали газа пяхъбикIули саламатли витили сай. (4) Илди пяхъбикIухIели, Малла Насрадин тамашавиубли хьарбаили сай: «Се леба нуни хIушаб барибси вайдеш, сен набчи пяхъдикIутирав хIуша?»
(5) - Нушагъунтази баракат биаб викIуси хIебирарну, някъби гьаладуцили «патихIя» викIуси бирар, - бикIули саби хIяб икъанти.
(6) ХIушани бурибси гIякьлура хъумхIертиша или, Малла Насрадин ватихьили сай. (7) Аркьули ца мерличи ветаибхIели, дяхъили дам-дядра сабира халаси шадлихълизибти адамти баргили сай. (8) Малла Насрадин шадлихъличибтачи гьамиубли, някъби гьаладуцили «патихIя» викIули сай. (9) Шадлихъличибти гIясибиубли саби ва пяхъбикIули вай-шайчив Малла Насрадин витили сай. (10) ГIурра тамашавиубли, «Сен пяхъдикIутирав хIуша набчи, нуни се вайдеш барира хIушаб?» - викIули сай Малла Насрадин.
(11) - Къурумсакъ, чехIебиулрив талхъа дурхIя хъайчи калтули мекъ сабли?
(12) Ишгъуна мерличив «патихIя» викIули хIебирарну, чебасили, ахъбуцили кьапIара гьарс-с-с-с или, тIяхIикIули улхъуси бирар, -бикIули саби мекъличибти. (13) «ГIяхIси саби», - или Малла Насрадин сунела гьуни буцили ватихьили сай. (14) Вашули ца мерличи ветаибхIели, гIярас игьес лишан асили гIяяркьяна чеваили сай. (15) Малла Насрадин илхIяйзив чебасили, ахъбуцили кьапIара сайра гьарс-с-с-с или вявикIули, тIяхIикIули делхъли кавхъи сай. (16) Илала тIама-гьамаличи гIяра бебшили дугIарбякьи саби. (17) Илав гIяяркьяна гIясивиубли сайну, пяхъикIули тупангла къандакъли Малла Насрадин витили сай.
(18) -Сен вирхъусирив хIу набчи, се барили дигулрив хIед? - викIули сай Малла Насрадин.
(19) -Купаюгъли!- викIули сай гIяяркьяна. (20) - ЧехIебиулрив хIела тIама-гьамаличи гIяра бебшили. (21) Илгъуна мерличивкIун хIугъуналис чебасили кьапIара, чилилра чехIеэсли, дигIянни, гIяшиубли, тIама-гьама камдарили шалгIевулхъес чебиркур.
(22) Илра гIурлис гIякьлу саби или, Малла Насрадинни гьайбарили сай.
(23) Вашули ца мерличи ветаибхIели, илис къаршибикили саби ит дуги хъулкнани чула дахъал маза дигIунти букIуни. (24) Илди чебаибхIели, Малла

Насрадин гIяшиубли, илдани чехIеэсли дигIяникили гьайиубли сай. (25) Амма букIунани ахъра гIяшра вирули, дигIянвиркули Малла Насрадин чеили сай ва дуцIбухъи чула маза дигIунси хъулки сай или, хапли уцили пяхъбикIули витили сай.
(26) Малла Насрадин наб иш архIя бархьхIебизур или хъули чарухъи сай.
(27) Гьарли-марли буралли, Малла Насрадинна гIямрулизиб бегIла гьархIебизурси архIя ил саби.

(0) har<ħe><b>iz-ur-si aṁä
be.successful:NEG:N-AOR-ADJ journey:ABS
An unsuccessful journey.

(1) Malla+Nasradin aṁä-li arq'-uħeli, hun-či-b
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS journey-OBL:ERG leave-WHEN road-SUP-hpl
ca<b>eħ ħäb iɢ-uti ɢarši+b-ik-i-li sa<b>i
a.pair:hpl grave:ABS dig-ADP meet+hpl-aux-AOR-GER be:hpl
When Malla Nasradin was travelling, he met some grave-diggers on the road.

(2) assalamu.ʕälaykum, barakat b-iʔ-ab, w-ik'-uli sa.y
IJsalam.aleykum prosperity:ABS N-be-OPT3 M-say-GER be:M
Malla+Nasradin ħäb iɢ=an-t-a-zi
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS grave:ABS dig=AG-PL-OBL-ILL
'Salam Aleykum, may there be prosperity (for you),' said Malla Nasradin to the grave diggers.

(3) ħäb iɢ=an-ti him<b>uk'-i-li sa<b>i-nu,
grave:ABS dig=AG-PL:ABS be.angry:hpl-AOR-GER be:hpl-for
xap+d-ar-i-li ca-li k'at'a, ca-li
sudden+pl-do-AOR-GER one-OBL:ERG spade:ABS one-OBL:ERG
gadza päq+b-ik'-uli[1] salamat-li w-it-i-li
pick:ABS ONhit+hpl-aux-GER strong-ADV M-beat-AOR-GER
sa.y
be:M
The grave diggers got angry, took a spade and a pick and beat him up.

(4) il-di päq+b-ik'-uħeli, Malla+Nasradin
this-PL ONhit+hpl-aux-WHEN PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS
tamaša+w-iʔ-ub-li χar<b>aʔ-i-li sa.y se
wonder+M-be-AOR-GER ask:N-AOR-GER be:M what:ABS
le-b-Ø-a nu-ni ħušab b-ar-ib-si way=deš,
present-N-3-INT me-ERG youP:DAT N-do-AOR-ADJ bad=ABSTR:ABS

[1] The Akusha informants would prefer the verb *-äq/-irq* 'hit' here and elsewhere in this text.

sen nab-či päq+d-ik'-uti-ra-w ħuša
why me:OBL-SUP ONhit+pl-aux-ADP-2p-INT youP:ABS
When they dashed at him, Malla Nasradin asked confused: 'What did I do wrong, why are you dashing at me like that?'

(5) nuša=ğun-t-a-zi barakat b-i?-ab w-ik'-usi
we=like-ADP-OBL-ILL prosperity:ABS N-be-OPT3 M-say-ADJ
ħe-b-ir-ar-nu, näG-bi hala+d+uc-i-li
NEG-N-be-FUT3-for hand-PL:ABS before-pl-catch-AOR-GER
«patiħä»[2] w-ik'-usi b-ir-ar b-ik'-uli sa<b>i
PNFatiha M-say-ADJ N-be-FUT3 hpl-say-GER be:hpl
ħäb iG=an-ti
grave:ABS dig=AG-PL:ABS
'One doesn't say "May prosperity be with you" to people like us, but you say "Fatiha" with extended hands,' said the grave diggers.

(6) ħuša-ni b-ur-ib-si ʕäq'lu-ra qum<ħe>rt-iša
youP-ERG N-say-AOR-ADJ advice:ABS-and forget:NEG-POT1
?-i-li, Malla+Nasradin w-at.iχ̂-i-li sa.y
say-AOR-GER PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS M-go:M-AOR-GER be:M
'I am not likely to forget your advice,' said Malla Nasradin and went on.

(7) arq'-uli ca mer-li-či w-eta?-ib-ħeli,
leave-GER one place-OBL-SUP M-reach-AOR-WHEN
d-äq-i-li dam+däd-ra sa<b>i-ra xala-si
pl-hit-AOR-GER drum+flute:ABS-and be:hpl-and big-ADJ
šadliq-li-zi-b-ti adam-ti b-arg-i-li sa.y
party-OBL-ILL-hpl-ADP person-PL:ABS hpl-find-AOR-GER be:M
He left and when he reached a particular place, he found drums and flute being played as people were having a big party.

(8) Malla+Nasradin šadliq-li-či-b-t-a-či
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS party-OBL-SUP-hpl-ADP-OBL-SUP
ğam+i?-ub-li, näG-bi hala+d-uc-i-li
near+M:be-AOR-GER hand-PL:ABS before+pl-catch-AOR-GER
«patiħä» w-ik'-uli sa.y
PNFatiha M-say-GER be:M
Malla Nasradin came near the feasting people, extended his hands and said 'Fatiha'.

[2] The Fatiha (Ar. fātiha) is the name of the first Sura of the Koran, with which religious ceremonies, such as funerals, usually begin.

(9) šadliq-li-či-b-ti ʕäsi+b-i?-ub-li sa<b>i wa
party-OBL-SUP-hpl-ADP angry+hpl-be-AOR-GER be:hpl and
päq+b-ik'-uli way+šay-či-w Malla+Nasradin
ONhit+hpl-aux-GER bad+side:OBL-SUP-M PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS
w-it-i-li sa.y
M-beat-AOR-GER be:M
The feasting people got angry and beat him up strongly.

(10) ʕur-ra tamaša+w-i?-ub-li, sen päq+d-ik'-uti-ra-w
then-and wonder+M-be-AOR-GER why ONhit+pl-aux-ADP-2p-INT
ħuša nab-či nu-ni se way=deš
youP:ABS me:OBL-SUP me-ERG what:ABS bad=ABSTR:ABS
b-ar-i-ra ħušab, w-ik'-uli sa.y Malla+Nasradin
N-do-AOR-1 youP:DAT M-say-GER be:M PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS
Wondering again, Malla Nasradin said: 'Why are you beating me, what did I do wrong to you?'

(11) ɢurumsaɢ če<ħe><b>i?-ul-ri-w talqa duħä
IJhonorless.person see:NEG:N-GER-2-INT chief:GEN child:ABS
qay-či kalt-uli[3] meɢ sa-b-li
house:OBL-SUP put:M-GER wedding:ABS be-N-GER
'Scoundrel, don't you see that there is a wedding, as the chief's son is getting married?'

(12) iš=ğuna mer-li-či-w «patiħä» w-ik'-uli ħe-b-ir-ar-nu,
this=like place-OBL-SUP-M PNFatiha M-say-GER NEG-N-be-FUT3-for
če<b>>as-i-li, aq+b-uc-i-li q'ap'a-ra «harssss»
take.off:N-AOR-GER high+N-catch-AOR-GER hat:ABS-and IJharsss
?-i-li, t'äħ+ik'-uli ulq-usi b-ir-ar,
say-AOR-GER jump+M:aux-GER M:dance-ADJ N-be-FUT3
b-ik'-uli sa<b>i meɢ-li-či-b-ti
hpl-say-GER be:hpl wedding-OBL-SUP-hpl-ADP
'At a place like this, one does not say "Fatiha", but taking off one's hat and throwing it up in the air, one says "harssss"[4], skipping and dancing,' said the people at the wedding.

(13) ʕäħ-si sa<b>i, ?-i-li Malla+Nasradin
good-ADJ be:N say-AOR-GER PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS
sune-la huni b-uc-i-li w-at.iχ-i-li
self:OBL-GEN road:ABS N-catch-AOR-GER M-go:M-AOR-GER

[3] *qayči kat/kalt* 'marry (a man to woman)', see the lexicon
[4] "harsss" is the cry of encouragement shouted during dances.

sa.y
be:M
'All right,' said Malla Nasradin and continuing on his way, he went on.

(14) w-aš-uli ca mer-li-či w-eta?-ib-ħeli ʕära-s
M-come-GER one place-OBL-SUP M-reach-AOR-WHEN hare-DAT
ih-es lišan as-i-li ʕäyar.q'äna če<w>a?-i-li
hit-INF sign:ABS take-AOR-GER hunter:ABS see:M-AOR-GER
sa.y
be:M
And walking he reached a place and he saw a hunter sighting up to shoot a hare.

(15) Malla+Nasradin il+ħäy-zi-w če<b>>as-i-li,
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS this+situation:OBL-ILL-M take.off:N-AOR-GER
aq+b-uc-i-li q'ap'a-ra sa.y-ra «harssss» ?-i-li
high+N-catch-AOR-GER hat:ABS-and be:M-and IJharssss say-AOR-GER
wäw+ik'-uli, t'äħ+ik'-uli delq-li-zi[5] ka<w>q-i
cry+M:aux-GER jump+M:aux-GER dance-OBL-ILL start:M-GER
sa.y
be:M
Malla Nasradin immediately took off his hat, threw it up in the air and yelling 'harssss', jumping, he started to dance.

(16) il-a-la t'ama.hama-li-či ʕära b-ebš-i-li
this-OBL-GEN noice-OBL-SUP hare:ABS N-run-AOR-GER
duʕ+ar<b>äq'-i sa<b>i
wild+leave:N-GER be:N
The hare run away from the noise.

(17) ila-w ʕäyar.q'äna ʕäsi+w-i?-ub-li sa.y-nu,
here-M hunter:ABS angry+M-be-AOR-GER be:M-for
päq+ik'-uli tupang-la gundag-li[6]
ONhit+M:aux-GER rifle-GEN butt-OBL:ERG
Malla+Nasradin w-it-i-li sa.y
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS M-beat-AOR-GER be:M
The hunter got very angry and beat Malla Nasradin fiercely with the butt of his rifle.

[5] *delqlizi* replaces the incorrect original *delqli*.
[6] Akusha *gundag* replaces the original *gandag*, which either belongs to another dialect or is a misprint.

(18) sen w-irq-usi-ri-w ħu nab-či se
why M-hit-ADJ-2-INT you:ABS me:OBL-SUP what:ABS
b-ar-i-li dig-ul-ri-w ħed, w-ik'-uli sa.y
N-do-AOR-GER want-GER-2-INT you:DAT M-say-GER be:M
Malla+Nasradin
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS
'Why do you hit me? What do you want?' said Malla Nasradin.

(19) kupayuğli, w-ik'-uli sa.y ʕäyar.q'äna
IJson.of.a.bitch M-say-GER be:M hunter:ABS
'Son of a bitch,' said the hunter.

(20) če<ħe><b>i?-ul-ri-w ħe-la t'ama.hama-li-či ʕära
see:NEG:N-GER-2-INT you:OBL-GEN noice-OBL-SUP hare:ABS
b-ebš-i-li
N-run-AOR-GER
'Don't you see that the hare has run away because of your noise?'

(21) il=ğuna mer-li-či-w-k'un ħu=ğuna-li-s
this=like place-OBL-SUP-M-FOC you=like-OBL-DAT
če<b>>as-i-li q'ap'a-ra, či-li-lra
take.off:N-AOR-GER hat:ABS-and who-OBL:ERG-INDEF
če<ħe>?-es-li, diʕän-ni ʕäš+i?-ub-li, t'ama.hama
see:NEG:M-INF-GER secret-ADV bend+M:be-AOR-GER noise:ABS
kam+d-ar-i-li šal.ʕe-w+ulq-es če<b>irk-ur
small+pl-do-AOR-GER along-M+M:aux-INF must:N-FUT3
'At a place like this, people like you should take off their hat, so that no-one sees them, bend down quietly, decreasing the noise, and pass.'

(22) il-ra ʕur-li-s ʕäq'lu sa<b>i ʔ-i-li,
this-and then-OBL-DAT advice:ABS be:N say-AOR-GER
Malla+Nasradin-ni hay<b>ar-i-li sa.y
Malla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG set.off:N-AOR-GER be:M
'This is advice for me too in the future,' said Nasradin and went on.

(23) w-aš-uli ca mer-li-či w-etaʔ-ib-ħeli,
M-come-GER one place-OBL-SUP M-reach-AOR-WHEN
il-i-s ɢarši+b-ik-i-li sa<b>i it dugi
this-OBL-DAT meet+hpl-aux-AOR-GER be:hpl that night:ABS
qulk-n-a-ni ču-la d-aqal maza
thief-PL-OBL-ERG self:PL:OBL-GEN pl-much sheep:ABS
d-iʕ-un-ti buk'un-i
pl-steal-AOR-ADP shepherd-PL:ABS

He went on and came to a place where he met some shepherds, from whom a lot of sheep had been stolen (by thieves) that night.

(24) il-di če<b>a?-ib-ħeli, Malla+Nasradin
this-PL see:hpl-AOR-WHEN PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS
ʕäš+i?-ub-li il-d-a-ni če<ħe>?-es-li
bend+M:be-AOR-GER this-PL-OBL-ERG see:NEG:M-INF-GER
diʕän+ik-i-li hay.i?-ub-li sa.y
secret+M:aux-AOR-GER set.off:M-AOR-GER be:M
When he saw them, Malla Nasradin bent down and crept past secretly so that they would not see him.

(25) amma buk'un-a-ni aq-ra ʕäš-ra w-ir-uli,
but shepherd-PL:OBL-ERG high-and bend-and M-be-GER
diʕän+w-irk-uli Malla+Nasradin če?-i-li sa.y
secret+M-aux-GER PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS see:M-AOR-GER be:M
wa duc'+b-uq-i ču-la maza
and run+hpl-aux-GER self:PL:OBL-GEN sheep:ABS
d-iʕ-un-si qulki sa.y ?-i-li, xap-li
pl-steal-AOR-ADJ thief:ABS be:M say-AOR-GER sudden-ADV
uc-i-li päq+b-ik'-uli w-it-i-li sa.y
M:catch-AOR-GER ONhit+hpl-aux-GER M-beat-AOR-GER be:M
But the shepherds saw Malla Nasradin secretly going, then up, then down, and ran (after him) for they thought he might be the thief who had stolen their sheep, and catching him, they beat him up.

(26) Malla+Nasradin nab iš arħä
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS me:DAT this journey:ABS
har<ħe><b>iz-ur-Ø[7] ?-i-li quli čar+uq-i
be.successful:NEG:N-AOR-3 say-AOR-GER home return+M:aux-GER
sa.y
be:M
Malla Nasradin said: 'This is not a successful journey,' and he went home.

(27) har-li+mar-li b-ur-alli, Malla+Nasradin-na
every-ADV+real-ADV N-say-COND3 PNMalla+Nasradin-GEN
ʕämru-li-zi-b b.eʕ.la har<ħe><b>iz-ur-si arħä
life-OBL-ILL-N very be.successful:NEG:N-AOR-ADJ journey:ABS
il sa<b>i
this be:N
To be honest, it was the most unsuccessful journey of Malla Nasradin's life.

[7] *harħebizur* replaces the original *barχħebizur* which was considered incorrect.

30. MALLA NASRADIN AND THE THIEF

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:106) was written down by Zagir Magomedov from the words of H. Aliev from the village of Urakhi.

(0) Малла Насрадинра хъулкира
(1) Гьачам, дугели, хъулкнани кьасбарили саби Малла Насрадинна хъали бигIес.
(2) Илдани лац гьабасили саби ва Малла Насрадин усуси хъули абацIили саби.
(3) Малла Насрадин илхIели усули ахIенри, амма усусила гIердариб.
(4) Хъулкнани хъулирти лерилра секIал касибхIели, Малла Насрадин, усусиван бурушличивад чIябарличи геркавхъи сай. (5) Гьала-гьала хъулкни Насрадин чеваргъили сай или уркIбухъи саби ва бебшес кьасбарили саби, амма ил вяшхIейкIули чеибхIели, разибиубли саби, ва илала бурушра, юргъанра, гIяналара касили сари. (6) Хъулкни дурабухъунхIели, Насрадин айзурли сай ва илдас гIелавадикили сай.
(7) Авлахъличи бетаибхIели, хъулкнани чус гIелавадикибси адам чеили сай.
(8) УркIбухъунти илдани хьарбиули саби, хIу чи сайри ва чина аркьусири или.
(9) - Ну хIушани архути ваяхIла вегI сайра, - викIули сай Насрадин.
(10) - ХIушани ну цархIил хъули гечирули ахIенрав? (11) Ил багьандан ваяхI архуси мерла нура лявкьулра.
(12) Хъулкнани Малла Насрадинна ваяхI лайдакIили сари ва бируглеб бебшили саби. (13) Насрадинни биалли дуги авлахъличиб беркIили сай.

(0) Malla+Nasradin-ra qulki-ra
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS-and thief:ABS-and
Malla Nasradin and the thief.

(1) hačam, dugeli, qulk-n-a-ni q'as+b.ar-i-li sa<b>i
once at.night thief-PL-OBL-ERG decision+N:do-AOR-GER be:hpl
Malla+Nasradin-na qali b-iʕ-es
PNMalla+Nasradin-GEN house:ABS N-steal-INF
Once, at night, thieves decided to go stealing in Malla Nasradin's house.

(2) il-d-a-ni lac ha<b>as-i-li sa<b>i wa
this-PL-OBL-ERG wall:ABS dig:N-AOR-GER be:hpl and
Malla+Nasradin us-usi quli a<b>ac'-i-li
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS M:sleep-ADJ home ascend:hpl-AOR-GER
sa<b>i
be:hpl
They dug under the wall and went upstairs to the room where Malla Nasradin was sleeping.

(3) Malla+Nasradin il-ħeli us-uli aħen-ri,
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS this-WHEN M:sleep-GER be.not-PRET
amma us-usi-la ʕe.r.d.ar-ib-Ø
but M:sleep-ADJ-GEN pretend:pl:pl-AOR-3
Malla Nasradin was not actually sleeping at that time, but he pretended to be sleeping.

(4) qulk-n-a-ni quli-r-ti le<r>i-lra sek'al
thief-PL-OBL-ERG home-pl-ADP present:pl-INDEF thing:ABS
kas-ib-ħeli, Malla+Nasradin, us-usi-wan
take-AOR-WHEN PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS M:sleep-ADJ-ID
buruš-li-či-w-ad č'äbar-li-či ger+ka<w>q-i
mattress-OBL-SUP-M-ELA floor-OBL-SUP round+roll.down:M-GER
sa.y
be:M
When the thieves had removed everything from the house, Malla Nasradin rolled down from his mattress onto the floor as if he was sleeping.

