

ADJ	adjective	N	nominative
ADV	adverb	NEG	negation
AP	addressive-possessive	NREF	nonreferential
APLA	apud-lative	OBL	oblique
ARPF	archaic perfect	p	person
ASFU	assertive future	PA	past
C	comitative	PG	progressive
D	dative	PL	plural
DU	durative	POAB	post-ablative
EMPH	emphatic	PR	present
G	genitive	PT	participle
GER	gerund	QT	quotative particle
IMPF	imperfect	R	continuation of a root after an infix
IMPV	imperative	REF	referential
INAB	in-ablative	REP	reported
INES	inessive	SUAB	super-ablative
INF	infinitive	SG	singular
INLA	in-lative	SUAB	super-ablative
INPR	in-prolative interrogative	SUES	super-essive
MAS	masdar, verbal noun, abstract noun	SULA	super-lative
MO	motivative	SUPR	super-prolative
		UPRF	unmarked perfect

TALE TWO

1. Шамсул Ккаччи
2. ИвкӀун ур авадансса Шамсу тӀисса яттил заллу. Ванал чӀявусса ятту-гъаттара бивкӀун бур.
3. Цал ванан яла ххирамур ккаччи бивкӀуну бур. Къума лавгсса Шамсул хӀукму бувну бур ганиха ахирданийсса хӀурмат бан. Ванал амрулин бувну, ккаччил къаркъала суруравух дирхъуну дур, инсанналсса кунна, къуран ккалан бивкӀун бур, дуаьртту дуллан бивкӀун бур ва хӀурматращал бувччуну бур.
4. Ганил гъаттай малла шанна хъхъуну ва кьини къуран ккалай ивкӀун ур. Гания цадакъа буллай, Шамсул шярайх-буккулт, мискинтал-пакьиртал дуکان буллай ивкӀун ур. Яла къулгъугу бан бувну бур.
5. Ва хавар бавну бур хъунма малланан. Динчитурал хъунама яттил заллуннал дурсса адав дакъасса къеллуй сситтулну ивкӀун ур. Бан-битан бухлавгун ивкӀун ур. Га тӀий ивкӀун ур: «Ва ци хӀая дакъашивур! Ванал циняв диндалул инсантал къаркъаравун бивчуннихха! Ва ци хъяхъавур диндалийсса. Ккаччил къаркъала гъаттаву дуччин ва ганил

гъаттай къуран буккин сивсусса инсантуран азарва бивкӀугу чанни!» - тий.

6. Му бухӀан къашайсса, малла авчуну ур ШамсучӀан, ганан ци танмихӀи бан бурив ххал бан. Малла нанисса цанма бавсса, Шамсул амру бувну бур, яттил ттурзандалива яла бучми ххюцӀалва тта личий бара, куну. Гайгу бувцуну, малланал хъхъичӀун увккун ур. Малла ххал шайхту, хъинну хӀурматрай икрамгу бувну, малланахъ куну бур:

7. -Агъ ттул хъунама, жул диндалул чул бищай ттарцӀ! Ттул дус, дакӀ тайласса гьалмахчу, ттул хъуслил къаралчи, ттул яттил заллу, ттун яла ххирамур ккаччи бивкӀунни. Га хъинну аькълу бусса, дакӀ тайласса, бусурман бия. Ганил маллатурал хӀурматгу байва. Цуппа бивчӀайни, личий бувну, ххюцӀалва яла бучми ттарду къабивтунни, вин була куну!...

8. Ва къуртал хъун къаитлай малланал чайватӀар:

9. -ХӀайп! Ганийн ккаччи мацара!... Жула дус уча, жула уссу уча! Ттун ккаккан да ганил гъав. На ганил гъаттай ганил рухӀирая къуран буккинна! - куну.

1. Šamsu-l K:ač:i

2. Ø-I-w-k'-un Ø-ur awadan-s:a Šamsu t'i-s:a jat-i-l zallu. Wa-na-l č'a¹wu-s:a jatru-yatara b-i-w-k'-un b-ur.

