Text 4. Mammadibir

Mammadibir

This text is about a man called Mammadibir, an Archi scholar who lived in Archi sometime in the XVII century. This is a folk story about him and his supernatural powers.

(1)

žu-n	barki	e‹b›di-tːu	mammadibirtːu
LOGOPH.OBL.M.SG-GEN	blessing(III)[SG.ABS]	‹III.SG›be.PST-ATTR.I.SG	mammadibir

w-i-tːu-t	č'emna	lap	okłni-tː-ib
I.SG-be.PRS-ATTR-IV.SG	time(IV).IN	very	learn.PFV-ATTR-PL

hekł'en-nu-tː-ib	dibir-til	e‹b›di-li	iši-k	la‹t'›u-ma
thing(IV)-ATTR.I.SG-ATTR-PL	mullah(I)-PL.ABS	‹I/II.PL›be.PST-CVB	here-LAT	1PLINCL.GEN‹IV.SG›-LOC

arša	χˤereqˤ
archi	village(IV).SG.INTER

At the time of Blessed Mammadibir there were a lot of educated mullahs in our village of Archi.

(2)

jamu	mammadibirtːu-wu	q'ʷˤemq'ˤin-ši	w-i
that.I.SG	mammadibir-and	consider.I.SG.IPFV-CVB	I.SG-be.PRS

doːˤz-ib	hiba-tː-ib	haraːši	a‹b›t'u-tː-ib
be.big-ATTR.PL	be.good-ATTR.PL	before	‹I/II.PL›cut.PFV-ATTR-PL

ustar-til-če-qˤa-š	q'ˤanaš	hiba-tːu	ustar-ši
master(I)-PL-OBL.PL-INTER-EL	among	be.good-ATTR.I.SG	master(I)-ADV

That Mammadibir counts as a good master among big and good masters.

(3)

mammadibirtːu	uw-tːu-b	zaman	uw-tːu-t
mammadibir	I.SG.do.PFV-ATTR-III.SG	time(III)[SG.ABS]	I.SG.do.PFV-ATTR-IV.SG

sːan	čeħ-mu-s	sin-ši-wu	i-t'u
year(IV)[SG.ABS]	anybody(I)-SG.OBL-DAT	know-CVB-and	[IV.SG]be.PRS-NEG

jellij‹t’›u priblizitelno hekɬen uw-na-t’aw
this.way‹IV.SG› approximately(RUS) thing(IV)[SG.ABS] IV.SG.do.PFV-CVB-NEG.CVB

Mammadibir's time of birth, year of birth nobody knows, (people) do approximate estimations) [lit.: the don't do it but approximately].

(4) jamu i‹w›di-li kutak-ši okɬni-tːu ʕelmu i-tːu
that.I.SG ‹I.SG›be.PST-EVID very-ADV learn.PFV-ATTR.I.SG science(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]be.PRS-ATTR.I.SG

han-i-n raq-ma-ši w-i-šaw χʷaqa-tːu bošor
what(IV)-SG.OBL-GEN side(IV)-IN-ALL I.SG-be.PRS-CVB stand.out.I.SG -ATTR.I.SG man(I)[SG.ABS]

He was a very knowledgeable (person), he knew sciences from all sides, he was outstanding man.

(5) jamu-mu-n e‹b›di-li kutak-ši hunar
that.I.SG-SG.OBL-GEN III.SG›be.PST very-ADV talent(III)[SG.ABS]

deq’ʕ kuːt’a b-a-mul-li-n.
road(III)[SG.ABS] be.short III.SG-make-MSD-SG.OBL-GEN

He had a talent of making a road shorter.

(6) deq’ʕ kuːt’a b-a-mul ke-r jamu-t misal-li-s
road(III)[SG.ABS] be.short III.SG-make-MSD [IV.SG]be.able-IPFV that-IV.SG example(IV)-SG.OBL-DAT

Take this shortening of the road.