(5) hala+hala qulk-ni Nasradin
before+before thief-PL:ABS PNNasradin:ABS
če<w>arğ-i-li sa.y ʔ-i-li urk'<b>uq-i sa<b>i
wake.up:M-AOR-GER be:M say-AOR-GER frighten:hpl-GER be:hpl
wa b-ebš-es q'as+b.ar-i-li sa<b>i, amma il
and hpl-run-INF decision+N.do-AOR-GER be:hpl but this
wäš+ħe-yk'-uli če?-ib-ħeli, radzi+b-i?-ub-li
ONmove+NEG-M:aux-GER see:M-AOR-WHEN glad+hpl-be-AOR-GER
sa<b>i, wa il-a-la buruš-ra, yurğan-ra,
be:hpl and this-OBL-GEN mattress:ABS-and blanket:ABS-and
ʕänala-ra kas-i-li sa<r>i
pillow:ABS-and take-AOR-GER be:pl
First the thieves were scared thinking that Nasradin had woken up and decided to flee, but when they saw he did not move again, they were glad and took his mattress, blanket and pillow as well.

(6) qulk-ni dura+b-uq-un-ħeli, Nasradin
thief-PL:ABS out+hpl-aux-AOR-WHEN PNNasradin:ABS
a.yz-ur-li sa.y wa il-d-a-s
rise:M-AOR-GER be:M and this-PL-OBL-DAT
ʕela-w-ad+ik-i-li sa.y
after-M-ELA+M:aux-AOR-GER be:M
When the thieves left, Nasradin got up and followed them.

(7) awlaq-li-či b-eta?-ib-ħeli qulk-n-a-ni
field-OBL-SUP hpl-reach-AOR-WHEN thief-PL-OBL-ERG
ču-s ʕela-w-ad+ik-ib-si adam
self:PL:OBL-DAT after-M-ELA+M:aux-AOR-ADJ person:ABS
če?-i-li sa.y
see:M-AOR-GER be:M
When they reached the open fields, the thieves noticed a man following them.

(8) urk'<b>uq-un-ti il-d-a-ni ɣar<b>i?-uli sa<b>i,
frighten:hpl-AOR-ADP this-PL-OBL-ERG ask:N-GER be:hpl
ħu či sa.y-ri wa čina arq'-usi-ri ?-i-li
you:ABS who:ABS be:M-2 and where leave-ADJ-2 say-AOR-GER
Becoming afraid, they asked: 'Who are you and where are you going?'

(9) nu ħuša-ni arx-uti wayäħ-la w-eʕ
me:ABS youP-ERG bring-ADP belongings-GEN M-owner:ABS
sa.y-ra, w-ik'-uli sa.y Nasradin
be:M-1 M-say-GER be:M PNNasradin:ABS
'I am the owner of the things you are carrying,' said Nasradin.

(10) ħuša-ni nu carħil quli geč+ir-uli aħen-ra-w
youP-ERG me:ABS other home move+M:do-GER be.not-1-INT
'Aren't you moving me to another house?'

(11) il bahandan wayäħ arx-usi mer-la nu-ra
this because belongings:ABS bring-ADJ place-LOC me:ABS-and
lä<w>q'-ul-ra
go:M-GER-1
'Because of this I am going to the place where you take my belongings too.'

(12) qulk-n-a-ni Malla+Nasradin-na wayäħ
thief-PL-OBL-ERG PNMalla+Nasradin-GEN belongings:ABS
lay+d-ak'-i-li sa<r>i wa b-iru.ʕe-b
ONthrow+pl-aux-AOR-GER be:pl and hpl-complete-hpl
b-ebš-i-li sa<b>i
hpl-run-AOR-GER be:hpl
The thieves threw down Malla Nasradin's belongings and ran away.

(13) Nasradin-ni b.i?.alli dugi awlaq-li-či-b
PNNasradin-OBL:ERG however night:ABS field-OBL-SUP-N
b-erk'-i-li sa.y
N-spend-AOR-GER be:M
Nasradin however spent the night in the field.

31. MALLA NASRADIN AND HIS NEIGHBOUR

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976:107) was written down by Zagir Magomedov from the words of Gadzhimurad Gadzhimuradov, age 72 year, from the village of Chumli, Dakhadaev district.

(0) Малла насрадинра унрара
(1) Гьачам Малла Насрадинничи вакIили унра викIули сай: «Ягъари, дила унра, хIулби изули бахъ инжитирулрагу. (2) ХIунилра бареси хIебаладу?»
(3) -Ца жумягI гьалаб, - жаваб бедили сай Малла Насрадинни, - дила цула изесбяхIиб. (4) Халаси кьакьадешличил бархIи беркIира. (5) КъайхIебикиб.
(6) ГIямал буи тухтурличи вякьунра. (7) Илини ил абитIун. (8) Цакамси заманала бухIнаб изала бетахъиб.
(9) - Иличибли хIед се бурес дигулрив? - дигьайзурли сай унра Насрадинничи.
(10) СекIун вякьи тухтурличи нуни цула кьяйда илди кIелра хIули адитIахъен, гIур изхIейзурну.
(11) ГIясивиубси унра, гIур хIуни се буриши или, хъули арякьи сай ца чеббицIес хIебикесара ибси пикриличил.
(12) Цакамси заманала ухIнав унрас буцили ляжира сайра халал кьакьадешличил къунзикIули Малла Насрадин къаршиикили сай.
(13) -Малла Насрадин, буцили ляжира хIура хIу сен къунзикIусирив? - хьарбаили сай илизи унрани.
(14) -Валлагь, цулали кьакьавакIахъилра, -жаваб бедили сай Малла Насрадинни.
(15) Унра викIули сай: «Дила цула изесбяхIибхIели ил нуни абитIахъунра, изалара къайбикиб».
(16) -ХIела цула нунира абилтIахъира, - жаваб бедили сай Насрадинни.
(17) Унрас буреси кахIели хъули арякьи сай.

(0) Malla+Nasradin-ra unra-ra
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS-and neighbour:ABS-and
Malla Nasradin and his neighbour.

(1) hačam Malla+Nasradin-ni-či w-ak'-i-li
once PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL-SUP M-come-AOR-GER
unra, w-ik'-uli sa.y: ya+ğari, di-la
neighbour:ABS M-say-GER be:M IJhear! me:OBL-GEN
unra ħul-bi idz-uli b-aq
neighbour:ABS eye-PL:ABS hurt-GER N-much
indžit+ir-ul-ra-gu
suffering+M:be-GER-1-but

Once a neighbour came to Malla Nasradin and said: 'Hear, my neighbour, I am suffering for my eyes are hurting badly.

(2) ħu-ni-lra b-ar-e-si ħe-b-al-ad-u
you-ERG-INDEF N-do-POT3-ADJ NEG-N-know-FUT2-INT
'Don't you know what to do?'

(3) ca džumäʕ hala-b, džawab b-ed-i-li sa.y
one Friday before-N answer:ABS N-give-AOR-GER be:M
Malla+Nasradin-ni, di-la cula idz-es
PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG me:OBL-GEN tooth:ABS hurt-INF
b-äħ-ib-Ø[1]
N-begin-AOR-3
'One week ago,' answered Malla Nasradin, 'my tooth began to hurt.'

(4) xala-si q'aq'a=deš-li-čil barħi b-erk'-i-ra
big-ADJ narrow=ABSTR-OBL-COM day:ABS N-spend-AOR-1
'I spent the day suffering a lot.'

(5) ɢay<ħe><b>ik-ib-Ø[2]
stop:NEG:N-AOR-3
'It did not stop.

(6) ʕämal b-uʔ-i tuxtur-li-či w-äq'-un-ra
patience:ABS N-disappear-GER doctor-OBL-SUP M-go-AOR-1
'Having lost my patience, I went to a doctor.'

(7) il-i-ni il a<b>it'-un-Ø
this-OBL-ERG this remove:N-AOR-3
'He pulled out the tooth.'

(8) ca+kam-si zamana-la b-uħna-b idzala
one+small-ADJ time-GEN N-inside-N disease:ABS
b-etaq-ib-Ø
N-disappear-AOR-3
'In a little time the pain disappeared.'

(9) il-i-či<b>li ħed se b-ur-es dig-ul-ri-w
this-OBL-INS:N you:DAT what:ABS N-say-INF want-GER-2-INT

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[1] There is no syntactic or phonological reason to write *idzes* and *bäħib* as one word, as in the original, here and in sentence 15.

[2] *Gay<B>ik* belongs to the Urakhi dialect, Akusha speakers would prefer another phrasing, also in sentence 15.

duha.yz-ur-li sa.y unra Nasradin-ni-či
turn.to:M-AOR-GER be:M neighbour:ABS PNNasradin-OBL-SUP
'What do you want to say with that?' asked the neighbour of Nasradin.

(10) se-k'un w-äq'-i tuxtur-li-či nu-ni cula
what:ABS-FOC M-go-GER doctor-OBL-SUP me-ERG tooth:ABS
q'äyda il-di k'.el-ra ħuli a<d>it'=aq-en, ʕur
manner:ABS this-PL two-and eye:ABS remove:pl=CAUS-IMP then
idz+ħe-yz-ur-nu
hurt+NEG-hurt-FUT3-for
'Well, when you go to a doctor and let him take out those two eyes like me my tooth, then it won't hurt anymore.'

(11) ʕäsi+w-iʔ-ub-si unra, ʕur ħu-ni se
angry+M-be-AOR-ADJ neighbour:ABS then you-ERG what:ABS
b-ur-iši ʔ-i-li, quli ar.äq'-i sa.y ca
N-say-POT2 say-AOR-GER home leave:M-GER be:M one
če.b.b.ic'-es ħe-b-ik-es-a-ra ʔ-ib-si
revenge:N:N-INF NEG-N-pass-INF-INT-and say-AOR-ADJ
pikri-li-čil
thought-OBL-COM
The angry neighbour went home saying 'What more can one say?', with the thought, that there might come a moment for taking revenge.

(12) ca+kam-si zamana-la uħna-w unra-s
one+small-ADJ time-GEN M:inside-M neighbour-DAT
b-uc-i-li läži-ra sa.y-ra xala-l
N-catch-AOR-GER cheek:ABS-and be:M-and big-ADJ
q'aq'a=deš-li-čil ɢunz+ik'-uli
narrow=ABSTR-OBL-COM ONstep+M:aux-GER
Malla+Nasradin ɢarši+ik-i-li sa.y
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS meet+M:aux-AOR-GER be:M
Some time later the neighbour met Malla Nasradin holding his cheek and clearly walking about with a lot of suffering.

(13) Malla+Nasradin, b-uc-i-li läži-ra
PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS N-catch-AOR-GER cheek:ABS-and
ħu-ra ħu sen ɢunz+ik'-usi-ri-w,
you:ABS-and you:ABS why ONstep+M:aux-ADJ-2-INT
χar<b>aʔ-i-li sa.y il-i-zi unra-ni
ask:N-AOR-GER be:M this-OBL-ILL neighbour-ERG
'Malla Nasradin, why are you walking around holding your cheek?' the neighbour asked him.

(14) wallah, cula-li q'aq'a+w-ak'=aq-i-l-ra,
IJMy.God tooth-OBL:ERG narrow+M-aux=CAUS-AOR-GER-1
džawab b-ed-i-li sa.y Malla+Nasradin-ni
answer:ABS N-give-AOR-GER be:M PNMalla+Nasradin-OBL:ERG
'My goodness, my tooth makes me suffer,' answered Malla Nasradin.

(15) unra w-ik'-uli sa.y: di-la cula
neighbour:ABS M-say-GER be:M me:OBL-GEN tooth:ABS
idz-es b-äh-ib-ħeli il nu-ni a<b>it'=aq-un-ra,
hurt-INF N-begin-AOR-WHEN this me-ERG remove:N=CAUS-AOR-1
idzala-ra ɢay<b>ik-ib-Ø
disease:ABS-and stop:N-AOR-3
The neighbour said: 'When my tooth started to ache, I had it removed and the pain stopped.'

(16) ħe-la cula nu-ni-ra a<b>ilt'=aq-asi,[3]
you:OBL-GEN tooth:ABS me-ERG-and remove:N=CAUS-IMPF1
džawab b-ed-i-li sa.y Nasradin-ni
answer:ABS N-give-AOR-GER be:M PNNasradin-OBL:ERG
'Your tooth I would have pulled out too,' answered Malla Nasradin.

(17) unra-s b-ur-e-si ka<ħe>l-i quli ar.äq'-i
neighbour-DAT N-say-POT3-ADJ stay:NEG-GER home leave:M-GER
sa.y
be:M
There was nothing left for the neighbour to say and he left.

[3] The Imperfect *abilt'aqasi* replaces the incorrect form *abilt'aqira* which combined the Aorist ending and imperfective stem.

32. MALLA NASRADIN IS DYING

This text (Akhlakov & Khalilov 1976: 107-108) was written down by M.S. Musaev, head of the Department of Daghestanian Philology, Daghestan State University.

(0) Малла Насрадин убкIули сай
(1) Гьачам Насрадин эмхIеличил вацIализи урцуйчи вякьи сай. (2) Ил галгаличи ацIили кьяйчи ветерхурли сай ва кайибси кьяли мякьлизибад бирхъес вехIихьили сай.
(3) Мякьлавад аркьуси ца адам илизи викIули сай:
- Насрадин, хIу увяхIиркуд, илкьяйдали хIу кайибси кьялиличи вирхъядли.
(4) Насрадиннис гьанбикиб ил адам масхурта угьули ургар или, ва пикрилра бяхIчихIеили вирхъесяхIиб. (5) Кьяли кабиркухIели биалли, иличил варх сайра пIакьасахъили ванзаличи кайкиб.
(6) Тамашаиубси Насрадин баягъи ит адамлис гIелавад дуцIухъи, гIевваили илизи викIули сай:
- ХIуни ну увяхIиркни багьурри, хIебиалли, хIуни ну мурт убкIусалра балад.
(7) Нуни хIезибад тIалаббирулра, ну мурт убкIусал бурни.
(8) Насрадин чеввикахъес дигули, ил адам викIули сай:
- ХIу убкIуд, хIела эмхIели хIяйна бязъили тIама дарибхIели.
(9) Жаваличи тамашавиубси Насрадин чарухъи сай ва эмхIеличи урцул чедирхьес вехIихьили сай.
(10) Хъули чарбулхъухIели, илди ца лаглизи абаили саби.
(11) ЭмхIели гьачам тIамадарили сабину, «кьукьа ула!» - или саби Насрадинни.
(12) Лаг байхъубиубхIели, эмхIели гIурра баягъи гьалаблагъуна тIама дураилигу, «вайъла ула!» - викIули сай Насрадин.
(13) Лагла бяхIличи абаибхIели, эмхIели хIябэсилра башесаилигу, «хIера, гьанна вебкIира» - или Насрадин гьунила ца дубла чIикьитIи кайхьи сай.
(14) Илала эмхIе итатIибван кьарли бугули буили саби.
(15) ИлхIели буцIи дакIили эмхIеличи чедухъи сари.
(16) - Эгь, гьанна ну мицIирли виахъес! - викIули сай Насрадин, буцIа сунела эмхIе бутIнадбирули чебиухIели. (17) - Ну вебкIилра, гьанна дила эмхIе, набзибад хIед кумек агара!»

(0)	Malla+Nasradin		ubk'-uli	sa.y
	PNMalla+Nasradin:ABS		M:die-GER	be:M
	Malla Nasradin is dying.			
(1)	hačam	Nasradin	emħe-li-čil	wac'a-li-zi
	once	PNNasradin:ABS	donkey-OBL-COM	forest-OBL-ILL

urcuy-či w-äq'-i sa.y
timber:OBL-SUP M-go-GER be:M
Once Nasradin went with his donkey into the forest for timber.

(2) il galga-li-či ac'-i-li q'äy-či
this tree-OBL-SUP ascend:M-AOR-GER twig:OBL-SUP
ka.y?-i-li[1] sa.y wa ka.y?-ib-si q'äli
sit.down:M-AOR-GER be:M and sit.down:M-AOR-ADJ twig:ABS
mäq'-li-zi-b-ad b-irq-es w-eħ.iχ-i-li sa.y
side-OBL-ILL-N-ELA N-hit-INF M-begin:M-AOR-GER be:M
He climbed the tree and went to the end of a branch and started to cut that branch from the side on which he sat.

(3) mäq'-la-w-ad arq'-usi ca adam il-i-zi
side-LOC-M-ELA leave-ADJ one person:ABS this-OBL-ILL
w-ik'-uli sa.y Nasradin ħu u<w>äħ.irk-ud
M-say-GER be:M PNNasradin:ABS you:ABS fall.downwards:M-FUT2
il+q'äyda-li ħu ka.y?-ib-si q'äy-zi[2]
this+manner-OBL:ERG you:ABS sit.down:M-AOR-ADJ twig:OBL-ILL
w-irq-ädli[3]
M-hit-COND2
One person passing by said: 'Nasradin, you will fall down if you cut the branch on which you are sitting like that.'

(4) Nasradin-ni-s han<b>ik-ib-Ø il adam
PNNasradin-OBL-DAT think:N-AOR-3 this person:ABS
masxur-t-a uh-uli urgar ?-i-li wa
joke-PL-OBL:ERG M:tell-GER probably say-AOR-GER and
pikri-lra[4] b-äħči<he>?-i-li w-irq-es
thought:ABS-INDEF N-direct:NEG-AOR-GER M-hit-INF
äħ-ib-Ø[5]
M:begin-AOR-3
Nasradin thought that this man probably was joking and giving it no further thought, he started to cut.

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[1] The original *weterxurli* 'go along' belongs to the Urakhi dialect and is replaced by the more appropriate Akusha *kay?ili.*

[2] *q'äyzi* replaces the grammatically incorrect *q'älilič̣i.*

[3] Apparently the transitive verb *-äq/-irq* is used here in an antipassive construction with an adjunct in the illative, see grammar section 8.3.2.

[4] For the use of the INDEF suffix here, see 5.4.

[5] There is no syntactic or phonological reason to write *wirqes* and *äħib* as one word, as in the Cyrillic original. In the Urahki dialect the gender prefix *w* is also dropped before *ä*.

(5) q'äli ka<b>irk-uħeli b.i?.alli il-i-čil w-arx
twig:ABS fall:N-WHEN however this-OBL-COM M-with
sa.y-ra p'aq'as=aq-i-li wanza-li-či ka.yk-ib-Ø
self:ABS:M-and sound=CAUS-AOR-GER earth-OBL-SUP fall:M-AOR-3
When the branch fell down however, he himself fell down also with a bang to the ground.

(6) tamaša+i?-ub-si Nasradin bayäği it
wonder+M:be-AOR-ADJ PNNasradin:ABS this.very that
adam-li-s ʕela-w-ad duc'+uq-i
person-OBL-DAT after-M-ELA run+M:aux-GER
ʕe<w><w>a?-i-li il-i-zi w-ik'-uli sa.y ħu-ni
reach:M:M-AOR-GER this-OBL-ILL M-say-GER be:M you-ERG
nu u<w>äħ.irk-ni b-ah-ur-ri ħe.b.i?.alli
me:ABS fall.downwards:M-MASD:ABS N-know-AOR-2 in.all.events
ħu-ni nu murt ubk'-us-al-ra b-al-ad
you-ERG me:ABS when M:die-FUT1-INDIR-and N-know-FUT2
Nasradin, who was shocked, went after this very person and when he reached him, he said to him: 'You knew I would fall down, you will no doubt also know when I will die.'

(7) nu-ni ħe-zi-b-ad t'alab+b-ir-ul-ra nu
me-ERG you:OBL-ILL-N-ELA invitation+N-do-GER-1 me:ABS
murt ubk'-us-al b-ur-ni
when M:die-FUT1-INDIR N-say-MASD:ABS
'I invite you to say when I will die.'

(8) Nasradin če<w><w>ik=aq-es dig-uli il
PNNasradin:ABS leave.alone:M:M=CAUS-INF want-GER this
adam w-ik'-uli sa.y ħu ubk'-ud ħe-la
person:ABS M-say-GER be:M you:ABS M:die-FUT2 you:OBL-GEN
emħe-li ħäy.na bäz+?-i-li
donkey-OBL:ERG three.times ONfart+say-AOR-GER
t'ama+d.ar-ib-ħeli
voice+pl:do-AOR-WHEN
Wanting to get rid of Nasradin, this man said: 'You will die, when your donkey farts three times.'

(9) džawab-li-či tamaša+w-i?-ub-si Nasradin
answer-OBL-SUP wonder+M-be-AOR-ADJ PNNasradin:ABS
čar+uq-i sa.y wa emħe-li-či urcul
return+M:aux-GER be:M and donkey-OBL-SUP timber:ABS

če<d>irχ-es w-eħ.iχ-i-li sa.y
put.on:pl-INF M-begin:M-AOR-GER be:M
Wondering about this answer, Nasradin returned and started to put the timber on the donkey.

(10) quli čar+b-ulq-uħeli il-di ca lag-li-zi
home return+hpl-aux-WHEN this-PL one ascent-OBL-ILL
a<b>a?-i-li sa<b>i
reach:hpl-AOR-GER be-hpl
When they returned home, they reached a hill.

(11) emħe-li hačam t'ama+d.ar-i-li sa<b>i-nu
donkey-OBL:ERG once voice+pl:do-AOR-GER be:N-for
q'uq'a-la u-la[6] ?-i-li sa<b>i
knee-GEN below-GEN say-AOR-GER be:N
Nasradin-ni
PNNasradin-OBL:ERG
The donkey let out a fart, 'below the knee!' said Malla Nasradin.

(12) lag b-ayqu+b-i?-ub-ħeli emħe-li ʕur-ra
ascent:ABS hpl-half+hpl-be-AOR-WHEN donkey-OBL:ERG then-and
bayäği hala-b-la=ğuna t'ama dura?-i-li-gu
this.very before-N-GEN=like voice:ABS let.out-AOR-GER-but
w-ay-la[7] u-la w-ik'-uli sa.y Nasradin
M-waist-GEN below-GEN M-say-GER be:M PNNasradin:ABS
When they were halfway, the donkey let out this very sound again, 'below the middle,' said Malla Nasradin.