3. Cal wa-nan jala x̣ira-mur k:ač:i b-i-w-k'-unu b-ur. Q:uma la-w-g-s:a Šamsu-l hu¹kmu b-u-w-nu b-ur ga-ni-x̣a a¹xir-dani-j-s:a hu¹rmat b-an. Wa-na-l amru-li-n b-u-w-nu, k:ač:i-l q'aq'ala suru-ra-wu-x̣ d-i-r-q-unu d-ur, insan-na-l-s:a kun-n-a, q'uran k:al-an b-i-w-k'-un b-ur, dua¹-rtu d-ull-an b-i-w-k'-un b-ur wa hu¹rmat-ra-š:al b-u-w-č:i-unu b-ur.

4. Ga-ni-l ha-ta-j malla šan-na x̣i-unu wa q'ini q'uran k:al-aj i-w-k'-un ur. Ga-ni-ja cadaq'a b-ull-aj, Šamsu-l ša¹ra-jx̣-b-uk:u-lt, miskin-tal-paq'ir-tal d-uk-an b-ull-aj Ø-i-w-k'-un Ø-ur. Jala q'ulhu-gu b-an b-u-w-nu b-ur.

5. Wa x̣awar b-aw-nu b-ur qun-ma malla-na-n. Dinči-tur-al quna-ma jat-i-l zallu-nna-l d-ur-s:a adaw d-a-q:a-s:a qi¹l-lu-j sii-tu-l-nu Ø-i-w-k'-un Ø-ur. B-an-b-it-an bux̣-la-w-gun i-w-k'-un ur. Ga t'-ij i-w-k'-un ur: «Wa ci ha¹ja d-a-q:a-šiwu-r! Wa-na-l cina¹-w din-dalu-l insan-tal q'a¹rq'ara-wun b-i-w-č-unni-x̣:a! Wa ci qa¹qawu-r din-dal-ij-s:a. K:ač:i-l q'arq'ala ha-ta-wu d-uč:in wa g-ani-l ha-ta-j q'uran b-uk:in si-w-su-s:a insan-tura-n azar-wa biwk'u-gu čan-ni!» - t'-ij.

6. Mu b-uh-a¹n q:a-š-ajs:a, malla Ø-a-w-ču-nu Ø-ur Šamsu-č'an, ga-na-n ci tanmi¹h b-an buri-w x̣:al b-an. Malla nan-is:a ca-n-ma b-a-w-s:a, Šamsu-l amru b-u-w-nu b-ur, jat-i-l turzan-dali-wa jala buč-mi x̣u¹c'al-wa t:ta lič'ij b-ara, k-unu. Ga-j-gu b-u-w-c-unu, malla-na-l x̣i:č'-un Ø-u-w-k:un Ø-ur. Malla x̣:al š-aj-x̣tu, qin-nu hu¹rmat-ra-j ikram-gu b-u-w-nu, malla-na-x̣ k-unu b-ur:

7. Ah tu-l quna-ma, žu-l din-dalu-l čul b-iš:aj t:arc'! T:u-l dus, dak' t'ajla-s:a halma¹čču, tu-l qusli-l q:aralči, tu-l jat-i-l zallu, tu-n jala x̣ira-mur k:ač:i b-i-w-k'-unni.

Ga qinn-u a¹q'lu b-u-s:a, dak' t'ajla-s:a, busurman b-ija. Ga-ni-l malla-tura-l hu¹rmat-gu b-ajwa. Cu-ppa b-i-w-č'-aj-ni, lič'ij b-u-w-nu, x'u¹c'al-wa jala buč-mi t'a-rdu q'a-b-i-w-t-unni, wi-n b-ul-a k-unu!...

8. Wa qurtal x̂ un q:a-it-la-j malla-na-l č-ajwa-t'ar:

9. -Ha¹jp! Ga-ni-jn k:ač:i ma-č-ara!... Žu-l-a dus uč-a, žu-l-a usu uč-a! T'u-n k:a:k:-an d-a ga-ni-l haw. Na ga-ni-l ha-t'a-j ga-ni-l ruh-i¹ra-ja q'uran b-uk:-inna! - k-unu.