(13) lag-la bäħ-li-či a<b>a?-ib-ħeli emħe-li
ascent-GEN edge-OBL-SUP reach:hpl-AOR-WHEN donkey-OBL:ERG
ħäb+?.esil-ra t'ama+d.ar-i-li-gu[8] ħera hanna
three+ORD-and voice+pl:do-AOR-GER-but IJyou.see now
w-ebk'-i-ra ?-i-li Nasradin huni-la
M-die-AOR-1 say-AOR-GER PNNasradin:ABS road-GEN
ca dub-la č'iq'.it'-i ka.yχ-i sa.y
one border-LOC stretch:M-GER lie.down:M-GER be:M
When they reached the top of the hill, the donkey made the sound for the third time, 'you see, I am dead now,' said Nasradin and laid down, stretching himself on the side of the road.

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[6] *q'uq'ala ula* replaces the original *q'uq'a ula*, but even with this improvement the analysis of *ula* is somewhat unclear: *ula* is considered a dialectal or old-fashioned form of contemporary Akusha *udi-la*.

[7] Akusha *way* replaces Urakhi *way?*.

[8] *t'amadariligu* replaces the Urakhi phrase *bašesa?iligu* of the original.

(14) il-a-la emħe ita.t'i-b-wan q'ar-li
this-OBL-GEN donkey:ABS over.there-N-ID grass-OBL:ERG
b-ug-uli b-u?-i-li sa<b>i[9]
N-eat-GER N-be-AOR-GER be:N
His donkey was apparently eating grass over there.

(15) il-ħeli buc'-i d-ak'-i-li emħe-li-či
this-WHEN wolf-PL:ABS pl-come-AOR-GER donkey-OBL-SUP
če<d>uq-i sa<r>i
attack:pl-GER be:pl
When the wolves came, they attacked the donkey.

(16) eh hanna nu mic'ir-li w-i?=aq-es w-ik'-uli
IJah now me:ABS alive-ADV M-be=CAUS-INF M-say-GER
sa.y Nasradin buc'-a sune-la emħe
be:M PNNasradin:ABS wolf-OBL:ERG self:OBL-GEN donkey:ABS
but'.nad+b-ir-uli če<b>i?-uħeli
in.pieces+N-do-GER see:N-WHEN
'Ah, to be brought alive now,' said Nasradin, when he saw that the wolves were tearing his donkey apart.

(17) nu w-ebk'-i-l-ra hanna di-la emħe
me:ABS M-die-AOR-GER-1 now me:OBL-GEN donkey:ABS
nab-zi-b-ad ħed kumek agara
me:OBL-ILL-N-ELA you:DAT help:ABS absent:FUT3
'I died, my donkey, now there is no help for you from me.'

[9] This is a nice example of an antipassive construction, discussed in grammar section 8.3.2.

PART III LEXICON

The Dargi-English lexicon is based on the all semantic and grammatical elements occurring in the texts. The following information is given with nouns: meaning, plural form, deviant agreement patterns, deviant oblique stem in *y*, compound formations occurring in the texts; in some cases. Oblique stems in *y* and plural stems with stem-internal changes are included in a separate lemma with reference to the absolutive stem. With verbs the following information is given: valency, aspectual status, meaning, aorist or future tense depending on aspect, causative forms if occurring in the texts. The imperfective stem is given with perfective verbs and vice-versa, regardless whether the aspectual counterpart is found in the texts. Unusual forms are given in a separate lemma with reference to the stem. With the grammatical affixes, reference is given to the section of the grammar where the particular affix is being discussed.

The Dargi alphabetical order is: a, ä, b, c, c', č, č', d, e, g, ǧ, h, ħ, i, k, k', l, m, n, Ø, p, p', q, q', ɢ, r, s, š, t, t', u, w, x, x̂, y, z, ž, ʕ, ʔ. Forms beginning with a sign for a morpheme boundary (-, =, +) precede forms without these signs. Compound and derived forms of a root follow that root. For abbreviations and signs used, see the introduction.

a		
-a		FUT3, see 6.6.3.
-a		IMP, see 6.9.1.
-a		INT, see 8.11.
-a		1. OBL with genitive pronouns: il-a-la, see 5.3.; 2. OBL following plural nouns, see 4.1.1.
-ab		OPT3, see 6.9.2.; allomorph after pharyngeals -äb.
-aba		OPT1, see 6.9.2.
aba		(Urakh.) mother; Ak. neš.
a<B>ac'	[ABS, SUP/ILL: pf]	ipf a<B>ic'; ascend; AOR -ib; M ac'.
-abaya		OPT2p, see 6.9.2.
a<B>aʔ	[ABS, ILL: pf]	ipf a<B>iʔ; reach (in upwards direction); AOR -ib; M a.yʔ.
abdal		stupid, fool; OBL -li, e.g. SUP abdal-li-či; PL abdul-ti.
abdal+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf abdal+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.

abdal+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	ipf abdal+B-ir; be(come) stupid; for conjugation, see -i?.
-abg	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -ibg; harness; AOR -ib.
-abi		OPT2, see 6.9.2.
a<B>ic'	[ABS, SUP/ILL: ipf]	pf a<B>ac'; ascend; FUT -ur.
a<B>ilt'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf a<B>it'; FUT -a; CAUS a<B>ilt'=aq.
a<B>ilz	[ABS: ipf]	pf a<B>iz; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
a<B>it'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf a<B>ilt'; dig, remove, pull out; AOR -un; CAUS -a<B>it'=aq.
a<B>iz	[ABS: pf]	ipf a<B>ilz; get up, rise; AOR -ur; M a.yz.
a<B>i?	[ABS, ILL: ipf]	pf a<B>a?; FUT -ur.
a<B>ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf a<B>uq; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
a<B>uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf a<B>ulq; (impetuously) ascend; AOR -un.
abx̂	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ibx̂; open; AOR -ib.
-ac	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -alc; plough; AOR -un.
-ac'		√empty, e.g. -ac'-si 'empty'.
-ac'+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -ac'+B-ir; empty; for conjugation, see -ar.
-ac'+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -ac'+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
ac'		see a<B>ac'.
-ača<B>arx	[ABS: pf]	ipf -ača<B>irx; be bewildered; AOR -ib.
-ača<B>irx	[ABS: ipf]	pf -ača<B>arx; FUT -ur.
-ad		ELA, see 4.3.
-ad		FUT2, see 6.6.3.
-ad, -adli		COND2, see 6.9.4.; allomorph after pharyngeals -äd, -ädli.
ada		(Urakh.) father; Ak. dudeš; ada+aba (Urakh.) 'parents (father and mother)'.
-adal, -adalli		COND2p, see 6.9.4.
adam		person; OBL -li, PL -ti.
-adaya		IMPF2p, see 6.6.2.
-adi		IMPF2, see 6.6.2.
ag	[ABS, ILL: pf]	ipf ig; hit; AOR -ib; NEG ħe-g; CAUS ag=aq.
ag, agar	[ABS]	√be absent, see 6.5.; FUT3 agara; IMPF3 ag-i; MASD ag-ni; GER agar-li; ADJ agar-si 'absent'; INDIR IMPF ag-i-bal (8:12); emphasized with prefix -ug, e.g. b-ug+agara 'absent' (17:22).

agar		see ag.
-ah	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -al; know; AOR -ur; CAUS -ah=aq.
ah, aha		[IJ] ah.
-aħel, -aħelli		COND1p, see 6.9.4.
aħ, aħen	[ABS]	√be not; present aħen-ra, -ri, -Ø; preterite -ri; ADJ aħen-si, -ti; GER aħ-i.
aħen		see aħ.
aħer		√dear; aħer-si 'dear'.
aħi		or.
ak	[ABS: pf]	ipf ik; befall, AOR -ib; ħeq' akes (17:14) 'punishment befall'.
-ak'	[ABS: pf]	ipf -aš; come; AOR -ib; CAUS -ak'=aq; il-a-la pikri b-ak' 'a thought came up with him/her.'
-ak'	1. [ABS: pf]	
	2. [ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -ik'; aux; AOR -ib.
ak'	[ABS: pf]	ipf alk'; be born; AOR -ub.
-(a)l		INDIR; -al|C-, -l|V-; -bal after ag-i-; see 8.11.
-al	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -ah; know; FUT -a; CAUS -al=aq.
-al, -alli		COND3, see 6.9.4.
-alan	[ABS]	√be apparently; present -alan-ra, -ri, -Ø.
alaw		[preverb] around.
alaw+B-ak'	[ABS: pf]	ipf alaw+B-aš; 1. gather; 2. be about, prepare; for conjugation, see -ak'.
alaw+B-aš	[ABS: ipf]	pf alaw+B-ak'; for conjugation, see -aš.
-al<B>ilz	[ABS, infinitive: ipf]	pf -al<B>iz; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
-al<B>iz	[ABS, infinitive: pf]	ipf -al<B>ilz; decide; AOR -ur; M -al.iz.
-al<B>uc	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -al<B>urc; apply; AOR -ib.
-al<B>urc	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -al<B>uc; FUT -u.
-al<B>ik		see -al<ka><B>ik.
-al<B>irk		see -al<ka><B>irk.
-alc	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -ac; FUT -a.
-al.iz		see -al<B>iz.
-al<ka><B>ik	[ABS; ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf -al<ka><B>irk; agree, reconcile; AOR -ib; M -al<ka>yk.
-al<ka><B>irk	[ABS; ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf -al<ka><B>ik; FUT -ur; M -al<ka>rk.
-al<ka>yk		see -al<ka><B>ik.
alk'	[ABS: ipf]	pf ak'; FUT -as, -ad, -an; CAUS alk'=aq.
allah		God; OBL -li, no PL.

-(a)lra		INDEF; -alra|C-, -lra|V-; see 5.4.
-al.ri, -alli.ri		IRR3, see 6.9.4.
-alt	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -at; FUT -a; M NEG ħe-lt.
-alt'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -at'; FUT -a.
-alx	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -ax; FUT -a.
al?	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf awl; cut; AOR -un.
amma, ammaki		but.
amru		demand; no PL.
-ams	[ABS: pf]	ipf -ums; be(come) tired; AOR -ur.
-an		FUT3, see 6.6.3.; allomorph after pharygeals -än.
=an		AG, see 7.1.
anc'buq'		event; OBL -li, PL -uni.
anda		forehead; OBL -li, e.g. ILL anda-li-zi; PL and-urbi.
-ani		PL, see 4.1.2.
ank'i		[PL only] wheat.
anɢi		fire place; OBL -li, PL anɢ-urbi.
-aq		much; -aq-ħi long.
=aq		CAUS, see 7.3. and 8.3.1.; allomorph after pharyngeals =äq.
aq	1. [ABS: pf]	ipf iq; end; AOR -ib; CAUS aq=aq.
	2. [ABS, ILL: pf]	ipf iq; undertake; AOR -ib.
aq		√high; aq-si 'high'.
aq+B-uc	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf aq+B-urc; lift (high+catch); for conjugation, see -uc.
aq+B-urc	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf aq+B-uc; for conjugation, see -urc.
-aqal		much.
-aq'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -iq'; hear; AOR -ib.
-ar		FUT3, see 6.6.3.
-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -ir; do, make (often used in compounds); AOR -ib; CAUS -ar=aq; d-ar + GEN 'pretend', cf. ʕe.r.d.ar.
=ar		ADJ, see 7.2.
ara		√healthy, e.g. ara-si 'healthy'.
ara+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf ara+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
ara+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	ipf ara+B-ir; be healthy; for conjugation, see -i?.
ar.äq'		see ar<B>äq'.
ar<B>äq', ar<B>uq'	[ABS, (SUP) pf]	ipf arq'/ar<B>aš; leave; AOR ar<B>äq'-un; M ar.äq'; IMP ar<B>uq'-en; INF ar<B>uq'-es; M ar.uq'.
ar<B>aš	[ABS: ipf]	pf ar<B>äq', ar<B>uq'; FUT -ar.

ar<B>ik, ark	[ERG, ABS, (SUP): ipf]	pf ar<B>uk; FUT -u.
ar<B>ix, arx	[ERG, ABS, (SUP/DAT): ipf]	pf ar<B>ux; FUT -u.
ar<B>uk	[ERG, ABS, (SUP): pf]	ipf ar<B>ik, ark; lead (away); AOR -ib; M ar.uk.
ar<B>uq'		see ar<B>äq'.
ar<B>ux	[ERG, ABS, (SUP/DAT): pf]	ipf ar<B>ix, arx; take away; AOR -ib; M ar.ux.
arc	[ABS: pf]	(non-Ak.) ipf urc; fly; AOR -ur.
arc		[sg and pl agreement] 1. money; 2. silver; OBL -li, no PL.
-arg	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -urg; find; AOR -ib; M NEG ħe-rg; CAUS arg=aq.
arğ	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf irğ; hear, understand; AOR -ib.
arħä		journey; OBL -li, e.g. ERG arħä-li; no PL.
ark		see ar<B>ik.
-arq'	[ABS, ERG: pf]	(non-Ak.) ipf -irq'; do, act; AOR -ib; e.g. džal-t-a B-irq' quarrel; piš-n-a B-irq' 'have an escapade', t'ama-li B-irq' 'make a sound'.
arq'	[ABS (SUP): ipf]	leave; FUT -äs, -äd, -än; no IMP; imperative taken from ar<B>aš: ar<B>aš-en.
art'	[ERG, ABS: pf and ipf]	(non-Ak.) pour; AOR -ib; FUT -u.
ar.uk		see ar<B>uk.
ar.uq'		see ar<B>uq'.
ar.ux		see ar<B>ux.
-arx	[+ COM]	with.
arx		see ar<B>ix.
-arx̂		true; -arx̂-li 'truely, according to the truth'.
-arx̂	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -urx̂; send; AOR -ib.
-arx̂a?	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -arx̂i?; release; AOR -ib.
-arx̂<B>ilz	[ABS, local adjunct: ipf]	pf -arx̂<B>iz; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
-arx̂<B>iz	[ABS, local adjunct: pf]	ipf -arx̂<B>ilz; meet, reach, come across; AOR -ur.
-arx̂i?	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -arx̂a?; FUT -u.
-as		FUT1; see 6.6.3.; allomorph after pharyngeals -äs.
-as, -asli		COND1; see 6.9.4.; allomorph after pharyngeals -äs, -äsli.
as	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf is; buy, take; AOR -ib.
-asi		IMPF1, see 6.6.2.

-as.ri, -asli.ri		IRR1, see 6.9.4.
assalamu.ʕälaykum		[IJ] salam aleykum.
asu		√allow, e.g. asu-si 'decent'.
asu+b.ir	[(ABS) DAT: ipf]	pf asu+b.iʔ; allow; for conjugation, see -ir.
asu+b.iʔ	[(ABS) DAT: pf]	ipf asu+b.ir; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
-aš	[ABS: ipf]	pf -ak'; come, go (walk); IMP -i; CAUS -aš=aq.
ašna		fellow; no PL.
-at	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -alt; leave (aside), let; AOR -ur; CAUS -at=aq.
-ataʔ	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -atiʔ; release; AOR -ib.
-at<B>irx̂	[ABS, ILL: ipf]	pf -at<B>ix̂; FUT -ur.
-at<B>ix̂	[ABS, ILL: pf]	ipf -at<B>irx̂; leave; AOR -ib; M -at.ix̂.
-at<B>ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf -at<B>uq; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
-at<B>uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf -at<B>ulq; relax, free (oneself); AOR -un; M at.uq.
-at.ix̂		see -at<B>ix̂.
-atiʔ	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -ataʔ; FUT -u.
-at.uq		see -at<B>uq.
-at'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	(non-Ak.) ipf -alt'; run down, criticize; AOR -un.
aw		√four; aw+ʔ.esil 'fourth'.
awl	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf alʔ; FUT -a.
awlaq		open field; OBL -li, e.g. SUP awlaq-li-či; PL -uni.
-ax	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -alx; feed; AOR -un.
axir		end; PL -ti; also used adverbially: axir-ra 'finally'.
axtardi		inspection; PL -uni.
axtardi+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf axtardi+B-ir; inspect, check; for conjugation, see -ar.
axtardi+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf axtardi+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
-ay		waist; PL -ani; see 3.1.
-aya		IMPP, see 6.9.1.
-ayči		UNTIL, see 6.8.6.
-ayhab		half.
-ayhab+B-urš	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -ayhab+B-uš; for conjugation, see -urš.
-ayhab+B-uš	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -ayhab+B-urš; attach halfway; for conjugation, see -uš.
-ayqala		half.
-ayqu		(non-Ak.) half.
-ayqu+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	(non-Ak.) pf -ayqu+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.

-ayqu+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	(non-Ak.) ipf -ayqu+B-ir; be halfway; for conjugation, see -i?.
a.yz		see a<B>iz.
a.y?		see a<B>a?.
Azay.la.n		Azay, inhabitant of Azay (Kumyk territory).
azbar		courtyard; PL azbur-ti.
azir		thousand.
-a?	[ABS, SUP/ILL: pf]	ipf -i?; be, reach; AOR -ib.

ä

-äb		see -ab.
-äč	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -älč; break; AOR -un.
-äd, -ädli		see -ad, -adli.
-äh		DIR, see 4.3.
-äh	1. [ABS, infinitive: pf]	ipf -irh; begin; AOR -ib.
	2. [ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf -irh; sneak in; AOR -ib.
-ähči<he>?		see -ähči.?a?.
-ähči.?a?	[ERG, ABS, SUP/ILL: pf]	ipf -ähči.?i?; direct, point; AOR -ib; NEG -ähči<he>?.
-ähči.?i?	[ERG, ABS, SUP/ILL: ipf]	pf -ähči.?a?; FUT -u.
-älč	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -äč; break; FUT -a.
-än		see -an.
-äq	1. [ABS: pf]	ipf -irq; aux in džal+B-äq, las+B-äq; AOR -ib.
	2. [ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -irq; hit, hurt; AOR -ib; CAUS -äq=äq.
	3. [ERG, DAT/ILL, b-, d-: pf]	ipf -irq; hit, beat; AOR -ib; see 8.2.3.
=äq		see =aq.
-äq', -uq'	[ABS, (SUP): pf]	ipf lä<B>q'; go; AOR -äq'-un; IMP -uq'-en; INF -uq'-es.
-ärʕ	[ABS: pf]	ipf -irʕ; cool off; AOR -ib.
-äs		see -as.
-äs, -äsli		see -as, -asli.

b

b (b-, -b-, -b)		1. N (gender agreement) 2. hpl (gender agreement), see 3.1.
badz		month; no PL.
baha		price, value; PL bah-ni.

bahandan	1. [+ MASD, + noun]	because; il+bahandan 'because of this, therefore'.
	2. [+ infinitive]	in order to.
bahla		√1. slow; 2. (non-Ak.) healthy; bahla-li 'slowly'.
bahla+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf bahla+B-i?; 1. get slow; 2. (non-Ak.) get better; for conjugation, see -ir.
bahla+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	ipf bahla+B-ir; 1. get slow; (non-Ak.) 2. get better; for conjugation, see -i?.
bahudi.če-B		√wise; bahudi.če-B-si 'wise'.
-bal		see -(a)l.
balah		1. difficulty; 2. grief; OBL -li, e.g. COM balah-li-čil; PL -uni; balah+q'adar 'tragedy (grief + fate)'.
barakat		prosperity; no PL .
barda		axe; PL bard-ni.
barħeq		in the evening (cf. barħi 'afternoon', probably petrified locative ending).
barħi		day, afternoon; PL burħ-ni, barħ-ni; barħi 'day' and berħi 'sun, light' are often confused in Dargi. According to Nikolayev & Starostin (1994:1051) the reflex of Proto-Dargi *berħi 'sun, day' is berħi in Akusha and barħi in Urakhi; the existence of the etymological doublet would be due to borrowing.
barkalla		[IJ] thanks, thank you.
barxa		measure; no PL.
barx̂=deš		truth (cf. -arx̂); PL -uni, -lumi.
bayäği		this very.
bazar		market; OBL -li, e.g. SUP bazar-li-či; PL bazur-ti.
bažardi		possibility; no PL.
bažardi+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	(non-Ak.) pf bažardi+B-i?; can, be able; for conjugation, see -ir.
bažardi+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	(non-Ak.) ipf bažardi+B-ir; for conjugation, see -ir.
bäħ		edge; OBL -li, e.g. SUP bäħ-li-či; PL -ani.
bäliq		fish; PL -uni.
bäz		[ON] fart; bäz+bäz farts.
bäz+ir	[ERG: ipf]	pf bäz+?; for conjugation, see ir.
bäz+?	[ERG: pf]	ipf bäz+ir; fart; for conjugation, see ?.
bec'		wolf; PL buc'-i.

bek'		head; OBL -li, e.g. ILL bek'lizi; PL burgi; often used metaphorically, e.g. 'head (of the house)', 'title (of book)', 'end (of smth.)'.
bek'+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf bek'+B-ir; end; for conjugation, see -ar.
bek'+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf bek'+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
bek'a		heap, stack; OBL -li, e.g. SUP bek'a-li-či; PL bek'-ni.
bek'lil		at all.
beliki		perhaps.
berħi		day, light; berħi+dugi 'day and night'; see barħi.
berkala		meal; OBL berkay-, e.g. SUP berkay-či; PL berkl-umi.
berkay-		see berkala.
b.eʕ.la		very (cf. -eʕ); see 5.1.3.
-bi		PL, see 4.1.2.
bidzi		√delicious; bidzi-li 'deliciously'.
biq'ri		witness; PL biq'r-umi.
bišt'axayči		narrow-minded (cf. -išt'a).
-bit		across, see 4.3.
b.iʔ.alli		however; see also -iʔ.
+b.iʔ.al.ra		INDEF; see 5.4. and also -iʔ.
buc'-		see bec'.
buk'un		shepherd; OBL buk'uy-, e.g. buk'uy-zi; PL buk'un-i.
buk'uy-		see buk'un.
bulqran		Balkharian, person from the village of Balkhar; OBL bulqray-, e.g. SUP bulqray-či.
bulqray-		see bulqran.
bunah		sin; PL -uni; bunah+xat'a 'sins'.
buqmuy		fat tail (= Ru. kurdjuk); PL -ti; fattest part of the tail of a sheep, which is dried after the slaughter with the rest of the meat, and which is later used as frying fat or added in pieces to other dishes; it is considered a delicacy.
burt		cream; no PL.
buruš		(lit.) mattress; OBL -li, e.g. SUP buruš-li-či-w-ad; PL -uni.
burxa.ni		at the ceiling (petrified local expression from burux 'ceiling').