1. Šamsu-G dog-N

2. 1-be-1-R-PA:GER 1-is rich-NREF Šamsu-N say-PR:GER sheep-OBL-G owner-N this-OBL:SG:1-G much-NREF sheep-cattle-N be-3-R-PA:GER 3-is.

3. Once this-OBL:SG:1-D most dear-REF:3 dog-N 3-die-3-R-PA:GER 3-is. Sad go-1-R-PT Šamsu-G decision 3-make-3-PA:GER 3-is this-OBL:SG:3-POAB end-OBL-SUES-NREF respect 1-[make]-INF. this-OBL:SG:1-G order-OBL-D 3-make-3-PA:GER, dog-G corpse-N shroud-OBL-INPR 4-put-4-R-PA:GER 4-is, person-OBL-G-NREF as-4-R, Koran read-INF 3-be-3-R-PA:GER 3-is, prayer-PL:N 4-make:DU-INF 3-be-3-R-PA:GER 3-is and respect-OBL-C 3-buried-3-R-PA:GER 3-is.

4. This-OBL:SG:3-G grave-OBL-SUES mullah-N three-4 night-N and day-N Koran-N read-PR:GER 1-be-1-R-PA:GER 1-is. This-OBL:3-SUAB charity 3-do:DU-PR:GER, Šamsu street-SUPR-1:PL-wander-N:PL poor-N:PL-helpless-N:PL 4-eat-INF 3-do:DU-PR:GER 1-be-1-R-PA:GER 1-is. Then wake-and 3-[make]-INF 3-do-3-PA:GER 3-is.

5. This news 3-hear-PA:GER 3-is big-REF:1 mullah-OBL-D. Faithful-OBL-G biggest-1-REF sheep-OBL-G master-OBL-G 4-be-PT honor 4-be-NEG-PT act-OBL-SUES anger-OBL-G-ADV 1-be-1-R-PA:GER 1-is. 3-[make]-INF-3-leave destroy-go-1-R-PA:GER 1-be-1-R-PA:GER 1-is. This-N say-PR:GER 1-be-1-R-PA:GER 1-is: This-N what shame 4-be-NEG-MAS-is! This-OBL:1-G all-1 faith-OBL-G people-N filth-INLA throw-1:PL-R-UPRF:3P-EMPH! This-N what laughter-is faith-OBL-SUES-NREF. Dog-G corpse-N grave-INES 4-bury-INF and this-OBL:3-G grave-OBL-SUES Koran-N 3-read-INF dare-1-R-PT person-ONL:PL-D thousand-3 death-and little-is!» say-PR:GER.

6. That 3-endure-INF not-happen-PT, mullah-N 1-go-1-R-PA:GER 1-is Šamsu-APLA, this-OBL:1-D what punishment 3-[do]-INF 3-is-INT see 3-[do]-INF. Mullah-N come-PT self-D-1:PL 3-hear-3-PA:PT, Šamsu-G order 3-make-3-PA:GER 3-is, sheep-OBL-G pen-OBL-INAB most fat-REF:N:PL fifty-3 ewe separate 3-[do]-IMPV:PL!, say-PA:GER. This-PL-and 3-select-3-R-PA:GER, mullah-OBL-G before-D 1-go:out-1-PA:GER 1-is. Mullah-N see happen-PR:GER-as:soon:as, good-ADV respect-OBL-SUES bow-and 3-make-3-PA:GER, mullah-AP say-PA:GER 3-is:

7. --Oh, me-G biggest-REF:1, us-G faith-G support 3-plant-PR:GER column! Me-G friend-N, heart true-NREF comrade-N, me-G wealth-G guardian-N, me-G sheep-G master-N, me-G most dear-REF:3 dog-N 3-die-3-R-UPRF:3P. This-N good-ADV smart 3-be-PT, heart true-NREF, Muslim 3-[is]-UPRF. This-OBL:3-G mullah-OBL:PL-G respect-and 3-[do]-IMPF. Self-3 3-die-3-R-PR:GER-when, selectt 3-do-3-PA:GER fifty-3 most fat-REF:N:PL ewe-N:PL leave-3-R-3-R-ARPF, you-D 3-give-IMPV say-PA:GER!...

8. This-N finish happen-INF NEG-let-DU-PR:GER mullah-OBL-G say-IMPF-QT:

9. Pity! He-OBL:3-SULA dog-N NEG-say-IMPV:PL!... Us-G-EMPH friend say-IMPV, us-G-EMPH brother say-IMPV! Me-D show-INF 4-[do]-IMPV this-OBL:3-G grave. I-N this-OBL:3-G grave-OBL-SUES this-OBL:3-G soul-OBL-SUAB Koran 3-read-ASFU! say-PA:GER

There was a rich householder named Shamsu. He had lots of sheep and cattle. One [day] his favorite dog died. The grief-stricken Shamsu decided to pay it last respects. He had the dog's corpse wrapped in a shroud, as if it were a person, and had the Koran read over it and prayers said for it and had it buried with respect. A mullah read the Koran over its grave for three days and nights. Shamsu gave out charity and fed the homeless and the poor. Then he held a wake.

The chief mullah heard news of this. He was angry at the dishonorable act of the greatest of the householders. He was beside himself [with rage]. He said: "What shamelessness is this! He has polluted all the faithful! He has mocked the faith! A thousand deaths would not be enough for people who bury a dog's corpse in a grave and have the Koran read over it!"

Unable to stand it, he went to Shamsu to decide what punishment to give him. Hearing that the mullah was coming, Shamsu gave an order to select the fifty fattest ewes in his fold. Having selected them, he went out to meet the Mullah. When he saw the Mullah, he made a deep, respectful bow and said to him: "O my superior, pillar of the faith! My best friend and comrade, the guardian of my wealth, the master of my sheep, my dearest dog has died. He was a very intelligent, faithful Muslim. He had great respect for mullahs. When he died, he had the fifty fattest ewes selected and set aside for you!" Without letting him finish, the mullah said: "What a pity! Do not say 'dog' of him! Say 'our friend, our brother'! Show me his grave! I shall read the Koran over his grave for the sake of his soul!"

VOCABULARY. Nouns are given with stem formants for OBL/SG, N/PL, OBL/PL, and class, verbs with class 3 PA/GER and other forms if warranted. The cross hatch indicates the slot where a class marker is required and the class 1 formant is zero.

Шамсу (-л-) man's name	-а from, ablativ
ккаччи (-Ø-, -в -а- 3) dog	ахир (-дану - 4) end, finish
авадансса rich	хлурмат (-ра-, -ру, -иртта- 3)
ятт-у (-и- 3) sheep (pl.)	respect
заллу (-нна-, -хъру, -хърунна- 1) master	амру (-лу-, -рду, -рда- 3) order
члявусса much	кварквал-а (-лу-, -лу, -ла- 4) corpse
гъаттар[а] (-л-, -ду, -да- 3) cattle	сурув (-ра-, -рду, -рда- 3) shroud
яла very, most; then	-в[у] in, inessive
ххира dear	-[у]х via, prolativ
*ивчлан (ивкуну; pl. lit'un) die, kill	-вух inprolative
къума- sad, narrow	*ишин (*ивхъуну) put, lay, lie
лаган (лавгун) go	кун*а like, as if
хлукму (-лу-, -рду, -рда-, 3) decision	къуран (-далу-, -ну, -на-, 3) Qur'an
*ан (*увну) do, transitivizer	ккалан (dur'v) to read
-х behind, postessive	