busaʕät		immediately, now.
busurman		muslim; OBL busurmay-; PL -ti.
but'a		part; PL but'-ni; (cf. -ut').
but'.nad		in pieces (cf. but'a).
but'.nad+B-ar	[ERG, ABS pf]	ipf but'.nad+B-ir; tear to pieces; for conjugation, see -ar.
but'.nad+B-ir	[ERG, ABS ipf]	pf but'.nad+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
buyruq		decree; PL -uni.
buyruq+b.ar	[ERG, ILL: pf]	ipf buyruq+b.ir; order; for conjugation, see -ar.
buyruq+b.ir	[ERG, ILL: ipf]	pf buyruq+b.ar; for conjugation, see -ir.

c

ca		one; OBL -li, e.g. SUP ca-li-či; ca-lra + negation 'not a single', see 5.4.; ca ca 'each other', see 8.8.; ca+ca 'one each', see 5.6.5.; for cliticized ca , e.g. in ca+hačam 'once upon a time', ca+čumal 'some', ca+barħi 'one day', ca+kam-si 'a little', see 2.4.; ca+ca 'some'; ca+k'.el 'some'; ca wec'.al 'some ten'.
ca-la+B-ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf ca-la+B-irk; gather (one-LOC+aux); for conjugation, see -ik.
ca-la+B-irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf ca-la+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
ca<B>eħ		a pair.
-cad		EQ, see 4.5.2.
carħil		other; PL carħil-ti.
cug		√middle, e.g. cug-si 'similar'.
cug+B-ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf cug+B-irk; meet; for conjugation, see -ik.
cug+B-irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf cug+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
cula		tooth; OBL -li, e.g. ERG cula-li, PL cul-bi.
-cun		LIM, see 4.5.4.

c'

c'a		[sg and pl] fire; OBL -li, e.g. ILL c'a-li-zi; PL -mi.
c'ap'ak	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf c'ap'alk; stick; AOR -un; CAUS c'ap'ak=aq.
c'ap'alk	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf c'ap'ak; FUT -as, -ad, -an.

c'aq'		strength; PL -ani.
c'ax		shame, conscience; no PL.
c'ax+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf c'ax+B-ir; embarrass; for conjugation, see -ar.
c'ax+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf c'ax+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
c'äb		√dark, e.g. c'äb-si 'dark'.
c'äb+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf c'äb+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
c'äb+B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf c'äb+B-ir; become dark; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
c'erx̂		√fat, well-fed; c'erx̂-si 'fat'.
c'irk'		√thin; c'irk'-si 'thin'.
c'ub.a		white; c'ub.a arc '(white) silver'.
c'ub.a+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf c'ub.a+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
c'ub.a+B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf c'ub.a+B-ir; be white; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
c'udar		√black, e.g. c'udar-si 'black'.
c'udar+c'äb+B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf c'udar+c'äb+B-ir; be(come) dark; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
c'udar+c'äb+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf c'udar+c'äb+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
c'udqran		Tsudakharian, person from the village of Tsudakhar; OBL c'udqray-, e.g. SUP c'udqray-či.
c'udqray-		see c'udqran.
c'um		[ON] moan.
c'um+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf c'um+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
c'um+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf c'um+B-ulq; moan; for conjugation, see -uq; c'um+c'um+B-uq 'moan severely'.
c'ur		heap; OBL -li, e.g. SUB c'ur-li-ʔu; PL -ani.

č

čar		[preverb] return.
čar+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf čar+B-ir; return; for conjugation, see -ar.
čar+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf čar+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
čar+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf čar+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
čar+B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf čar+B-ir; return; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
čar+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf čar+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
čar+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf čar+B-ulq; return; for conjugation, see -uq.

čarx		body; PL čurx-ri; čarx+bek' 'complexion (body+head)'.
čäbqin		attack; PL -ti.
čäħ		[ON] shed.
čäħ+B-ik'	[ABS, ERG: ipf only]	shed (drops of liquid); for conjugation, see -ik'.
če-B		√be upon; če-B-si 'being upon'.
če<B>alt	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf če<B>at; FUT -a.
če<B>>ar<B>äq'	[ABS: pf]	ipf če<B>>arq'; go away; for conjugation, see ar<B>äq'.
če<B>arğ	[ABS: pf]	ipf če<B>irğ; wake up; AOR -ib.
če<B>>arq'	[ABS: ipf]	pf če<B>>ar<B>äq'; for conjugation, see arq'.
če<B>>as	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf če<B>>is; take off; AOR -ib.
če<B>at	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf če<B>alt; add; AOR -ur.
če<B>a?	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf če<B>i?; see; AOR -ib; M če<w>a? and če?; NEG če<ħe><B>a?; M-NEG če<ħe>?; CAUS če<B>a?=aq 'show'.
če<B>äħ.kaq	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf če<B>äħ.kayq; hang; AOR -ib.
če<B>äħ.kayq	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf če<B>äħ.kaq; FUT -u.
če<B><B>alt	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf če<B><B>at; FUT -a.
če<B><B>at	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf če<B><B>alt; take off; AOR -ur.
če<B><B>erx	[ABS, SUP-ELA: pf]	ipf če<B><B>irx; forgive; AOR -ur.
če.b.b.ic'	[ERG, DAT: pf]	ipf če.b.b.irc'; revenge; AOR -ib.
če<B><B>ik	[ABS, SUP-ELA: pf]	ipf če<B><B>irk; leave alone; AOR -ib; CAUS če<B><B>ik=aq 'get rid'.
če<B><B>ik'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf če<B><B>irk'; choose, select; AOR -ib.
če.b.b.irc'	[ERG, DAT: ipf]	pf če.b.b.ic'; FUT -u.
če<B><B>irk	[ABS, SUP-ELA: ipf]	pf če<B><B>ik; FUT -ur.
če<B><B>irk'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf če<B><B>ik'; FUT -u.
če<B><B>irx	[ABS, SUP-ELA: ipf]	pf če<B><B>erx; FUT -ar.
če<B>eta?	[ABS: pf]	ipf če<B>eti?; direct oneself; AOR -ib; CAUS če<B>eta?=aq.
če<B>eti?	[ABS: ipf]	pf če<B>eta?; FUT -ur.
če<B>ik	[ABS, DAT: pf]	ipf če<B>irk; must, have to; AOR -ib.
če<B>irğ	[ABS: ipf]	pf če<B>arğ; FUT -ur.
če<B>irk	[ABS, DAT: ipf]	pf če<B>ik; FUT -ur.
če<B>irχ	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf če<B>iχ; FUT -u.
če<B>>is	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf če<B>>as; FUT -u.
če<B>iχ	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf če<B>irχ; put on; AOR -ib; meh če<d>irχ 'put a lock (on smth.), lock'.

če<B>i?	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf če<B>a?; NEG če<ħe><B>i?; M-NEG če<ħe>y?; CAUS če<B>i?=aq.
če<B>ulq	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf če<B>uq; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
če<B>uq	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf če<B>ulq; attack; AOR -un.
če<B>urc	[DAT, infinitive: ipf]	ipf only; have to; FUT -ar.
čedi(-B)	[+GEN]	above, on top.
čedi+B-ik	[ABS, SUP-gender: pf]	ipf čedi+B-irk; defeat, pass above; for conjugation, see -ik.
čedi+B-irk	[ABS, SUP-gender: ipf]	pf čedi+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
čeh	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf čelh; wear, put on; AOR -ur.
če<ħe>y?		see če<B>i?.
če<ħe>?		see če<B>a?.
čelh	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf čeh; FUT -a.
čes	[ERG, ABS/infinitive, DAT: pf]	ipf čeys; promise; AOR -ib.
čeys	[ERG, ABS/infinitive, DAT: ipf]	pf čes; FUT -u.
če?		see če<B>a?.
-či		SUP, see 4.3.1.
či		who; OBL -li; či-lra 'someone' (who-INDEF).
-či.B		see -(y)či.B.
-či<B>li		INS, see 4.4.3.
čidi		which; čidi+b.i?.al.ra 'some (which+INDEF)'.
čidi.l		which.
-čil		COM, see 4.4.1.
-čila		CONT, see 4.4.2.
čina(-B)		where.
ču-		see sa<B>i.
čulaq		cripple, invalid.
čulaq+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf čulaq+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
čulaq+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	ipf čulaq+B-ir; be(come) cripple; for conjugation, see -i?.
čum.al		1. how much; 2. some.

č'

č'äbar		floor; OBL -li, e.g. SUP č'äbar-li-či; PL č'äbur-ti.
č'änk'		√naked; č'änk'-li 'naked, only'.
č'änk'+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf č'änk'+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
č'änk'+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	ipf č'änk'+B-ir; be naked; for conjugation, see -i?.
č'änk'i		material; PL -urbi.

č'är		scream [< ON]; no PL.
č'är+B-ik'	[ABS: ipf only]	scream; for conjugation, see -ik'.
č'är+B.äq	[ERG: pf]	ipf č'är+b.irq; scream (scream+hit); for conjugation, see -äq.
č'är+b.irq	[ERG: ipf]	ipf č'är+b.äq; for conjugation, see -irq.
č'iq'<B>ilt'	[ABS: ipf]	pf č'iq'<B>it'; FUT -as, -ad, an.
č'iq'<B>it'	[ABS: pf]	ipf č'iq'<B>ilt'; stretch; AOR -un.

d

d (d-, -d-, -r)		pl (gender agreement), see 3.1.
dag		yesterday.
dak'u		√appear, e.g. dak'u-si 'clear, legal'.
dak'u+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf dak'u+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
dak'u+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	ipf dak'u+B-ir; appear; for conjugation, see -i?.
dak'u+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf dak'u+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
dak'u+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf dak'u+B-ulq; appear; for conjugation, see -uq.
daldar		[ON] dangling.
daldar+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf daldar+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
daldar+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf daldar+B-ulq; hang; for conjugation, see -uq.
dam		drum; PL -ani; dam+däd 'music (drum+flute)'.
darğ		√firm, e.g. darğ-si.
darğ+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf darğ+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
darğ+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf darğ+B-ulq; lose balance; for conjugation, see -uq.
darman		[pl agreement] medicine; OBL darmay-, PL darmun-ti; darman+agar √without a medicine, without a solution; darman+agar+B-i?/B-ir [ABS: pf/ipf] 'be without a solution'; for conjugation, see -i?/-ir.
darsur		in exchange.
dawla.če-B		√rich; subtantivally OBL dawla.če-B-li-; dawla.če-B-si 'rich'.
da?im		√for ever, end.
da?im+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf da?im+B-ir; end, finish; for conjugation, see -ar.
da?im+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf da?im+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
däd		flute; PL dud-ri.

däħ		face; PL -ani; däħ+näG 'general look (face+hand)'.
däqi		wound; PL däq-urbi; däqi+qas 'injuries (wound+injury)'.
däqnuša		quack doctor; OBL däqnuša-, e.g. ILL däqnuša-zi; PL -bi (cf. däqi).
där		[ON] twirl.
där+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf där+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
där+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf där+B-ulq; twirl; for conjugation, see -uq.
därq		shed; OBL -li, e.g. SUP därq-li-či; PL durq-bi; LOC därq-la; petrified local expression durqi 'in the shed'.
däʕi		shed entrance; no PL.
debali		very.
dec'		sorrow; no PL.
deħbala		[PL only] prayers; OBL deħbay-.
dek'ar		√different, particular; dek'ar-li 'differently'.
dek'ar+B-ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf dek'ar+B-irk; split, go in different directions; for conjugation, see -ik; dek'ar+d-irk-u-si mer 'crossroads'.
dek'ar+B-irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf dek'ar+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
delq		[PL only] dance; OBL -li, e.g. ILL delq-li-zi.
deq'		[PL only] flour, powder; OBL -li, DAT deq'-li-s.
=deš		ABSTR, see 7.1.
deʕn-ubi		[PL only] seedlings; (cf. -eʕ plant).
-di		PL with pronouns, see 5.3.
di-		see nu.
dig	[DAT, ABS: ipf only]	want, love; no FUT; NEG ħe-yg ; petrified gender marker in Akusha (< d-ig); in other dialects -ig, see text 6, grammar section 8.2.2. and 8.5.4.
+digara		INDEF (cf. dig), see 5.4.
digi		love; OBL -li, e.g. COM digi-li-čil; no PL.
digi.ʔar	[DAT, ABS: ipf]	pf digi.ʔaʔ; FUT -ar.
digi.ʔaʔ	[DAT, ABS: pf]	ipf digi.ʔar; fall in love; AOR -ur.
diʕän(a)		√secret; diʕäna-li, diʕän-ni 'secretly'.

diʕän+B-ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf diʕän+B-irk; hide onself; for conjugation, see -ik.
diʕän+B-irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf diʕän+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
diʔ		meat; PL diʔ-bi 'pieces of meat'; diʔ+maga 'meat and the like'.
dub		border; PL -ani.
dubur		mountain; OBL -li, e.g. SUP dubur-li-či-b-si; PL -ti.
duc'		run; no PL.
duc'+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf duc'+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
duc'+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf duc'+B-ulq; run; for conjugation, see -uq.
dudeš		father; OBL -li, e.g. ILL dudeš-li-zi; PL -uni.
dugeli		at night (cf. dugi).
dugi		night; no PL; iš+dugi 'tonight'; dugi+dugeli 'at night'.
duha<B>ilz	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf duha<B>iz; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
duha<B>iz	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf duha<B>ilz; turn to, AOR -ur; M duha.iz, duha.yz.
duha.iz		see duha<B>iz.
duha.yz		see duha<B>iz.
dukala		wing; OBL dukay-, PL dukl-umi.
dukar<B>ik'	[ABS, SUP-gender: ipf only]	(non-Ak.) laugh; FUT -ar.
dukar.k'	[ABS, SUP-gender: ipf only]	(non-Ak.) laugh; FUT -ar; probably contraction of duk'ar+B-ik'.
dukl-		see dukala.
dunya		world; OBL -li, e.g. SUP dunya-li-či-b; no PL.
dura(-B)	[+GEN]	out(side).
dura+B-ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf dura+B-irk; get out, fall out; for conjugation, see -ik.
dura+B-irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf dura+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
dura+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf dura+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
dura+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf dura+B-ulq; go outside, leave; for conjugation, see -uq; M dura+uq or dura+wq.
duradz		plough; PL -uni.
duras	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf duris; take out; AOR -ib.
duraʔ	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf duriʔ; lead out, let out; AOR -ib.
durħä		child (usually son); PL durħ-ni.
duris	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf duras; FUT -u.

duriʔ	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf duraʔ; FUT -u.
durq		see därq.
durqi		see därq.
durzam		flock; OBL -li, e.g. durzam-li-čil; PL -ti.
dus		year; OBL li, e.g. ERG dus-li 'in one year'; PL -mi; il+dus 'this year'.
dušman		enemy; OBL dušmay-, PL -ti.
duxu		√clever; duxu-si 'clever'.
duʕ		√wild; duʕ-li 'in vain'.
duʕ+ar<B>äq'	[ABS: pf]	ipf duʕ+arq'; disappear; for conjugation, see ar<B>äq'.
duʕ+arq'	[ABS: ipf]	pf duʕ+ar<B>äq'; for conjugation, see arq'.
duʕ.aʔ	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf duʕ.iʔ; chase; AOR -ib.
duʕ.iʔ	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf duʕ.aʔ; FUT -u.
dzubar		star; PL dzubr-i.
dzubr-		see dzubar.
džaga		√beautiful; džaga-si 'beautiful'.
džah		√young; džah-si, džah-il 'young'; džah-ħeli 'being young'.
džal		quarrel; PL -ti.
džal+B-äq	[ABS: pf]	ipf džal+B-irq; start to argue (argue+hit); AOR -ib.
džal+B-irq	[ABS: ipf]	pf džal+B-äq; FUT -ur.
džallad		executioner; PL -uni.
džamiʕät		community; OBL -li, e.g. džamiʕät-li-zi; PL -uni.
džan		soul, life; OBL džay-, no PL.
džanaza		corpse; PL -bi.
džawab		answer; OBL -li; PL -ti.
džärga		√dirty (of meat not being 'clean' anymore in the religious sense).
džärga+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf džärga+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
džärga+B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf džärga+B-ir; be(come) unclean, die; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
džäw		√early; džäw-li 'early'.
džäwlil		already.
džumäʕ		Friday; OBL -li, e.g. džumäʕ-li-či; no PL.
džuz		book; OBL -li, e.g. džuz-li-zi; PL -i.

e

-e		see -es.
-ebk'	[ABS: pf]	ipf -ubk'; die; AOR -ib; CAUS -ebk'=aq.
-ebš	[ABS, local-ELA: pf]	ipf -ibš; run; AOR -ib.
-ed	[ERG, ABS, DAT: pf]	ipf -ed+lug; give (thither); AOR -ib; CAUS -ed=aq; džawab b-ed 'give answer, answer'.
-ed+lug	[ERG, ABS, DAT: ipf]	pf -ed; FUT -a; NEG -ed+ħe-lug.
eger		if (usually with a conditional).
eh		[IJ] ah.
-eh<B>ilz	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf -eh<B>iz; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
-eh<B>irx̂	[ABS, infinitive: ipf]	pf -eh<B>ix̂; FUT -ur.
-eh<B>ix̂	[ABS, infinitive: pf]	ipf -eh<B>irx̂; start; M -eh.ix̂; AOR -ib; see 8.5.3.
-eh<B>iz	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf -eh<B>ilz; scold; AOR -ur; M -eh.iz.
-eħe		FUT1p, see 6.6.3.
-eh.ix̂		see -eh<B>ix̂.
-eh.iz		see -eh<B>iz.
-elh	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf luh; slaughter; AOR -un; CAUS -elh=aq.
-elk'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf luk'; write; AOR -un.
-elq'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf luq'; grind; AOR -un.
-elt'	[ABS, DAT: ipf]	pf -et'; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
-elʕ	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -eʕ; FUT -a.
-emdž	[ABS: pf]	ipf -umdž; heat; CAUS -emdž=aq; ixtilat b-emdž=aq 'raise the level of the conversation'.
emħe		donkey; OBL -li, e.g. DAT emħe-li-s; PL umħ-i, (emħ-ni).
-en		IMP, see 6.9.1.
-enaya		IMPP, see 6.9.1.
-erc	[ABS, ILL-ELA: pf]	ipf -urc; (be) save; AOR -ib; CAUS -erc=aq.
-erc'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -uc'; fry; AOR -ib.
-erdž	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -udž; drink; AOR -ib.
-erg	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -ug; eat (by animals); AOR -un.
-erk	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -uk; eat (by humans); AOR -un; CAUS -erk=aq.
-erk'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -urk'; spend; AOR -ib.
-erx	[ABS: pf]	ipf -urx; detach; AOR -ur.

-er?	[ABS: pf]	(Ak.) ipf -ur?; dry; AOR ; CAUS -er?=aq; in Standard Dargi mostly without /?/: -er.
-es		INF, see 6.8.3.
-es		POT3; shortens to -e before ADJ -si: e-si (< -es-si).
-etalq'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -etaq'; FUT -a.
-etaq	[ABS: pf]	ipf -etiq; disappear; AOR -ib.
-etaq'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	(Urakh.) ipf -etalq'; strew; AOR -ur.
-etar	[ABS: ipf]	pf -eta?; FUT -ar.
-eta?	[ABS (SUP): pf]	ipf -eti?; reach (forwards); AOR -ib.
-eta?	[ABS: pf]	ipf -etar; happen; AOR -ur; NEG -et<ħe>?.
-et<B>ulq	[ABS, infinitive: ipf]	pf -et<B>uq; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
-et<B>uq	[ABS, infinitive: pf]	ipf -et<B>ulq; start; AOR -un; M w-et.uq.
-et<ħe>?		see -eta?.
-etiq	[ABS: ipf]	pf -etaq; FUT -ur.
-eti?	[ABS (SUP): ipf]	pf -eta?; FUT -ur.
-etkaq	[ABS: pf]	ipf -etkayq; disappear; AOR -ib.
-etkayq	[ABS: ipf]	pf -etkaq; FUT -ur.
-et.uq		see -et<B>uq.
-et'	[ABS, DAT: pf]	ipf -elt'; bore; AOR -ib.
-elt'	[ABS, DAT: ipf]	pf -et'; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
ey		[IJ] hey.
-eyʕ	[ERG, ABS, ILL: pf]	ipf -uyʕ; consider; AOR -un.
-eʕ		owner; OBL -li; PL -ti
-eʕ	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -elʕ; plant; AOR -un.

g

-g		see ag.
g	[ERG, ABS, DAT/ILL: pf]	ipf lug; give (hither); AOR -ib.
ga		[PL only] coal; OBL -li, e.g. ILL ga-li-zi.
gač		[ON] touch.
gač+B-ik	[ABS: pf]	(non-Ak.) ipf gač+B-irk; touch; for conjugation, see -ik.
gač+B-irk	[ABS: ipf]	(non-Ak.) pf gač+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
gadza		pick; OBL, PL gadz-ni.
gak		[ON] push (small).

gak+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf gak+B-ir; push; for conjugation, see -ar.
gak+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf gak+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
galga		tree; OBL -li, SUP galga-li-či, PL galg-ubi.
gamuš		buffalo; PL -uni.
gandz		step, PL gundz-ri.
gandz+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf gandz+B-ir; trample; for conjugation, see -ar.
gandz+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf gandz+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
gandz.uq		staircase; PL -uni.
gaša		hunger; OBL -li, ERG gaša-li; no PL.
gawlag		bag; OBL -li, e.g. SUP gawlag-li-zi-b; PL -uni.
geč		movement, (re)settlement, evacuation; no PL.
geč+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf geč+B-ir; move; for conjugation, see -ar.
geč+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf geč+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
geh.el		eight.
ger		√round, e.g. ger-si 'round'.
ger+B-ik'	[ABS: ipf only]	roll; for conjugation, see -ik'.
ger+ka-B-ulq	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf ger+ka-Buq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
ger+ka-B-uq	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf ger+ka-Bulq; roll down; for conjugation, see -uq.
-gu		but, see 8.9.3.
gumay		godekan, place and custom of gathering for elderly men; OBL gumay-, e.g. gumay-zi.
guš		√hungry; guš-li 'hungrily'.
guš+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf guš+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
guš+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	ipf guš+B-ir; be hungry; for conjugation, see -i?.
guž		force; no PL.
guž+b.ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf guž+b.ir; use force; for conjugation, see -ar.
guž+b.ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf guž+b.ar; for conjugation, see -ir.