дуаь (-лу-, -рду/-ртту, -рда- 4) prayer	бухлаган (бухлавгун) finish, disappear, perish
ва and	хIаЯ (-лу-, -рду, -рда- 4) shame
*уччин (*увччуну) bury; eat one's fill	-р is
га (-на-, -ни-) he	д-а-къа-шиву-р 4-be-not-ness-is
гъа-в (-тта-, -рду, -рда- 4) grave (-лу- 'cold wind')	циняв all
малла (-на-, -тал, -тура- 1) mullah	къяркъ-и (-араву- 4) filth
шам#a three	бичин (бивчуну) throw
хъхъу (-ни-, -рду, -рда- 4) night	-унни 3rd unmarked perf
къини (-лу-, -рду, -рда- 4) day	-хха emphatic particle
цадакъа (3) charity	хъян laugh (dur'v)
*уллан do (dur'v)	ав-у (-ри- 3) deverbal noun, masdar
шяра (-Ø- 4) street; (-лу- 4) 'head cold'	буккин (бувккуну) read
*уккан (*увккун) go out	сисин (сивсуну) dare, be bold, certain
шярайхукку (-Ø-, -лт) vagabond, beggar	азар#a a thousand
мискин (-на-, -тал, -тура- 1) poor	бивкIу (-лу-, -рду, -рда- 3) death
пакъир (-на-, -тал, -тура- 1) helpless	чан small
*укан (*увкуну) eat (дукия 4 food)	-ни is
къулгъу (-лу- 3) wake	му this/that
хавар (-дану-, ду, -да- 3) news, ~ бан inform	б-ухIан (бувхIуну) bear, endure; sew on
баян (бавну) hear (+dat.)	шай- present stem of хъун
хъун big	*ачин (*авчуну) go, head for
дин (-далу-, -ну, -на- 4) faith, religion	-чIан near-to, apudlative
-чи (-на-, -тал, -тура- 1) 'person' (< Turk.)	танмихI (-ра-, -ру, -иртта- 3) punishment
адав (-ра-, -рду, -рда- 4) honor, politeness, propriety; ~ дакъуй 'you boor'	бурив 3rd pres 'be'+interrog
къел (-лу-, -лу, -ла- 4) act, deed	ххал (-у-, -лу, -ла-, 4) thread, telegram, ~ дан watch, seek, ~ хъун see, notice (dat. "subj.")
сси (-тту- 3) anger, bile, rust	нан (dur'v) come
бан-битан бухлаган to lose one's head with rage	цанма dat. pl. 1 цува
*итан leave, keep, shoot, shine, dedicate	цу[ва] (ци- pl. цив) 3sg self
	бавсса heard
	ттурзан (-далу-, ну, -на- 4) fold, pen
	-ва from-in, inablative
	буч-ми fat[tened]
	ххюцIал#a fifty
	тта (-Ø-, -рду, -рда- 3) ewe
	личий бан select
	бара do!

гай pl. га
 *уџин bring, reach
 -ун, to, lative
 хъинну very
 икрамгу see икран, -гу
 агъ oh!
 жу we
 чул (-у-, -лу, -ла- 3) support
 бищун (бувшуну) plant, hit, wound,
 multiply
 ттарџI (у-ра-, -ру, -у-арди- 4)
 column
 дус (-на-, -тал, -тура- 1) friend
 дакI (-ни-, -ру, -урди- 4) heart
 тIайла upright
 гъалмахчу (-на-, -тал, -тура-
 1) comrade
 хъус (-ли-, -ру, -а- 4) wealth,
 goodsкъаралчи (-на-, -тал,
 -тура- 1) guardian
 бусса pt. of 'be'
 бусурман (-на-, -тал, -тура-
 1) Muslim
 бия impf. of be
 б-ай-ва = 3 sg impf ban
 џуппа nom. sg. 3 џува
 къа *итан (къабивтун) leave
 (behind)
 -ни when (on verb)
 булун (буллуну 3) give, imp'v
 була
 къуртал (бан/хъун) finish,
 complete, kill, die
 хъун be done, become, intransitivizer
 къа-ит-л-ай=къа *итан (durative,
 progressive)
 ч-айва-тIар 3 sg impf rep учин
 хIайп pity, for shame
 ма- don't!, neg'v imp'v
 мачара neg'v imp'v учин
 уча imp'v учин
 усс/у (-/и-, -рвал, -рвара- 1)
 brother

ккаккан (ккавккун) see, ~ *ан
 show
 рухI (-ира-, -ру, -ирда- 4) soul
 -я superablative
 -на 12 sg future