ğ

ğabza		fellow, clever guy; OBL -li; PL ğabz-ni.
ğa.l		twenty.
ğam		√near, e.g. ğam-si 'near'.
ğam+B-ir	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf ğam+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.

ğam+B-i?	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf ğam+B-ir; be near, approach; for conjugation, see -i?.
ğari		[IJ] really.
ğay		[sg and pl agreement] word, conversation; OBL -li; no PL; ğay-li-zi-b-ad ğay 'from one word to the other'; ğay b-ed 'answer'.
ğay+B-ik'	[ABS, ILL: ipf only]	talk; for conjugation, see -ik'.
ğay+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf ğay+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
ğay+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf ğay+B-ulq; talk; for conjugation, see -uq.
ğay+ir	[ERG: ipf]	pf ğay+?; for conjugation, see ir.
ğay+?	[ERG: pf]	ipf ğay+ir; talk; for conjugation, see ?.
ğät'a?	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ğät'i?; ruin, AOR -ib.
ğät'i?	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ğät'a?; FUT -u.
ğez		[PL only] hair.
=ğuna		like, PL =ğun-ti; see 7.2.

h

ha-B		√before, e.g. ha-B-si; ha-B+ʕerği-li 'after one another'.
ha<B>alt	[ERG, ABS, local adjunct: ipf]	pf ha<B>at; FUT -a.
ha<B>>as	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ha<B>>is; dig; AOR -ib.
ha<B>at	[ERG, ABS, local adjunct: pf]	ipf ha<B>alt; put forward; AOR -ur.
ha<B><B>ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf ha<B><B>uq; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
ha<B><B>uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf ha<B><B>ulq; jump out; AOR -un.
ha<B>>is	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ha<B>>as; FUT -u.
hačam		once; OBL -li; hačam-li-s 'yet'; hačam-alra 'ever (once-INDEF)'.
hala(-B)	[+ GEN]	before, in front; hala+hala 'at the very front, at the very beginning'.
hala+B-uc	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf hala+B-urc; offer, extend (before+catch); for conjugation, see -uc.
hala+B-urc	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf hala+B-uc; for conjugation, see -urc.
halmağ		friend; PL -uni.
hamad		√light; hamad-li 'lightly'; hamad-si 'light'.
hamad=deš		lightness; PL -uni.
han<B>ik	[ABS, DAT: pf]	ipf han<B>irk; remember, think; AOR -ib; M han.ik.

han<B>irk	[ABS, DAT: ipf]	pf han<B>ik; FUT -ur.
han<B>urš	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf han<B>uš; FUT -u.
han<B>uš	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf han<B>urš; remind; AOR -ib.
han.d.uc	[ERG: pf]	ipf han.d.urc; be patient; AOR -ib.
han.d.urc	[ERG: ipf]	pf han.d.uc; FUT -u.
han.ik		see han<B>ik.
hanna		now.
har		√every; har-il 'every'; har-li 'every'; har-li+mar-li 'really, honestly'.
har<B>ilz	[ABS: ipf]	pf har<B>iz; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
har<B>iz	[ABS: pf]	ipf har<B>ilz; be successful; AOR -ur.
harg		√ [< ON] open, e.g. harg-si.
harg+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf harg+B-ir; open with a sound; for conjugation, see -ar.
harg+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf harg+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
harga		corridor, verandah, PL harg-ni.
hari		[IJ] well.
harssss		[IJ] harssss (yell to support dancers).
hat'i		still.
haya		rope; OBL -li, e.g. ILL haya-li-zi-r-ad; PL hay-mi.
hay<B>ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf hay<B>ir; set off, direct; AOR -ib.
hay<B>ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf hay<B>ar; FUT -u.
hay<B>ir	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf hay<B>i?; FUT -ar.
hay<B>i?	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf hay<B>ir; set off; AOR -ub.
hayhay		of course; often hayhay-ra.
heč		completely.
herk		exhaustion; OBL -li, e.g. herk-li-čil, no PL.
him<B>uk'	[ABS, (SUP): pf]	ipf him<B>urk'; get angry; AOR -ib.
him<B>urk'	[ABS, (SUP): ipf]	pf him<B>uk'; FUT -ar.
himi		√angry; himi-li 'angrily'; himi+himi-li 'very angry'.
himi		anger; no PL.
hu		[IJ] well.
hun-		see huni.
huni		road; OBL hun- or huy-, e.g. SUP hun-či-b and huy-či-b; GEN huni-la; ELA huni-kad 'over the road'; PL hun-duri, hun-bi.
huy-		see huni.
huya		[IJ] wow!

ħ

ħäb		grave; OBL -li, e.g. SUP ħäb-li-či; PL ħäb-ri (= graveyard).
ħäb		√three; ħäb+ʔ.esil third; ħäb+q'äli 'three-forked road, crossroads'.
ħäb.al		three.
ħäb.c'ali		thirty.
ħäb.c'a.nu		thirty.
ħäbra		very.
ħäbsur		long traditional coat (with braiding for ammunition); PL -ti.
ħäbšiman		Gapshiman, person from the village of Gapshima; OBL ħäbšimay-.
ħäbšimay-		see ħäbšiman.
ħädur		√ready; ħädur-li 'ready'; ħädur-si 'ready'.
ħädur+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	pf ħädur+B-ir; make ready, prepare; for conjugation, see -ar.
ħädur+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	ipf ħädur+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
ħädur+(ka-)B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf ħädur+(ka-)B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
ħädur+(ka-)B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf ħädur+(ka-)B-ir; be ready; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
ħäk<B>ilz	[ABS: ipf]	(non-Ak.) pf ħäk<B>iz; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
ħäk<B>iz	[ABS: pf]	(non-Ak.) ipf ħäk<B>ilz; stop; AOR -ur.
ħäl		situation; OBL ħäy-; PL -ani; il+ħäy-zi-w 'in this situation, at this moment'; ħäl+t'abiʕät 'behaviour (situation+behaviour)'.
ħälal		√honest; ħälal-li 'honestly'.
ħälay.zalay		(non-Ak.) √honestly; ħälay.zalay-li 'honestly'.
ħäli		lard (Ru. salo), piece of white fat dried and salted afther the slaughter; OBL ħäli-li-, PL ħäl-bi.
ħänči		work; PL ħänč-urbi.
ħäri<B>irx̂	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ħäri<B>ix̂; FUT -u; M ħäri.irx̂.
ħäri<B>ix̂	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ħäri<B>irx̂; bury; AOR -ib.
ħäri.irx̂		see ħäri<B>irx̂.
ħärp		letter; PL ħurp-ri.
ħäsib		notice, notion, attention, PL -ti.
ħäsib+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ħäsib+B-ir; notice; for conjugation, see -ar.
ħäsib+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ħäsib+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
ħäsib.li		'according to, accordingly'.

ħäy-		see ħäl.
ħäy.na		three times.
ħäy.na.ys		third time.
ħäywan		cattle; OBL ħäyway-; PL -ti.
ħäz		joke; OBL -li, DAT ħäz-li-s; PL -ani.
-ħe.ys		WHEN:DAT, 'by the time that', see 4.2.4. and 6.8.6.
-ħeli		see -(u)ħeli.
ħe-		NEG, see 6.4.
ħe-		see ħu.
ħe.b.i?.alli		anyway, in all event (Ru. kak by ne bylo); see also -i?.
ħed		see ħu.
ħeq'		1. punishment; OBL -li; PL -ani. 2. reason, connection; OBL -li, e.g. ILL ħeq'-li-zi-b; no PL.
ħer		√ 1. look; 2. living; 3. waiting; OBL -li; ħer-li kal/ka<B>i? 'wait'.
ħer+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ħer+B-ir; check, control; for conjugation, see -ar.
ħer+B-ik'	[ABS, SUP ipf only]	look; for conjugation, see -ik'; M NEG ħer+ħe-yk'.
ħer+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf ħer+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
ħer+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ħer+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
ħer+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	ipf ħer+B-ir; live; for conjugation, see -i?.
ħera		[IJ] you see; N.B. minimal pair ħer.?-a 'look' vs. ħera 'you see'.
ħereys		dinner (probably a petrified dative form of ħeri 'noon').
ħer<ħe>?		see ħer.?
ħeri		noon; no PL.
ħer.ir	[ERG, SUP: ipf]	pf ħer.?; FUT -u.
ħerk'		river; OBL -li, e.g. SUP ħerk'-li-či; PL ħurk'-bi.
ħerudi		attention; PL ħerud-lumi;
ħerudi+b.ar	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf ħerudi+b.ir; look after; for conjugation, see -ar.
ħerudi+b.ir	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf ħerudi+b.ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
ħer.?	[ERG, SUP: pf]	ipf ħer.ir; look; AOR -ib; NEG ħer<ħe>?.
ħewa		shirt, dress; OBL -li; PL ħew-ni.
ħeygi		dislike (cf. -ig); no PL.
ħeygi+B-ilz	[ABS, DAT: ipf]	pf ħeygi+B-iz; for conjugation, see -ilz.

ħeygi+B-iz	[ABS, DAT: pf]	ipf ħeygi+B-ilz; dislike; for conjugation, see -iz.
-ħi		ILH, see 4.3.4.
ħi		[PL only] (Urakh.) blood; OBL -li, e.g. ERG ħi-li; Ak. ħe.
ħilħi		hardly.
ħisab		look; OBL -li, no PL.
ħu		you; OBL ħe-, e.g. GEN ħe-la; DAT ħed; ERG ħu-ni; see 5.2.
ħukmu		decision; PL ħukmu-rti.
ħuli		eye; PL ħul-bi.
ħunq'.rad		flock; OBL -li, e.g. ERG ħunq'.rad-li.
ħurmat		honor, respect; no PL; GEN ħurmat-la 'honorable'.
ħurp-		see ħärp.
ħuša		you all, youP; DAT ħušab; ERG ħuša-ni; GEN ħuša-la; OBL ħuša-; see 5.2.

i

-i		IMP, see 6.9.1.
-i		IMPF3, see 6.6.2.
-i		OBL with pronouns: il-i-ni, see 5.3.
-i		PL, see 4.1.2.
-i		GER, see 6.8.1.
-i		see -ib.
-ib		AOR, before following suffix > -i, see 6.6.1.
iban.t'uleka		thimble; PL iban.t'uluk-mi (cf. ib 'sew', t'ul 'finger').
-ibg	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -abg; FUT -u.
ibq'		√pressure, e.g. ibq'-li 'stressed'.
ibq'.a?	[ERG, ABS, (SUP/ILL): pf]	ipf ibq'.i?; support, prop up; AOR -ib.
ibq'+B-ilz	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf ibq'+B-iz; for conjugation, see -ilz.
ibq'+B-iz	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf ibq'+B-ilz; support; for conjugation, see -iz.
ibq'.i?	[ERG, ABS, (SUP/ILL): ipf]	pf ibq'.a?; support; FUT -u.
-ibš	[ABS, local-ELA: ipf]	pf -ebš; FUT -ur.
ibx̂	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf abx̂; FUT -u.
-ic	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -irc; sell, AOR -ib.
ic	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -irc; FUT -u.

-ic'	1. [ABS: pf]	ipf -irc'; fill oneself; AOR -ib; CAUS -ic'=aq.
	2. [ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -irc'; fill; AOR -ib; CAUS -ic'=aq.
-id		FUT2, see 6.6.3.
-ida		IMPF2, see 6.6.2.
-ida(ya)		FUT2p, see 6.6.3.
idz	[ABS: ipf only]	hurt; FUT -ur; NEG ħe-yz, iz+ħe-yz.
idzala		disease; PL idzl-umi.
-ig		see dig.
-ig	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ig; burn; AOR -ub.
ig	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -ig; FUT -u.
ig	[ABS, ILL: ipf]	pf ag; FUT -ur.
ignaba		(Urakh.) lover; OBL ignaba, e.g. ILL ignaba-zi; Ak. iganay.
iğbar		luck, OBL -li, no PL.
-ih	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -ilh; bind; AOR -un.
ih	[ERG, ABS, DAT/SUP: pf]	ipf irh; hit; AOR -ub.
ihdibar		(non-Ak.) trust.
-iħ	[ERG, ABS, local adjunct: pf and ipf]	keep, preserve, fulfil; AOR -ib; FUT -u; IMP -en; CAUS -iħ=äq.
-ik	1. [ABS, (SUP/ILL): pf]	ipf -irk; pass, be; AOR -ib; CAUS -ik=aq.
	2. [ABS: pf]	ipf -irk; aux; AOR -ib.
-ik	[ERG, ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf -uk; FUT -u.
ik	[ABS: ipf]	pf ak; FUT -ur.
-ik'	1. [ABS: ipf]	pf -ak'; aux; FUT -ar.
	2. [ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -ak'; aux; FUT -u.
-ik'	1. [ABS: ipf only]	say, FUT -ar; bik'ar 'they say, it is said'; nab Patimat bik'ar 'they call me Patimat = my name is Patimat'.
	2. [ABS: ipf only]	aux; FUT -ar; NEG ħe-yk'.
ik'		that, see 5.3.
-(i)l		(non-Ak.) ADJ; -il|C-, -l|V-; Ak. -si, see 5.1.1.
il		this; PL il-di; OBL il-i-, GEN il-a-la, see 5.3.; il-ħeli then.
ila(-B)		here.
-ilh	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -ih; FUT -a.
-ilz	[ABS, ipf]	pf -iz; aux; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
-ilʕ	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -iʕ; FUT -a; COND -ilʕ-äsli.
imc'a		√extra; imc'a-li' extra'; imc'a-si 'extra'.
imkan		possibility; PL -ti.
indžit		suffering, no PL.

indžit+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf indžit+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
indžit+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	ipf indžit+B-ir; suffer; for conjugation, see -i?.
iq	1. [ABS: ipf]	pf aq; FUT -ur.
	2. [ABS, ILL: ipf]	pf aq; FUT -ur.
-iq'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -aq'; FUT -u.
iq'ala		helper.
iɢ	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -irɢ; FUT -u.
-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf -i?; 1. be; 2. can; FUT -ar; M NEG ħe-yr; CAUS -ir=aq; se birusiw? 'what is it, what does it matter?'; se dirutiw? 'what is it, what happened?'; se-lra ħe-b-ir-ar 'nothing will be, nothing bad, doesn't matter'.
-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -ar; do; FUT -u; M NEG ħe-yr, CAUS -ir=aq; d-ir-u-ti 'actions, what one is doing'.
ir	[ERG, ABS:ipf]	pf ?; FUT -u.
-iraya		IMPP, see 6.9.1.
-irc	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -ic; FUT -u.
-irc	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ic; wash; AOR -ib.
-irc'	1. [ABS: ipf]	pf -ic'; FUT -ur.
	2. [ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -ic'; FUT -u.
irǧ	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf arg; FUT -u.
irh	[ERG, ABS, DAT/SUP: ipf]	pf ih; FUT -u.
-irħ	1. [ABS, infinitive: ipf]	
	2. [ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf -äħ; FUT -ur.
-irk	1. [ABS, (SUP/ILL): ipf]	
	2. [ABS: ipf]	pf -ik; FUT -ur.
-irq	1. [ABS: ipf]	ipf -äq; FUT -ur.
	2. [ERG, ABS: ipf]	ipf -äq; FUT -u; COND -ädli.
	3. [ERG, DAT, ABS d-: ipf]	ipf -äq; FUT -u.
-irq'	[ABS, ERG: ipf]	pf -arq'; do; FUT -ar; NEG M ħe-rq'.
-irɢ	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf iɢ; dig; AOR -ub.
-iru.ʕe-B		√complete (cf. -ir 'be'); -iru.ʕe-B-li 'completely'.
-irxar	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf -irxa?; FUT -ar.
-irxa?	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf -irxar; believe; AOR -ur.
-irʕ	[ABS: ipf]	pf -ärʕ; FUT -ur.
-irʕä<B>irg	[ERG, ABS: pf and ipf]	deceive; AOR -ib; FUT -u.
-is		FUT1, see 6.6.3.
-is	[ABS: ipf only]	cry (tears); FUT -ur.
is	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf as; buy; FUT -u; NEG ħe-ys.

isbahi		√graceful, e.g. isbahi-si 'graceful'.
iš		this; OBL iš-i; ERG iš-i-ni, GEN iš-a-la, PL iš-di; see 5.3.; for cliticized iš in e.g. iš+q'äyda, iš+barħi 'today' vs. iš barħi 'this day', iš+q'alli, see 2.4.
-iša		POT1, see 6.9.3.
iša(-B)		here.
-iši		POT2, see 6.9.3.
-iši		POTPRET, see 6.9.3.
ištäħ		desire; PL -uni.
ištäħ+B-ulq	[GEN, ABS: ipf]	pf ištäħ+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
ištäħ+B-uq	[GEN, ABS: pf]	ipf ištäħ+B-ulq; want; for conjugation, see -uq.
-išt'a		√small; -išt'a-si 'small'.
-it	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf it; hit; AOR -ib.
it	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -it; FUT -u.
it		that; OBL it-i; ERG it-i-ni, GEN it-a-la, PL it-di, see 5.3.; it-ħeli 'then'.
ita.t'i-B		(Urakh.) over there.
it.il		that other; OBL -li, e.g. ILL it.il-li-zi.
it.gi		like that.
-it'ak'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -it'ik'; stretch out, swing back; AOR -ib; -it'+B-it'ak' 'swing back with force'.
-it'ik'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -it'ak'; FUT -ur.
-ix	[ERG, ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf -ux; bring, take; FUT -u.
-ix	[ERG, ABS, SUP: pf]	sole form: perfective imperative B-ix-a 'bring' which is used instead of the imperative of g- (*g-a).
ix		that; OBL ix-i; ERG ix-i-ni, GEN ix-a-la, PL ix-di, see 5.3.
ixa(-B)		there.
ixtilat		conversation; PL -uni.
ixtilat+B-ik'	[ABS: ipf only]	talk; for conjugation, see -ik'.
ixtiyar		permission; PL ixtiyur-ti.
-iz	[ABS; pf]	ipf -ilz; aux; AOR -ur.
Izraʕil		[PN] Izrael, on the four archangels.
-iʕ	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -ilʕ; steal; AOR -un; OPT -iʕ-äb; CAUS -iʕ=äq 'let steal'.
-iʔ	[ABS, SUP/ILL: ipf]	pf -aʔ; FUT -ur.
-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf -ir; 1. be (often found in compounds); 2. can; AOR -ub; M

		NEG ħe-y?; CAUS -i?=aq; se bi?ubsiw? 'what happened?, 'what's up'; concessive conditional b-i?-al(li)-ra 'even if it is, although' has almost become a fixed expression; completely petrified are: b.i?.alli 'however', ħe.b.i?.alli 'anyway, in all event (Ru. kak by ne bylo)'; +b.i?.al.ra INDEF.
k		
k	[ERG, ABS, (SUP) pf]	ipf le<B>k; bring; AOR -ib.
ka-		TH; see 6.2.2.
ka<B>ac'	[ABS, (local-ELA): pf]	ipf ka<B>ic'; descend; AOR -ib; M kac'.
ka<B>alt	1. [ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf ka<B>at; FUT -a.
ka<B>alt	2. [ERG, ABS (SUP): ipf]	pf ka<B>at; FUT -a; M kalt.
ka<B>at	1. [ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf ka<B>alt; hit, AOR -ur; only in the fixed expression qay-či c'a ka<d>at-ab 'may fire hit your house'.
ka<B>at	2. [ERG, ABS (SUP): pf]	ipf ka<B>alt; put (down); AOR -ur; M kat; qayči kat/kalt 'marry (a male person)'.
ka<B>a?	[ABS, ILL: pf]	ipf ka<B>i?; reach (downwards direction); AOR -ib; M ka?; CAUS ka<B>a?=aq.
ka<B>ic'	[ABS, (local-ELA): pf]	pf ka<B>ac'; FUT -ur.
ka<B>ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf ka<B>irk; 1. fall (down); 2. happen; AOR -ib; M ka.yk; CAUS ka<B>ik=aq.
ka<B>ilx̂	[ABS, (SUP): ipf]	pf ka<B>ix̂; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
ka<B>ilz	[ABS: ipf]	pf ka<B>iz; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
ka<B>ir	1. [ABS: ipf]	pf ka<B>i?; FUT -ar; M NEG ka<ħe>yr.
	2. [ABS, infinitive: pf]	pf ka<B>i?; FUT -ar.
ka<B>ir	[ERG, ABS (x̂unul): ipf]	pf ka<B>i?; FUT -u.
ka<B>irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf ka<B>ik; FUT -ur.
ka<B>irx̂	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ka<B>ix̂; FUT -u.
ka<B>ix̂	[ABS, (SUP)): pf]	ipf ka<B>ilx̂; lie down (to sleep); AOR -un; M and pl ka.yx̂; CAUS ka<B>ix̂=aq.
ka<B>ix̂	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ka<B>irx̂; put (down, into); AOR -ib; M and pl ka.yx̂.

ka<B>iz	[ABS: pf]	ipf ka<B>ilz; put oneself in a position; AOR -ur; M ka.yz; CAUS ka<B>iz=aq.
ka<B>i?	[ABS, ILL: ipf]	pf ka<B>a?; FUT -ur.
ka<B>i?	1. [ABS: pf]	ipf ka<B>ir; sit down; AOR -ib; M ka.y?.
	2. [ABS, infinitive: pf]	ipf ka<B>ir; start; AOR -ib; M ka.y?.
ka<B>i?	[ERG, ABS (x̂unul): pf]	ipf ka<B>ir; marry a woman; AOR -ib.
ka<B>uk	[ERG, ABS: pf]	(Urakh.) lead out; AOR -ib.
ka<B>ulq	[ABS, (ILL): ipf]	pf ka<B>uq; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
ka<B>uq	[ABS, (ILL): pf]	ipf ka<B>ulq; start vehemently, descend impetuously; AOR -un; M ka<w>q.
ka<B>urš	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ka<B>uš; FUT -u; M karš.
ka<B>uš	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ka<B>urš; kill; AOR -ib; M ka<w>š.
kac'		see ka<B>ac'.
-kad		ELA (in downwards direction), see grammar section, 4.3.
kag	[ABS: pf]	ipf kayg; touch down; AOR -ib.
kağar		paper, letter; PL kağur-ti.
ka<ħe>l		see kal and kawl.
ka<ħe>yr		see ka<B>ir.
kal	[ABS, local adjunct: pf]	ipf kawl; stay; AOR -un; NEG ka<ħe>l; CAUS kal=aq.
kalq'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf kaq'; FUT -a.
kalt		see ka<B>alt.
kam		skin (of humans and animals); PL kum-ri.
kam		√small; kam-si 'small'.
kam+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf kam+B-ir; decrease; for conjugation, see -ar.
kam+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf kam+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
kampet		sweet, chocolate; PL -uni.
kani		belly; OBL kani-li, PL kun-bi.
kaq'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf kalq'; strew; AOR -ur.
kari		bakery, clay oven in common use by the women of one neighbourhood or clan; this type of oven does not exist anymore in Daghestan; no PL.
karš		see ka<B>urš.

kartoška		[sg and pl agreement] potato (< Ru. kartoška); no PL.
kas	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf kays; take; AOR -ib; NEG ka<ħe>s; CAUS kas=aq; luʕi kas 'put together a list'.
kat		see ka<B>at.
kawd	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf kerd; FUT -a.
kawl	[ABS, local adjunct: ipf]	pf kal; FUT -us, -ud, -an; NEG ka<ħe>l.
ka<w>š		see ka<B>uš.
kayg	[ABS: ipf]	pf kag; FUT -ur.
ka.yk		see ka<B>ik.
kays	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf kas; FUT -u.
ka.yχ̂		see ka<B>iχ̂.
ka.yz		see ka<B>iz.
kay?	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ka?; FUT -u.
ka.y?		see ka<B>i?.
ka?		see ka<B>a?.
ka?	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf kay?; begin, turn on; AOR -ib.
ke<B>>as	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ke<B>>is; take away; AOR -ib.
ke<B>>is	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ke<B>>as; FUT -u.
Kembar		[PN] Kembar; OBL -li.
kepek		copeck (<Ru. kopejka); OBL -li; PL -uni.
kerd	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf kawd; chop; AOR -ib.
kesek		piece (< Ru. kusok); PL -uni.
kiha		ram; PL kih-mi.
kisa		pocket; PL kis-mi.
kumek		help, OBL -li, no PL.
kumek+b.ar	[ERG, DAT: pf]	ipf kumek+b.ir; help; for conjugation, see -ar.
kumek+b.ir	[ERG, DAT: ipf]	pf kumek+b.ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
kung		book, scripture in Arabic, with a religious, moral or juridical content; OBL kung-li-zi-b; no PL.
kunk		√light; kunk-si 'light'.
kupayuǧli		[IJ] 'son of a bitch' (cf. Azeri köpäk oğlı 'son of a dog').
kus		[ON] provoke.
kus+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf kus+B-ir; set on; for conjugation, see -ar.
kus+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf kus+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.

k'

k'abat'		tray (usually used for preparing dough and dumplings); PL -uni.
k'ant'		drop; PL k'unt'-ri.
k'ap'i		leaf; PL k'ap'-ri.
k'ara		(non-Ak.) earthen vessel.
k'at'a		wooden spade; PL k'at'-ni.
k'älʕä		castle, OBL k'älʕä-li, e.g. ILL k'älʕä-li-zi; PL k'älʕ-ni.
k'e(-B)	[ABS]	be present (higher); for conjugation, see le-B.
k'.el		two; k'.el-ra 'the two of them (coll.)', ERG k'i l-ra, k'i n-ra.
k'i		√two; k'i+k'.el 'about two'.
k'i.darš		two hundred.
k'i.na		twice.
k'i.na.ys		second time.
-k'un		FOC, see 8.10.

l

-l		see -(a)l.
-l		see -(i)l.
-l		see -(u)li.
-la		LOC, see 4.3.5.
-la		GEN, see 4.2.3.; assimilated also -na.
lac		wall; PL luc-ri.
lag		ascent; OBL -li, e.g. ILL lag-li-zi; PL lug-ri.
lağ		slave; OBL -li, e.g. lağ-li-zi; PL luğ-ri.
lar		[ON] kick.
lar+(ka-)B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf lar+(ka-)B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
lar+(ka-)B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf lar+(ka-)B-ir; be kicking; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
las		[preverb] turn in circles.
las+B-äq	[ABS: pf]	ipf las+B-irq; look round; for conjugation, see -äq.
las+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf las+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
las+B-irq	[ABS: ipf]	pf las+B-ärq; for conjugation, see -irq.
las+B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf las+B-ir; turn; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
las+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf las+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.

las+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf las+B-ulq; turn; for conjugation, see -uq; las+las+B-uq turn several times.
lay		[ON] throw.
lay+(ka-)B-ak'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf lay+(ka-)B-ik'; throw; M lay+k-ak'; for conjugation, see -ak'.
lay+(ka-)B-ik'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf lay+(ka-)B-ak'; for conjugation, see -ik'.
layiq'		√decent; layiq'-li 'decently'; layiq'-si 'decent'; layiq'+agar-si 'indecent'.
lä<B>q'	[ABS, (SUP) ipf]	pf -äq', -uq'; FUT -äs, -äd, -än.
läw		[ON] caress.
läw+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf läw+B-ir; caress; for conjugation, see -ar.
läw+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf läw+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
läži		cheek, PL läž-ubi.
le-B	[ABS]	be present; present tense -ra, -ri, Ø; preterite -ri; GER -li, ADJ -si; MASD -ni; WHEN -ħeli; COND le-B-alli; see also le<B>i.
le-B+B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	for conjugation, see le-B and -iʔ.
le<B>i		√present; only used 1. in local expressions e.g. le<B>i-ħi-B 'in their presence'; 2. with the INDEF suffix -(a)lra: le<B>i-lra 'all', OBL le-B-li-, e.g. DAT le-B-li-s-alra, PL le-B-ti, e.g. ILL le-B-t-a-zi-lra.
le<B>k	[ERG, ABS, (SUP): ipf]	pf k; FUT -u.
le<B>x	[ERG, ABS, (DAT/SUP): ipf]	pf x; FUT -u.
le<B>ʕe-B		complete, very.
ledzmi		tongue; PL ledzm-unti.
leħ		√silent, e.g. leħ-si 'silent, quiet'.
leħ+B-ilz	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf leħ+B-iz; for conjugation, see -ilz.
leħ+B-iz	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf leħ+B-ilz; be silent, listen; for conjugation, see -iz.
leħ.äq	[ABS: pf]	(dial.) ipf leħ.iq; be silent; AOR -ib; dialectal variation: Ak. leħ.eq, Standard Dargi leħ.aq, dial. leħ.äq.
leħ.iq	[ABS: ipf]	pf leħ.äq; FUT -ur.
leħ.kaq	[ABS: pf]	ipf leħ.kayq; be silent, listen; AOR -ib.
leħ.kayq	[ABS: ipf]	pf leħ.kaq; FUT -ur.
-li		ADV, see 5.7.1.; assimilated -ni.
-li		OBL, see 4.1.1.; assimilated -ni.

-li		see -(u)li.
liga		bone; PL lig-ubi.
link'		[ON] wink.
link'+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf link'+B-ir; wink; for conjugation, see -ar.
link'+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf link'+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
lišan		sign (sighting up to shoot); OBL lišay-, PL -ti.
-lq		see -ulq.
-lra		see -(a)lra.
-lt		see -alt.
lug	[ERG, ABS, DAT/ILL: ipf]	pf g; FUT -a.
luh	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -elh; FUT -a.
luk'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -elk'; FUT -a.
luk'in.luẖin		[ON] fistshaking; see comment with (6:21).
luq'	[ABS: ipf only]	turn; FUT -ar; CAUS luq'=aq.
luq'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -elq'; FUT -a.
lut'i		bottom; PL lut'-mi.
luʕi		list; OBL -li, e.g. ILL luʕi-li-zi-b; PL luʕ-urbi.

m

ma	[IJ] well (pronounced when handing over something).
ma-	PROH, see 6.4.
-mad	ASA, see 6.8.6.
-madan	ASA, see 6.8.6.
+maga	'and the like'; see di?+maga.
makru	[PL only] trick; OBL -li, e.g. COM makru-li-čil.
Malla	see Malla+Nasradin.
Malla+Nasradin	[PN] Malla Nasradin, mullah/hodža Nasredin, tale figure in parts of the Middle East, Central Asia and the Caucasus; parts of the name are also used independently, e.g. Malla 'the mullah', OBL Malla-, e.g. ERG Malla-ni; Nasradin, OBL Nasradin-ni, e.g. ILL Nasradin-ni-zi, sometimes Nasradi-, e.g. DAT Nasradi-s.
mar	√real; mar-li 'really'.
masala	for instance.

masxara		joke; PL masxur-ti.
masxur-		see masxara.
may?a		perspiration; OBL -li, ERG may?a-li; no PL.
maza		[pl agreement] sheep; OBL -li, e.g. SUP maza-li-či; PL maz-ni.
mäḥkam		√careful; mäḥkam-li 'carefully'.
mälʕun		swindler; OBL mälʕuy-, PL -ti.
mäq'		side, OBL mäq'-li-, ILL mäq'-li-zi-b; no PL; mäq'-la-B-si 'by the side, near'.
mäwa		circle, PL mäw-ni.
mäʕni		essence, PL mäʕn-urbi.
meh		1. iron; OBL -li, PL muh-i. 2. [pl agreement] lock; OBL -li.
meḥe		[PL only] brain(s); OBL -li, e.g. ILL meḥe-li-zi.
meḥur		√mad; substantivally OBL meḥur-li; meḥur-si 'mad'.
meḥur+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf meḥur+B-ir; declare/make insane; for conjugation see, -ar.
meḥur+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf meḥur+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
meḥur+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf meḥur+B-ar; for conjugation see, -ir.
meḥur+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	ipf meḥur+B-ir; be(come) insane; for conjugation, see -i?.
meɢ		wedding; OBL -li, e.g. SUP meɢ-li-či; PL muɢ-i, muɢ-ri.
mer		place; OBL -li, e.g. SUP N mer-li-či-b; PL -ani; mer-la-B 'in the place, instead of'.
mešu		√alike; mešu-si 'alike'; mešu+agar-si 'ugly (alike+absent, nothing like it)'.
-mi		PL, see 4.1.2.
mic'ir		√alive; mic'ir-il, mic'ir-si 'alive'; mic'ir-li 'alive'.
mic'ir+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf mic'ir+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
mic'ir+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	ipf mic'ir+B-ir; be(come) alive; for conjugation, see -ir.
miqir, miqiri		chest; OBL -li, e.g. miqir-li-či-b-bit 'across the chest'; PL miqir-ti.
mirqi		[sg and pl agreement] bee; no PL.
miskin		√poor; miskin-si 'poor'; miskin+päq'ir 'very poor', PL miskin+päq'ir-ti.
mižit		mosque; OBL -li, e.g. ILL mižit-li-zi, PL -uni.

mi?		ice; PL mi?-bi 'pieces of ice, hail'.
mučari		maize doughnut; PL mučuri.
mučla		respect; no PL; mučla+agar-B-ar/B-ir [ERG, ABS: pf/ipf] 'show no respect'; for conjugation, see -ar/-ir.
muħli		mouth; OBL -li; PL muħli-bi.
muk'ur		√submissive, e.g. muk'ur-si.
muk'ur+B-ak'	[ABS, CONT: pf]	ipf muk'ur+B-ik'; confess; for conjugation, see -ak'.
muk'ur+B-ik'	[ABS, CONT: ipf]	pf muk'ur+B-ak'; for conjugation, see -ik'.
mura		hay; no PL.
mura		see murul.
murad		goal; OBL -li, PL -uni.
murč'		twig; PL murč'-i.
murhi		[PL only] gold; OBL -li, e.g. SUP murhi-li-či.
muri		√sweet; muri-si 'sweet'.
murt		when; murt-alra 'always (when-INDEF)'.
murul		man, husband; OBL muruy-, e.g. ILL muruy-zi; GEN mura; PL muyli; murul+xunul 'husband and wife'.
muruy-		see murul.
mut'iʕ		√submissive; e.g. mut'iʕ-si.
mut'iʕ+B-ak'	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf mut'iʕ+B-ik'; submit; for conjugation, see -ak'.
mut'iʕ+B-ik'	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf mut'iʕ+B-ak'; for conjugation, see -ik'.
mu?er, mu?eri		dream; OBL -li, e.g. ILL mu?er-li-zi-b; PL mu?er-ti.

n

-na		see -la.
nab		see nu.
Nasradin		see Malla+Nasradin.
näg		hand; PL näg-bi.
ned		eyebrow; PL nud-bi; ned+ħuli 'eyes (eyebrow+eye)'.
neš		mother; OBL -li, e.g. ILL neš-li-zi; PL -ani.
-ni		ERG, see 4.2.2.
-ni		MASD, see 6.8.5.
-ni		PL, see 4.1.2.
-ni		see -li (OBL, ADV).

-nu		for, see 8.9.4.
nu		me; OBL di- in GEN and SUB, otherwise nab-, e.g. GEN di-la, SUP nab-či; DAT nab; ERG nu-ni; see 5.2.
nuker		noble; PL nuker-ti.
nuša		we; OBL nušab, DAT nušab, ERG nušani; see 5.2.

Ø

-Ø		3 (person agreement), see 6.5., 6.6.1.

p

pača		governor, ruler; PL pač-ni.
pahmu		ability, talent (a combination of intelligence and cleverness); OBL -li, e.g. pahmu-li-či; PL -rti.
paltar		[pl agreement] clothes; PL paltur-ti.
parğat		√rest; parğat-li 'quietly'.
parğat+(ka-)B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf parğat+(ka-)B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
parğat+(ka-)B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf parğat+(ka-)B-ir; relax; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
pašman		√sad, e.g. pašman-si 'sad'.
pašman=deš		sadness; no PL.
patiħä		[PN] The Fatiha (Ar. fātiħa) (first Sura of the Koran).
pay		part; PL -ani.
payda		profit; no PL; se+payda 'a pity'.
payda-la+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf payda-la+B-ir; make use of, use; for conjugation, see -ar.
payda-la+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf payda-la+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
pälqär		[ON] move.
pälqär+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf pälqär+B-ir; move; for conjugation, see -ar.
pälqär+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf pälqär+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
päq		[ON] hit.
päq+B-ik'	[ABS, SUP: ipf only]	(non-Ak.) hit; FUT -ar.
päq'ir		√poor; päq'ir-si 'poor'.
perger		√nice, e.g. perger-si.
pikri		thought; OBL -li, e.g. pikri-li-zi, PL pikr-umi.

pikri+b.ar	[ERG: pf]	ipf pikri+b.ir; think; for conjugation, see -ar.
pikri+B-ik'	[ABS: ipf only]	think; for conjugation, see -ik'.
pikri+b.ir	[ERG: ipf]	pf pikri+b.ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
pikri+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf pikri+B-uq; for conjugation see -ulq.
pikri+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf pikri+B-ulq; think; for conjugation, see -uq; pikri+pikri+B-uq 'think deeply'.
piša		escapade; PL piš-ni.
pulan		certain.
pulaw		pilaf; OBL -li, e.g. ERG pulaw-li; no PL.

p'

p'aq'as	[ABS: pf]	ipf p'aq'is; sound; AOR -ib; CAUS p'aq'as=aq.
p'aq'is	[ABS: ipf]	pf p'aq'as; FUT -ur.
p'äc'as	[ABS: pf]	ipf p'äc'is; sound; AOR -ib; CAUS p'äc'as=aq.
p'äc'is	[ABS: ipf]	pf p'äc'as; FUT -ur.

q

qa		see qali.
qali		room, house; OBL qay-, e.g. ALL qay-ʕi, GEN qa; PL qul-ri 'rooms, house, houses'; petrified local expression quli(-B) '(at) home, in(to) the room'; qay-či kalt, qay-či ka<d>at, see ka<B>at.
qar		top; PL -ani; qar+q'ama 'upper top'.
qar		order.
qar+b.ar	[ERG, SUP, ABS/infinitive: pf]	ipf qar+b.ir; order; for conjugation, see -ar.
qar+b.ir	[ERG, SUP, ABS/infinitive: ipf]	pf qar+b.ar; for conjugation, see -ir
qaraq		shed and grounds outside the village where cattle is held (Ru. kutan); PL -uni.
qar.barq'		orders; PL -uni.
qas		injury; PL qus-ri.
qay-		see qali.
qä		vow; OBL -li, e.g. CONT qä-li-čila, PL -mi.
qänt'a		neck; OBL -li, ILL qänt'a-li-zi; PL qänt'-urbi.

qänt'a.ni		in the neck.
qärq		√quick; qärq-li 'quickly'; qärq+qärq-li 'very quickly'.
qäyqi		crook, stick; OBL -li, e.g. ERG qäyqi-li; PL qäyq-ubi.
qeħ		[ON] cough; qeħ+qeħ 'coughs'.
qu		field; OBL qu-, e.g. SUP qu-či-b; PL -mi.
qubzara, qubzar		peasant; OBL -li, e.g. ERG qubzar-li; PL qubzur-ani.
qubzur-		see qubzar.
quc'ari		shoulder; PL quc'r-umi.
qul-		see qali.
quli(-B)		see qali.
qulki		thief; PL qulk-ni.
qulk.nad		thieving.
qumart	[ERG, ABS: pf and ipf]	forget; AOR -ur; FUT -u, NEG qum<ħe>rt; PROH qum<ma>rt.
qum<ħe>rt		see qumart.
qum<ma>rt		see qumart.

q'

q'abul		√agree, consent, e.g. q'abul-si 'agreeing'.
q'abul+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf q'abul+B-ir; accept, receive; for conjugation, see -ar.
q'abul+B-ik	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf q'abul+B-irk; agree; for conjugation, see -ik.
q'abul+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf q'abul+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
q'abul+B-irk	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf q'abul+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
q'adar		fate; PL q'adur-ti.
q'adi		cadi, judge; OBL q'adi- e.g. SUP q'adi-či, ERG q'adi-ni; PL q'ad-ni.
q'alli		FOC; see 8.10. and 2.4.
q'ama		(non-Ak.) top, crown (of people, tree); OBL -li, e.g. SUP q'ama-li-či-w-ad; no PL.
q'an		√late; q'an-ni 'late'; q'an-si 'late'.
q'an+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf q'an+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
q'an+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	ipf q'an+B-ir; be late; for conjugation, see -i?.
q'ap'a		hat; OBL, PL q'ap'-ni.
q'aq'a		√narrow, e.g. q'aq'a-si 'narrow'.

q'aq'a=deš		suffering, worrying; OBL -li, e.g. q'aq'a=deš-li-čil; no PL.
q'aq'a+B-ak'	[ABS: pf]	ipf q'aq'a+B-ik'; worry; for conjugation, see -ak'.
q'aq'a+B-ik'	[ABS: ipf]	pf q'aq'a+B-ak'; for conjugation, see -ik'.
q'ar		grass; OBL -li, e.g. ERG q'ar-li; PL -ani.
q'ar		top, crown; OBL -li; no PL; q'ar+bek' top of the head.
q'as		decision; no PL.
q'as+b.ar	[ERG, infinitive: pf]	ipf q'as+b.ir; decide; for conjugation, see -ar.
q'as+b.ir	[ERG, infinitive: ipf]	pf q'as+b.ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
q'äl		cow; OBL q'äy-, e.g. DAT q'äy-s; PL q'ul-i.
q'äli		twig; OBL q'äy-, e.g. SUP q'äy-či, PL q'äl-ubi.
q'äp'		√ [< ON] close, e.g. q'äp'-si 'closed'.
q'äp'+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf q'äp'+B-ir; close with a sound; for conjugation, see -ar.
q'äp'+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf q'äp'+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
q'äs		√envy, e.g. q'äs-si 'jealous'.
q'äs+(ka-)B-ir	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf q'äs+(ka-)B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
q'äs+(ka-)B-i?	[ABS, SUP pf]	ipf q'äs+(ka-)B-ir; envy; for conjugation, see -i?.
q'äš		foot, leg; PL -mi.
q'äy-		see q'äl.
q'äy-		see q'äli.
q'äyda		manner; OBL -li, e.g. il+q'äyda-li; (PL q'äyd-urti); often with cliticized pronouns, see 2.4.
q'iblama		compass; PL -bi.
q'ic'		[ON] cut (with scissors).
q'ic'+(ka-)B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf q'ic'+(ka-)B-ir; cut with scissors; for conjugation, see -ar.
q'ic'+(ka-)B-ir	[ERG, ABS: pf]	pf q'ic'+(ka-)B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
q'iq'		[IJ] qiq, transcription of a lateral sound made to attract somebody's attention, 'hey', psht'.
q'uq'a		knee; PL q'uq'-ubi.
q'ur?ada		(Urakh.) teacher in the Koran school (< q'ur?an 'Koran' + ada 'father'); OBL q'ur?ada-, e.g. DAT q'ur?ada-s, ERG q'ur?ada-ni.

q'ur?an		Koran; OBL q'ur?ay-, e.g. ILL q'ur?ay-zi; no PL; q'ur?ay-zi -aš 'go to Koran school'.
q'ur?ay-		see q'ur?an.

ɢ

ɢada.ni		in ravine.
ɢalaba		√quick; ɢalaba-li 'quickly'.
ɢalaba+B-ik'	[ABS: ipf only]	hurry; for conjugation, see -ik'.
ɢap		large bag; PL ɢup-ri.
ɢaɢ		back; OBL -li, e.g. SUP ɢaɢ-li-či-r; PL ɢuɢ-ri.
ɢara?ul		guard; OBL ɢara?uy-, PL -ti.
ɢarcin		poor; with a dialectal variant xarzin.
ɢarɢa		stone; PL ɢarɢ-ubi.
ɢarši		√1. opposite; 2. meet; ɢarši-li 'opposite'.
ɢarši+B-ik	[ABS, DAT :pf]	ipf ɢarši+B-irk; meet, gather; for conjugation, see -ik.
ɢarši+B-ir	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf ɢarši+B-i?; for conjugation, see -i?.
ɢarši+B-irk	[ABS, DAT: ipf]	pf ɢarši+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
ɢarši+B-i?	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf ɢarši+B-ir; meet, come across; for conjugation, see -i?.
ɢarši=deš		[pl agreement] opposition; PL -uni.
ɢay<B>ik	[ABS: pf]	(Urakh.) ipf ɢay<B>irk; stop; AOR -ik.
ɢay<B>irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf ɢay<B>irk; FUT -ur.
ɢayği		effort; OBL -li, e.g. COM ɢayği-li-čil; PL ɢayğ-ni.
ɢaz		goose; OBL -li, e.g. ɢaz-li-s, PL ɢuz-ri.
ɢäb		[ON] tear.
ɢäb+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ɢäb+B-ir; tear; for conjugation, see -ar.
ɢäb+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ɢäb+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
ɢäč		[ON] touch.
ɢäč+B-ik	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf ɢäč+B-irk; touch; for conjugation, see -ik.
ɢäč+B-irk	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf ɢäč+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
ɢäna		crow; OBL -li, e.g. ERG ɢäna-li; PL ɢun-bi.
ɢäna		lie; PL ɢän-bi.
ɢäy		row; PL -ani.
ɢäy+b.ar	[ERG: pf]	ipf ɢäy+b.ir; make a row; for conjugation, see -ar.
ɢäy+b.ir	[ERG: ipf]	pf ɢäy+b.ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
ɢäyk		[ON] shot.

ɢäyk+B-ik'	[ABS: ipf only]	make a sound of shooting; for conjugation, see -ik'.
ɢel		[pl agreement] trace, track; PL -ani.
-ɢi		see -(u)ɢi.
ɢiyan		difficulty, problem; OBL ɢiyay-, e.g. ɢiyay-čil, PL -ti.
ɢiyay-		see ɢiyan.
ɢulluɢ		attention; PL -uni.
ɢulluɢ+b.ar	[ERG: pf]	ipf ɢulluɢ+b.ir; pay attention, look after; for conjugation, see -ar.
ɢulluɢ+b.ir	[ERG: ipf]	pf ɢulluɢ+b.ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
ɢundaɢ		butt, OBL -li, e.g. ERG ɢundaɢ-li; PL -uni.
ɢundz		[ON] step.
ɢundz+B-ik'	[ABS: ipf only]	walk, for conjugation, see -ik'.
ɢundz+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf ɢundz+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
ɢundz+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf ɢundz+B-ulq; walk; for conjugation, see -uq.
ɢur		trace; PL -ani.
ɢurba		see ɢurban.
ɢurban		[PN] Kurban; OBL ɢurbay-, e.g. SUP ɢurbay-či; GEN ɢurba.
ɢurbay-		see ɢurban.
ɢurumsaɢ		[IJ] honorless person; (cf. Azeri gurumsag).
ɢuruš		rouble, OBL ɢuruš-li-, e.g. ILL ɢuruš-li-zi; PL -mi.
ɢuyruɢ		tail; PL -uni.
ɢuz-		see ɢaz.
ɢudž		√push (forcefully).
ɢudž+B-ik'	[ABS, ILL: ipf only]	push; for conjugation, see -ik'.

r

r (r-, -r-, -r)		F (gender agreement), see 3.1.
-r		pl (gender agreement); see d.
-ra		1 (person agreement), see 6.6.1. and 6.6.4.
-ra		'and', see 8.9.1.
-ra(ya)		2p (person agreement), see 6.6.1., 6.6.4.
radzi		√glad; radzi-li 'gladly'; radzi-si 'glad'.
radzi+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf radzi+B-ir; make glad; for conjugation, see -ar.

radzi+B-ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf radzi+B-irk; be glad; for conjugation, see -ik.
radzi+B-ir	[ABS, (SUP-gender): ipf]	pf radzi+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
radzi+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf radzi+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
radzi+B-irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf radzi+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
radzi+B-i?	[ABS, (SUP-gender): pf]	ipf radzi+B-ir; be glad; for conjugation, see -i?.
radzi=deš		gladness; OBL -li, no PL.
raħät		√quiet, e.g. raħät-si 'quiet'.
raħät=deš		quitness; no PL.
rang		colour; OBL -li, e.g. SUP rang-li-či; PL -ani.
rax		√sudden; rax-li 'suddenly'; rax-li + Conditional 'if (all of a sudden)'.
raxaž		chain; PL -uni.
raʕät		decree; PL -uni.
-rg		see -arg.
-ri		2 (person agreement), see 6.6.1. and 6.6.4.
-ri		PL, see 4.1.2.
-ri		PRET, see 6.6.5. and 6.6.7.
rizq'i		cereals; no PL.
-rq'		see -irq'.
-rti		PL, see 4.1.2.
rurdž	[ABS: ipf only]	boil; FUT -ar.
rursi		girl; OBL rursi- or rursi-li, e.g. ERG rursi-ni, rursi-li; PL rurs-bi.

s

-s		DAT, see 4.2.4.
sa-B		see sa<B>i.
sabab		reason; PL -ti; sabab-la B-ar 'make the reason, blame'.
sa<B>a?	[ABS, ILL: pf]	ipf sa<B>i?; reach; AOR -ib.
sa<B>i	[ABS]	be (auxiliary); M sa.y, F sa<r>i, N sa<b>i, hpl sa<b>i, pl sa<r>i; also often cliticized: sa-B; see 6.5., 6.6.4.; present -ra, -ri, -Ø; preterite -ri; GER -li, MASD -ni, WHEN sa-B-ħeli.
sa<B>i		self; OBL sune-, e.g. SUP sune-či, ERG sune-ni; PL:OBL ču-; see 5.5. and 8.7.

sa<B>i?	[ABS, ILL: ipf]	ipf sa<B>a?; FUT -ur.
sabur		(self-)controll, endurance; OBL -li, e.g. ILL sabur-li-zi-B-ad 'out of temper'; no PL.
sadaq'a		alms, OBL -li, e.g. CONT sadaq'a-li-čila; no PL.
saga		√new; saga-li 'newly'; saga-si 'new'.
sagadan		again (cf. saga).
sa<ħe>s		see sas.
salamat		√strong, heavy; salamat-li 'strongly, heavily'.
saniʕät		profession; PL -uni.
saq'la, saq'lan		(non-Ak.) wool, woolen material (Ru. sukno); OBL saqlay- e.g. ILL saq'lay-zi-b-ad; no PL; Ak. suq'ban.
saq'lay-		see saq'la.
sas	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf says; take; AOR -ib; NEG sa<ħe>s.
sawǧat		reward; PL -uni.
sawli		early (in the morning), at sunrise; N.B. no √saw exists.
says	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf sas; FUT -u.
saʕät		1. hour; 2. watch; PL -uni.
se		what; see 5.4.; se-lra 'something (what-INDEF)'; se-lra+dek'ar 'not particularly'; se-wan 'like what, how'; se=ǧuna 'what kind of'; se+b.i?.al.ra 'something (what+INDEF)'; se-cad+digara 'as many as you like'; for cliticized se, e.g. in se+q'äyda, se+payda, se+täħär, see 2.4.
sek'al		thing; OBL sek'ay-, e.g. sek'ay-či; PL sek'ul-ti, sek'-li.
sek'ay-		see sek'al.
sen		how; sen-alra 'anyhow'; sen+sen 'how'.
sen		why; sen-k'un 'because (why-FOC)'.
-si		see -(u)si.
sinka		bear; PL sink-bi.
sud		jurisdiction (< Ru. sud); OBL -li, e.g. sud-li-či; no PL.
sune-		see sa<B>i.
sugur		√blind, e.g. sugur-si 'blind'.
sugur+B-ar	[ERG ABS: pf]	ipf sugur+B-ir; make blind; for conjugation, see -ar.
sugur+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf sugur+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.

sugur+B-ir	[ERG ABS: ipf]	pf sugur+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
sugur+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	be blind; for conjugation, see -i?.
susul		[PL only] rye; OBL susuy-.
sužda		(non-Ak.) regard; no PL.
sužda+b.ar	[ERG, DAT: pf]	ipf sužda+b.ir; give regards to; for conjugation, see -ar.
sužda+b.ir	[ERG, DAT: ipf]	pf sužda+b.ar; for conjugation, see -ir.

š

šad		√happy; šad-si 'happy'.
šaddiq'		1. wanderer; 2. idler; PL -uni.
šadi-B		in distraction; šadi-B+huni 'walking around'.
šadib.q'äna		conversation partner; OBL šadib.q'äna-, PL šadibq'äna-bi.
šadliq		party; OBL -li, e.g. šadliq-li-zi, PL -uni.
šahar		town; OBL -li, e.g. šahar-li-zi; PL šahur-ti.
Šahwali		[PN] Shahwali; OBL Šahwali-, e.g. ILL Šahwali-zi, ERG Šahwali-ni.
šak		√guess, e.g. šak-li 'in doubt'.
šak+B-ik	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf šak+B-irk; guess; for conjugation, see -ik.
šak+B-irk	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf šak+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
šala		1. √light; šala-si 'light'. 2. light; OBL -li, no PL.
šala.d.ik	[(ABS):pf]	ipf šala.d.irk; become light; for conjugation, see -ik.
šala.d.irk	[(ABS): ipf]	pf šala.d.ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
šalbar		trousers; PL šalbur-ti; šalbar+ħewa 'clothes (trousers+shirt)'.
šali		side; OBL šay-, e.g. SUP šay-či 'aside'; PL šal-ubi; šay-zi-B-ad 'on his/her/its behalf'; šali+bek' 'side of the head, temple'.
šalk'ub-si		(Urakh.) side-, on the side (cf. šali).
šal.ʕe-B-		[preverb] along.
šal.ʕe-B+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf šal.ʕe-B+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
šal.ʕe-B+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf šal.ʕe-B+B-ulq; pass, go along; for conjugation, see -uq.
šamxal		ruler (of a feudal unity); OBL šamxay-, e.g. SUP šamxay-či, PL -ti.

šamxay-		see šamxal.
šan		villager; OBL šay-, PL šan-ti.
šang		kettle; OBL -li, PL šung-ri.
šariʕät		Sharia, OBL -li, no PL.
šay-		see šali.
šayt'an		devil; OBL šayt'ay-, e.g. ERG šayt'ay; PL šayt'un-ti.
šayt'ay-		see šayt'an.
š.el		five.
ši		see šin.
ši		village; OBL -li, e.g. ILL ši-li-zi; GEN ši-la; PL -mi.
šin		[PL only] water; OBL šin, e.g. ERG šin-ni; SUP ši-či 'for water'.
šink'a		√fluid, e.g. šink'a-si 'fluid'.
šink'a+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf šink'a+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
šink'a+B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf šink'a+B-ir; have a (stomach) disorder; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
šinq'a		[sg and pl agreement] mill; PL šinq'-bi, šinq'-urbi.
šip'		[ON] hush.
šip'+B-ärʕ	[ABS: pf]	ipf šip'+B-irʕ; remain silent in one place (hush+cool.off); for conjugation, see -ärʕ.
šip'+B-irʕ	[ABS: ipf]	pf šip'+B-ärʕ; for conjugation, see -irʕ.
šiq'		[ON] move.
šiq'+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf šiq'+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
šiq'+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf šiq'+B-ulq; move; for conjugation, see -uq.
šiš		[ON] stir.
šiš+B-ik'	[ABS: ipf only]	move, stir; for conjugation, see -ik'.
šiš+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf šiš+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
šiš+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf šiš+B-ulq; move, stir; for conjugation, see -uq.
šu		√five.
šu.c'ali		fifty.
šur		[preverb] turn around.
šur+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf šur+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
šur+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf šur+B-ulq; turn around; for conjugation, see -uq.
šu.ra		five.
šuri, šur		rock; OBL šur-li, e.g. SUP šur-li-či, PL šur-mi.

t

talqa		see talqan.
talqan		chief; OBL talqay-, e.g. ERG talqay; GEN talqan-na and talqa; PL talqun-ti.
talqan=deš		[plural agreement] rule, leadership, PL -uni.
talqay-		see talqan.
talqun-		see talqan.
taman		√end; taman-ni 'fully'.
taman+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf taman+B-ir; fulfil; for conjugation, see -ar.
taman+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf taman+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
taman+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf taman+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
taman+B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf taman+B-ir; finish; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
tamaša		wonder; no PL.
tamaša+B-ilz	[ABS, DAT: ipf]	pf tamaša+B-iz; for conjugation, see -ilz.
tamaša+B-ir	[ABS, SUP-gender: ipf]	pf tamaša+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
tamaša+B-iz	[ABS, DAT: pf]	ipf tamaša+B-ilz; wonder, surprise; for conjugation, see -iz.
tamaša+B-iʔ	[ABS, SUP-gender: pf]	ipf tamaša+B-ir; wonder; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
tanbiħ		punishment; no PL.
tašmiš		√hesitate, e.g. tašmiš-si 'hesitant'.
tašmiš=deš		hesitation; OBL -li, no PL.
tawra		bag; PL tawr-umi.
tax		takhta (wooden bench to sit, in the main room or verandah); OBL -li, e.g. SUP tax-li-či; PL tux-ri.
täħär		way, OBL -li, (PL täħur-ti); täħär+agar-li 'without a manner, unthinkable, unbelievable'.
täp		exactly.
täs		[ON] slide.
täs+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf täs+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
täs+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf täs+B-ulq; slide; for conjugation, see -uq.
te-B	[ABS]	be present; for conjugation, see le-B.
-ti		see -(u)ti.
-ti		PL, see 4.1.1.
tikrar		√repetition; only in compound verbs.

tikrar+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf tikrar+B-ir; repeat; for conjugation, see -ar.
tikrar+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf tikrar+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
tikrar+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf tikrar+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
tikrar+B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf tikrar+B-ir; repeat (itself); for conjugation, see -iʔ.
tiladi		request, PL -uni.
tiladi+B-ar	[ERG, ABS, ILL: pf]	ipf tiladi+B-ar; request; for conjugation, see -ar.
tiladi+B-ir	[ERG, ABS, ILL: ipf]	pf tiladi+B-ir; for conjugation, see -ir.
tupang		rifle; PL -uni.
tutu		[ON] spit.
tutu+B-ar	[ERG, ABS (näG-bi): pf]	ipf tutu+B-ir; spit; for conjugation, see -ar.
tutu+B-ir	[ERG, ABS (näG-bi): ipf]	pf tutu+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
tuxtur		doctor; OBL -li, e.g. SUP tuxtur-li-či; PL -ti.

t'

t'abiʕät		[sg and pl agreement] behaviour; no PL.
t'al		pillar; OBL t'ay-, PL t'ul-ri.
t'alab		invitation, requirement; PL -uni.
t'alab+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf t'alab+B-ir; invite, require; for conjugation, see -ar.
t'alab+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf t'alab+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
t'alḥäna		[PL only] pottery.
t'am-		see t'ama.
t'ama		1. [sg agreement] sound, voice, cry; OBL -li; PL t'am-ri. 2. [pl agreement] noise; OBL -li.
t'ama+d.ar	[ERG: pf]	ipf t'ama+d.ir; sound; for conjugation, see -ar.
t'ama+d.ir	[ERG: ipf]	pf t'ama+d.ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
t'ama.hama		noise, crying (noise and the like); OBL -li; SUP t'ama.hama-li-či.
t'aq'a		box; PL t'aq'-ni.
t'aš		√1. stop; 2. upright; t'aš-li 'standing'; t'aš-si 'standing'.
t'aš+B-alt	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf t'aš+B-at; for conjugation, see -alt.
t'aš+B-at	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf t'aš+B-alt; put in upright position; for conjugation, see -at.

t'aš+(ka-)B-ilz	[ABS: ipf]	pf t'aš+(ka-)B-iz; for conjugation, see -ilz.
t'aš+(ka-)B-iz	[ABS: pf]	ipf t'aš+(ka-)B-ilz; 1. stop; 2. stand; for conjugation, see -iz; M t'aš+ka-yz.
t'aš.biz		√break; e.g. t'aš.biz+agar-li 'without a break'.
t'äh		jump [< ON], no PL.
t'äh+B-ik'	[ABS: ipf only]	jump; for conjugation, see -ik'.
t'äh+B-ulq	[ABS, ILL: ipf]	pf t'äh+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
t'äh+B-uq	[ABS, ILL: pf]	ipf t'äh+B-ulq; jump; for conjugation, see -uq.
t'ärqi		hole; PL t'ärq-ubi.
t'äʕäm		taste; OBL -li, e.g. COM t'äʕäm-li-čil; PL -ti.
t'ent'		fly; OBL -li, e.g. t'ent'-li-či; PL t'unt'-ri.
t'erχ̂a		stick; OBL -li, e.g. ERG t'erχ̂a-li; PL t'erχ̂-ubi.
t'imir.ximir		all kinds of things.
t'ul		finger; OBL t'uy-, PL t'ul-bi.
t'ul-		see t'al.
t'ut'u		√ [< ON] diffuse, e.g. t'ut'u-si 'diffused'.
t'ut'u+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf t'ut'u+B-ir; destroy, diffuse; for conjugation, see -ar.
t'ut'u+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: pf]	pf t'ut'u+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
t'ut'u+ka-B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf t'ut'u+ka-B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
t'ut'u+ka-B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf t'ut'u+ka-B-ir; spread, diffuse; for conjugation, see -iʔ.

u

-u		FUT3, see 6.6.3.
-u/-w		INT; w|V-, u|C-; see 8.11.
u		name; OBL, PL u-mi.
u-B		√under; u-r-ti under- (e.g. underwear); u-la, see udi-la.
-ub		AOR, see 6.6.1.
u<B>>as	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf u<B>>is; take away; AOR -ib.
u<B>äh<B>ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf u<B>äh<B>irk; fall downwards, fall; AOR -ib.
u<B>äh<B>irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf u<B>äh<B>ik; FUT -ur.
u<B><B>ac'	[ABS: pf]	ipf u<B><B>ic'; leave from under; AOR -ib.
u<B><B>ic'	[ABS: ipf]	pf u<B><B>ac'; FUT -u.
u<B><B>ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf u<B><B>irk; give in; AOR -ib.

u<B><B>irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf u<B><B>ik; FUT -ur.
-ubi		PL, see 4.1.1.
u<B>>is	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf u<B>>as; FUT -u.
u<B>kal	[ABS: pf]	ipf u<B>kawl; stay; AOR -un.
u<B>kawl	[ABS: ipf]	pf u<B>kal; FUT -an, -as?.
-ubk'	[ABS: ipf]	pf -ebk'; die; FUT -ar; CAUS -ubk'=aq.
-uc	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -urc; catch, hold; AOR -ib; CAUS b-uc=aq 'make catch, hold'; kani b-uc 'hold the belly.
-uc'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -erc'; FUT -a.
-uč	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -urč; gather; AOR -ib.
-ud		FUT2, see 6.6.3.
udi(-B)	[+ GEN]	below; udi+udi 'of a very low level, indecent'; udi-la 'below'.
udi+B-ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf udi+B-irk; lose (a fight); for conjugation, see -ik.
udi+B-irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf udi+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
udzi		brother; OBL udzi-, e.g. udzi-ni, PL udz-bi; udzi-urši 'relatives'.
-udž	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -erdž; FUT -a; CAUS -udž=aq.
ufff		[IJ] seigh.
-ug		see ag.
-ug	[ERG, ABS: pf]	pf -erg; FUT -a.
-uh	[ABS, ERG: ipf only]	tell; FUT -ar.
-(u)ħeli		WHEN; -uħeli follows imperfective verb stems, -ħeli follows the aorist (of perfective verb stems), see 6.8.6.
-uħna(-B)	[+GEN]	inside; -uħna-li inside.
-uħna+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf -uħna+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
-uħna+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf -uħna+B-ulq; go inside; for conjugation, see -uq.
-uħna?	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -uħni?; chase into; AOR -ib.
-uħni?	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -uħna?; FUT -u.
-uk	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -erk; FUT -a.
-uk	[ERG, ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf -ik; lead; AOR -ib.
u<ka><B>alt	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf u<ka><B>at; burry; FUT -a.
u<ka><B>at	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf u<ka><B>alt; burry; AOR -ur.
uktem		√haughty; uktem-li 'haughtily'.
-ulg	[ABS: ipf only]	pray; FUT -ar.
-(u)li		GER; -uli after imperfective verb stems, -li after the aorist (of perfective

		verb stems); shortens to -l before person endings, see 6.8.1. and 6.6.4., 6.6.6.
-ulq	1. [ABS, local adjunct: ipf]	
	2. [ABS: ipf]	pf -uq; FUT -as, -ad, -an; M NEG ħe-lq.
-ulq	[ABS: ipf only]	dance; FUT -ar.
-ul?	[ABS: ipf]	pf -u?; FUT -a.
umc'	1. [ABS, DAT: pf and ipf]	look for; AOR -ur; FUT -ar.
	2. [ERG, ABS: pf and ipf]	check; AOR -ur; FUT -u.
-umdž	[ABS: ipf]	pf -emdž; FUT -ar.
umħ-		see emħe.
-umi		PL, see 4.4.1.
-ums	[ABS: ipf]	pf -ams; FUT -ar.
umu		√clean, e.g. umu-si 'clean'.
umu+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf umu+B-ir; make clean; for conjugation, see -ar.
umu+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf umu+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
umx̂u		key; PL umx̂-ni.
-un		AOR, see 6.6.1.
unc		bull; PL unc-i.
undza		[sg and pl agreement] door; OBL, PL undz-urbi.
-uni		PL, see 4.1.1.
unra		neighbour; OBL -li or stem, e.g. ILL unra-li-zi and unra-zi; ERG unra-li, unra-ni; PL unr-ubi.
unra.xunra		neighbours (neighbour and the like); OBL -li, e.g. unra.xunra-li-zi.
-uq	1. [ABS, local adjunct: pf]	ipf -ulq; leave , move AOR -un.
	2. [ABS: pf]	ipf -ulq; aux; AOR -un; M in compounds also -wq.
-uqna		old person; OBL -uqna-, SUP -uqna-či.
-uqna+B-a?	[ABS: pf]	ipf -uqna+B-i?; grow old; for conjugation, see -a?.
-uqna+B-i?	[ABS: ipf]	pf -uqna+B-a?; grow old; for conjugation, see -i?.
-uq'		see -äq'.
-(u)ɢi		CONC; -uɢi follows imperfective verb stems, -ɢi follows the aorist (of perfective verb stems), see 6.9.5.
-ur		AOR, see 6.6.1.
-ur		FUT3, see 6.6.3.

-ur	[ERG, ABS, DAT/ILL: pf and ipf]	say, AOR -ib, FUT -u; CAUS -ur=aq; xabar b-ur 'tell'; ʕäq'lu b-ur 'give advice'.
-urc	[ABS, ILL-ELA: ipf]	pf -erc; FUT -ar.
-urc	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -uc; FUT -u.
urc	[ABS: ipf]	pf arc; FUT -ar.
urcul		[sg and pl agreement] timber; OBL urcuy-, e.g. SUP urcuy-či; GEN urca; no PL.
urcuy-		see urcul.
-urč	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -uč; gather; FUT -u.
urči		horse; OBL -li, e.g. SUP urči-li-či, PL urč-mi.
ureg.al		six.
urezi		shame; OBL -li, no PL.
-urg	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -arg; find, FUT -u.
urga(-B)		between; urga+urgadi in between.
urgadi		in between.
-urgar		probably.
-urǧ	[ABS, COM: ipf only]	quarrel; FUT -ar.
urħ		strange, other; OBL -li, no PL.
-urk'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -erk'; FUT -u.
urk'<B>ulq	[ABS, ILL-ELA: ipf]	pf urk'<B>uq; FUT -as, -ad, -an.
urk'<B>uq	[ABS, ILL-ELA: pf]	ipf urk'<B>ulq; 1. frighten; 2. surprise; AOR -un (cf. urk'i 'heart').
urk'i		heart; OBL -li, e.g. SUP urk'i-li-či-b; PL urk'-bi.
-urš	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -uš; FUT -u.
urši		boy, son; OBL -li, e.g. DAT uršilis, ERG uršili, uršini, PL urš-bi.
-urt'	1. [ERG, ABS, DAT: ipf]	
	2. [ERG, ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf -ut'; FUT -u.
urux<B>ir	[ABS, (DAT/ILH): ipf]	pf urux<B>iʔ; FUT -ar.
urux<B>iʔ	[ABS, (DAT/ILH): pf]	ipf urux<B>ir; be afraid, fear; AOR -ub (cf. urexi 'fear').
-urx	[ABS: ipf]	ipf -erx; FUT -ar.
-urx̂	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf -arx̂; FUT -u.
urx̂u		sea, wave; OBL -li, e.g. ILL urx̂u-li-zi; PL urx̂-ni.
-urʔ	[ABS: ipf]	pf -erʔ; FUT -ar.
-us		FUT1, see 6.6.3.
-us	[ABS: ipf only]	sleep; FUT -ar.

-(u)si		ADJ; -usi follows imperfective verb stems, -si follows adjectival roots, the Aorist, and 3rd person potential, see 5.1.1. and 6.9.3.
-uskal	[ABS: ipf]	pf -uska?; FUT -as ,-ad, -an.
-uska?	[ABS: pf]	ipf -uskal; fall asleep; AOR -un.
usta		master; OBL usta- and usta-li, e.g. ERG usta-ni, usta-li, SUP usta-či, usta-li-či; PL ust-ni; meh-la usta 'master of iron = blacksmith'; paltar-la usta 'master of clothes = tailor'.
usta=deš		[PL only] mastery, skill, talent.
-uš	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf -urš; throw out, release; AOR -ib.
-(u)ti		ADP; -usi follows imperfective verb stems, -si follows adjectival roots and the aorist (of perfective verb stems), see 5.1.1. and 6.9.3.
-ut'	1. [ERG, ABS, DAT: pf]	ipf -urt'; distribute; AOR -ib.
	2. [ERG, ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf -urt'; divide; AOR -ib.
-ux	[ERG, ABS, SUP pf]	ipf -ix; bring, take; AOR -ib.
-uyʕ	[ERG, ABS, ILL: ipf]	pf -eyʕ; FUT -a.
-uz	[ABS: ipf only]	work; FUT -ar; CAUS -uz=aq 'make work'.
-u?	[ABS: pf and ipf]	(appear to) be, AOR -ib; FUT -ar.
-u?	[ABS: pf]	ipf -ul?; disappear, collapse, be ruined; AOR -un; CAUS -u?=aq; fixed expression ħela qali maduʕ/mabu? 'may your house not be ruined', i.e. 'may your house prosper'.

w

w (w-, -w-, -w)		M (gender agreement), see 3.1.
-w		see -u/-w.
wa		and.
wa		[IJ] oh!
waca		mouse; PL wac-ni.
wac'a		forest; OBL -li, e.g. ILL wac'a-li-zi; PL wac'-urbi.
wačar		trade, OBL wačar-li, PL wačur-ti.
wakil		messenger, representative; PL -ti.
wallah		[IJ] 'My God'.
walli.q'äna		friend; PL balli.q'un-bi.

-wan		ID; see 4.5.3.
wandza		earth; OBL -li, e.g. ILL wandza-li-zi; PL wandz-urbi.
war?a		honey; no PL.
way		√bad; way-si 'bad'; way+rang 'bad colour', see rang; way+šali 'wrong side', see šali, e.g. way+šay-či-w 'at the wrong side, very bad(ly)'.
way=deš		bad thing, fault; no PL.
wayāh		[PL only] belongings, things.
way.ʕi-B		badly.
wazir		adviser; PL -ti.
wāh		[IJ] my!
wäq'		[ON] look.
wäq'+B-ilz	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf wäq'+B-iz; for conjugation, see -ilz.
wäq'+B-iz	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf wäq'+B-ilz; look; for conjugation, see -iz.
wäš		[ON] move.
wäš+B-ik'	[ABS: ipf only]	move; for conjugation, see -ik'.
wäw		cry, no PL.
wäw=deš		[PL only] crying.
wäw+b.äq	[ERG: pf]	ipf wäw+b.irq; start to cry; for conjugation, see -äq.
wäw+b.irq	[ERG: ipf]	pf wäw+b.äq; for conjugation, see -irq.
wäw+B-ik'	[ABS: ipf only]	cry; for conjugation, see -ik'.
wäw+ir	[ERG: ipf]	pf wäw+?; for conjugation, see ir.
wäw+?	[ERG: pf]	ipf wäw+ir; cry; for conjugation, see ?.
wec'		√ten.
wec'.al		ten.
wec'.nu		ten.
werh.el		seven.
-wq		see -uq.

x

x	[ERG, ABS, (DAT/SUP): pf]	ipf le<B>x; bring; AOR -ib; CAUS x=aq 'make bring'.
xabar		1. [sg agreement] story; OBL -li; PL xabur-ti. 2. [pl agreement] fame; OBL -li; xabar+d-erx-ur-si (17:1) 'well-known, famous' (cf. -erx).
xabur-		see xabar.

xala		√big; xala-l, xala-si 'big', PL xala-ti.
xala+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf xala+B-ir; make big, enlarge; for conjugation, see -ar.
xala+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf xala+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
xala+ka<B>a?	[ABS: pf]	ipf xala+ka<B>i?; become big, grow up; for conjugation, see ka<B>a?.
xala+ka<B>i?	[ABS: ipf]	pf xala+ka<B>a?; for conjugation, see ka<B>i?.
xal<B>ar	[ABS, ILL: pf]	ipf xal<B>ir; declare; AOR -ib.
xal<B>ir	[ABS, ILL: ipf]	pf xal<B>ar; FUT -u; M NEG xal<ħe>yr.
xal<ħe>yr		see xal<B>ir.
xalq'		people; OBL -li, e.g. ILL-N xalq'-li-zi-b; no PL.
xan		khan; OBL xan-ni-; PL -ani.
xan=deš		reign; OBL -li, PL -uni
xandžal		dagger; PL xandžul-ti.
xap		√ [< ON] sudden; xap-li 'suddenly'.
xap+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf xap+B-ir; seize; for conjugation, see -ar.
xap+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf xap+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
xapiki		suddenly.
xarč		[ON] jump.
xarč+B-ilz	[ABS: ipf]	pf xarč+B-iz; for conjugation, see -ilz.
xarč+B-iz	[ABS: pf]	ipf xarč+B-ilz; jump; for conjugation, see -iz.
xari		√important.
xari=deš		importance; OBL -li, e.g. COM xari=deš-li-čil; no PL.
xarzin		see ɢarcin.
Xasu		[PN] Khasu; OBL Xasu- e.g. ILL Xasu-zi.
xat'a		deviation; PL xat'-urbi.
xat'a+B-ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf xat'a+B-irk; be in trouble, reach with difficulty; for conjugation, see -ik; M NEG xat'a+ħe-yk.
xat'a+B-irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf xat'a+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
xayir		see xayri.
xayri		profit; OBL -li, PL xayr-umi; most likely xayir belongs to the Urakhi dialect, whereas xayri is used in Akusha; both words are found in Abdullaev (1989).
xä		dog, OBL -li; PL xu-ri.
xe-B		be present (down); for conjugation, see le-B.

xu-		see xä.
xumar		√upset, e.g. xumar-si 'upset'.
xumar=deš		distress; OBL -li, e.g. xumar=deš-li-čil; no PL.
xunk'		fist; OBL -li, e.g. ERG xunk'-li, PL -i.
xureg		dish; PL -uni.

x̂

-x̂alli		however, see 6.9.5.
x̂ar<B>a?	[ERG, ABS, ILL/SUP: pf]	ipf x̂ar<B>i?; ask; AOR -ib.
x̂ar<B>i?	[ERG, ABS, ILL/SUP: ipf]	pf x̂ar<B>a?; FUT -u.
x̂ul		wish, PL -ani.
x̂ul+B-ik'	[ABS, SUP: ipf only]	wish; for conjugation, see-ik'.
x̂un-		see x̂unul.
x̂una		see x̂unul.
x̂unul		woman, wife; OBL x̂unuy-, e.g. DAT x̂unuy-s, ERG x̂unuy; GEN x̂una; PL x̂un-ri.
x̂unuy-		see x̂unul.
x̂ura		√host, only in compound verbs.
x̂ura+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf x̂ura+B-ir; host (someone); for conjugation, see -ar.
x̂ura+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf x̂ura+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
x̂ura+B-ir	[ABS, SUP: ipf]	pf x̂ura+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
x̂ura+B-i?	[ABS, SUP: pf]	ipf x̂ura+B-ir; be a guest; for conjugation, see -i?.

y

ya		or; often ya-ra; see 8.9.2.
ya+allah		[IJ] Oh God.
ya+ǧari		[IJ] hear!
yağlaw		frying pan; PL -ti.
yani, ya		winter; no PL.
yaxši.xuš		[PL only] greetings; probably based on Kumyk yaxši 'okay'.
yäbu		horse; OBL -li, SUP yäbu-li-či, PL yäb-ni.
yäẖ		patience; OBL -li, no PL.
yäẖ+b.ar	[ERG: pf]	ipf yäẖ+b.ir; be patient; for conjugation, see -ar.

yăh+b.ir	[ERG: pf]	pf yăh+b.ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
yäziq		√poor, e.g. yäziq-si 'poor'.
-(y)či.B		COMP; -či.B |C-, -yči.B |V-; see 4.5.1. and 5.1.3.
-yg		see dig.
-yk		see -ik.
-yk'		see -ik'.
-yr		see -ir.
-ys		see is.
-yz		see -iz.
-yz		see idz.
-y?		see -i?.
yuldaš		friend; PL -uni.
yurğan		blanket; OBL yurğay-; PL -ti.
yurt		house; OBL yurt-li-, e.g. SUP yurt-li-či; PL -ani.
yux		[IJ] no.

z

zaki		in the sky.
zamana		time; OBL zamay- and -li, e.g. DAT zamay-s and zamana-li-s; PL zamun-ti; zamana+zamana 'from time to time'.
zamay-		see zamana.
zaya		√harm.
zaya+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf zaya+B-i?; for conjugation, see -ir.
zaya+B-i?	[ABS: pf]	ipf zaya+B-ir; be harmed, hurt; for conjugation, see -i?.
zämq		[ON] sound.
zämq+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf zämq+B-ir; do something with a sound; for conjugation, see -ar.
zämq+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf zämq+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
zäng		sound.
zäʃip		√ill, e.g. zäʃip-si 'ill'.
zäʃip+B-ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf zäʃip+B-irk; fall ill; for conjugation, see -ik.
zäʃip+B-irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf zäʃip+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
zeğa		control; no PL.
-zi		ILL, see 4.3.2.
zigar		[ON] moan.
zigar+B-ik'	[ABS: ipf only]	moan; for conjugation, see -ik'.

zizz, zzzzz		[ON] buzz (by an insect).
zuz		[ON] pull.
zuz+B-ar	[ERG, ABS, (local adjunct): pf]	ipf zuz+B-ir; pull; for conjugation, see -ar.
zuz+B-ir	[ERG, ABS, (local adjunct): ipf]	pf zuz+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.

ž

ži		call.
ži+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ži+B-ir; call; for conjugation, see -ar.
ži+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ži+B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
žibžir		[ON] dangling.
žibžir+B-alt	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf žibžir+B-at; for conjugation, see -alt.
žibžir+B-at	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf žibžir+B-alt; let dangle, hang; for conjugation, see -at.
žibžir+B-ulq	[ABS: lpf]	pf žibžir+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
žibžir+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf žibžir+B-ulq; be dangling, hang; for conjugation, see -uq.

ʕ

ʕäbbasi		dime; PL ʕäbbas-uni.
ʕädat		custom; PL -uni.
ʕäẖ		√good; äẖ-il, ʕäẖ-si 'good'; ʕäẖ-li 'well'; ʕäẖ-cad 'quite some'; ʕäẖ-cad-ẖi 'quite some time'; ʕäẖ-il+dek'ar 'particularly (good+different)'.
ʕäẖ=deš		goodness; no PL.
ʕäẖ+B-ilz	[ABS, DAT: ipf]	pf ʕäẖ+B-iz; for conjugation, see -ilz.
ʕäẖ+B-iz	[ABS, DAT: pf]	ipf ʕäẖ+B-ilz; like; for conjugation, see -iz.
ʕäẖ.na		(Urakh.) all right.
ʕämal		1. possibility, trick; 2. patience; PL ʕämul-ti; ʕämul-t=ar 'smart, full of tricks'.
ʕämru		[PL only] life; OBL -li, e.g. ILL ʕämru-li-zi-b.
ʕämul-		see ʕämal.
ʕänala		pillow; OBL -li, PL ʕänul-bi.
ʕänd		constriction, loop; PL ʕund-ri.
ʕänd+B-ak'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ʕänd+B-ik'; strangle; M ʕänd+ak'; for conjugation, see -ak'.
ʕänd+B-ik'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ʕänd+B-ak'; for conjugation, see -ik'.

ʕänruč'		(Urakh.) early in the morning.
ʕäq'lu		advice; PL (non-Ak.) ʕäq'lu-rti (3:4), ʕäq'lu-mi.
ʕäq'lu.če-B		√wise; ʕäq'lu.če-B-si 'wise'.
ʕära		hare; OBL ʕära-, e.g. DAT ʕära-s; PL ʕär-mi.
ʕärʕä		hen; PL ʕärʕ-ni.
ʕäsi		√angry, e.g. ʕäsi-si 'angry'.
ʕäsi+B-ir	[ABS, (SUP): ipf]	pf ʕäsi+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
ʕäsi+B-iʔ	[ABS, (SUP): pf]	ipf ʕäsi+B-ir; be angry; for conjugation, see -iʔ.
ʕäš		√bend (down), e.g. ʕäš-si 'bend'.
ʕäš+B-ir	[ABS: ipf]	pf ʕäš+B-iʔ; for conjugation, see -ir.
ʕäš+B-iʔ	[ABS: pf]	ipf ʕäš+B-ir; bend (down); for conjugation, see -iʔ.
ʕäšura		[PN] Ashura.
ʕäyar		on hunt.
ʕäyar.q'äna		hunter; PL ʕäyar.q'äna-bi.
ʕäyib		guilt; PL -ti.
ʕäyib-la+B-ar	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ʕäyib-la-B-ir; accuse; for conjugation, see -ar.
ʕäyib-la+B-ir	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ʕäyib-la-B-ar; for conjugation, see -ir.
ʕäy.ni		in the courtyard.
ʕäʕni		√necessary; ʕäʕni-li 'necessarily'; ʕäʕni-si 'necessary'.
ʕäʕni=deš		necessity; PL -uni.
ʕäʕni+B-ik	[ABS, DAT, infinitive: pf]	ipf ʕäʕni+B-irk; be necessary; for conjugation, see -ik.
ʕäʕni+B-irk	[ABS, DAT, infinitive: ipf]	pf ʕäʕni+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
ʕäʕni.ʔaqala		necessity; OBL ʕäʕni.ʔaqay-; PL ʕäʕni.ʔaql-umi.
ʕäʕni.ʔaql-		see ʕäʕni.ʔaqala.
ʕe		[IJ] hey.
ʕe<B><B>aʔ	[ABS, DAT: pf]	ipf ʕe<B><B>iʔ; reach, overtake, catch up; AOR -ib.
ʕe<B><B>iʔ	[ABS, DAT: ipf]	pf ʕe<B><B>aʔ; FUT -ur.
ʕek'	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ʕerk'; lock (with a key); AOR -ib.
ʕela(-B)	[+ GEN, DAT]	after, behind; ʕela+hala 'back and forth (after+before)'.
ʕela-B-ad+B-ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf ʕela-B-ad+B-irk; follow; for conjugation, see -ik.

ʕela-B-ad+B-irk	[ABS ipf]	pf ʕela-B-ad+B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
ʕela+B-ulq	[ABS: ipf]	pf ʕela+B-uq; for conjugation, see -ulq.
ʕela+B-uq	[ABS: pf]	ipf ʕela+B-ulq; be left, stay behind; for conjugation, see -uq.
ʕela+hala+B-ulq		see ʕela+B-ulq.
ʕela+hala+B-uq		see ʕela+B-uq.
ʕela+(ka-)B-ik	[ABS: pf]	ipf ʕela+(ka-)B-irk; immerse; for conjugation, see -ik; M ʕela+ka-yk.
ʕela+(ka-)B-irk	[ABS: ipf]	pf ʕela+(ka-)B-ik; for conjugation, see -irk.
ʕela.kaq	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ʕela.kayq; put on the back; AOR -ib.
ʕela.kayq	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ʕela.kaq; FUT-u.
ʕe.r.d.ar	[ERG, GEN: pf]	ipf ʕe.r.d.ir; pretend; AOR -ib.
ʕe.r.d.ir	[ERG, GEN: ipf]	pf ʕe.r.d.ar; FUT -u.
ʕe.r.d.uc	[ERG, GEN: pf]	ipf ʕe.r.d.urc; imitate; AOR -ib.
ʕe.r.d.urc	[ERG, GEN: ipf]	pf ʕe.r.d.uc; FUT -u.
ʕerǧi	[+ GEN]	after, e.g. il-a-la ʕerǧi 'after this'; ʕerǧi-la 'following', e.g. ʕerǧi-la barħi 'the following day'; for ha-B+ʕerǧi-li, see ha-B.
ʕerk'	[ERG, ABS: ipf]	pf ʕek'; FUT -u.
ʕewduχ		smithy; PL -uni.
-ʕi		ALL; in Akusha only in qay-ʕi 'home'; in other dialects, especially Urakhi this suffix seems to be more widespread; see 4.3.4.
ʕinc		apple; PL ʕinc-bi.
ʕinidz		source; PL ʕindz-urbi.
ʕur		then; also often ʕur-ra; ʕur-li-s 'in/for the future'.

ʔ

ʔ	[ERG, ABS: pf]	ipf ir; say; AOR -ib.
+ʔ.es		√ORD; +ʔ.es-il, PL +ʔ.es-ti (cf. ʔ-), see 5.6.2.
-ʔu		SUB, see 4.3.3.

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c n w s

Dargi folktales is a collection of some thirty tales and anecdotes from the East Caucasus.

The texts were gathered during the early 1950s and 60s by Daghestanian scholars and represent traditional oral stories. As Daghestan borders the Arab and Anatolian world, we come across features common to the oral traditions of those areas, like the figure of Mullah Nasredin. Even now, oral stories remain a vivid part of Daghestanian literary life and serve as the basis for newly written works.

At the same time, the book presents the first grammatical sketch of Standard Dargi available to the Western linguistic public in a language other than Russian. This sketch is based on the texts which are given in the original orthography, a transliteration, interlinear glosses and an English translation. A Dargi-English glossary completes the volume. Dargi morphosyntax is typical for the Daghestanian branch of the East Caucasian language family. It has a rich suffixation on nouns and verbs, a large case inventory, ergative/absolutive case-marking, widespread use of non-finite subordination and a fairly consistent head-final word order.

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ISBN: 90-5789-066-6