(7) iši-š muskuw-l-a-k qʕʷe-s ku‹w›šu-šaw dann-a-k ku‹w›šu-šaw
here-EL moscow(IV)-SG.OBL-IN-LAT go.I.SG-FIN be.able‹I.SG›-CONC where-IN-LAT be.able‹I.SG›-CONC

t’i-tːu-t saʕat-li-s qʕon w-eq’-mul
be.small-ATTR-IV.SG time(IV)-SG.OBL-DAT among I.SG-reach-MSD

jemme-tːu-t hekɬ’im-i-ši
this-ATTR-IV.SG thing(IV)-SG.OBL-ALL

To go from here to Moscow or somewhere, he could do it in a short time

(8) jamu-mu-n zama-nə-ma buq’ij‹w›u okɬni-tːu
that.I.SG-SG.OBL-GEN time(IV)-SG.OBL-LOC forty‹I.SG› learn.PFV-ATTR

bošor i‹w›di-li ʕalim la‹t’›u-ma arša χeʕreqʕ
man(I)[SG.ABS] ‹I.SG›be.PST-EVID scholar 1PLINCL.GEN‹IV.SG›-LOC archi village(IV).SG.INTER

At his time there were forty educated scholars in our village of Archi.

(9)

jasda	jem-im-e-qˤa-š	χʷaqa-tːu	jamu-wu	i‹w›di-li
then	this-PL-PL.OBL-INTER-EL	stand.out.I.SG-ATTR.I.SG	that.I.SG-and	‹I.SG›be.PST-EVID

Out of these, he was the most outstanding.

(10)

jamu-mu-n	ħaq'liqˤ	noːq'ukan	χabar-mul	i
that.I.SG-SG.OBL-GEN	about	a.lot	story(III)-PL.ABS	[III/IV.PL]be.PRS

There are many stories about him.

(11)

hekɬ'ena	jamu	iši-š	teːn-ši	maka-li-ši
thing(IV)[SG.ABS]	that.I.SG	here-EL	there-ALL	Mecca(IV)-SG.OBL-ALL

parχbo-na	u‹r›qˤi-r-ši	i‹w›di-tːu-t
fly.PFV-CVB	I.go‹IPFV›-IPFV-CVB	‹I.SG›be.PST-ATTR-IV.SG

How he flew from Mecca from here…

(12)

jamu-mu-n	e‹b›di-li	hunar	jamu	hunnij‹t'›u
that.I.SG-SG.OBL-GEN	‹III.SG›be.PST-EVID	talent(III)[AS.ABS]	that.I.SG.ABS	‹IV.SG›every

nuˤbžal	iqna	u‹r›qˤi-r-ši	i‹w›di-li	maka-l-a-k
friday	day(IV)LOC	I.go‹IPFV›-IPFV-CVB	‹I.SG›be.PST-EVID	Mecca(IV)-SG.OBL-IN-LAT

nuˤbžal	a-s
prayer(IV)[SG.ABS]	[IV.SG].do-FIN

He had a talent to fly to Mecca every Friday for Friday prayer.

(13)

teni-š	eši-wu	w-a‹r›kɬi-r-ši	i‹w›di-li	jamu	parχbo-na
there-EL	here-and	I.SG-come‹IPFV›-IPFV-CVB	‹I.SG›be.PST-EVID	that.I.SG.ABS	fly.PFV-CVB

And from there to here he flew.

(14)

jamu-t-mi-n	ħaq'liqˤ	podtverdit	a-tːu-t
that-IV.SG-SG.OBL-GEN	about	confirm(RUS)	[IV.SG]do.FIN/IMP-ATTR-IV.SG

hekɬ'enuw	i
thing(IV)[SG.ABS]	[IV.SG]be.PRS

There is also a confirmation of that.

(15) i‹w›χːu-li   i‹w›di-li   iši-š   teːn-ši   uqˤa-tːu
      ‹I.SG›remain.PFV-CVB   ‹I.SG›be.PST-EVID   here-EL   there-ALL   I.SG.come.PFV-ATTR.I.SG

      ħaž-li-tːi-k   ʁumek-l-a-š   os   haman-nu   i‹w›χːu-li
      Hadj(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP-LAT   rumek-SG.OBL-IN-EL   one   Lak-ATTR.I.SG   ‹I.SG›remain.PFV-????
      There, in Mecca remained a Lak (person) from Kumukh, who went there to do a Hadj.

(16) i‹w›di-li   teːni-k   arsu-wu   oqˤi   etːi-li
      ‹I.SG›be.PST-EVID   there-LAT   money(IV)[SG.ABS]-and   [IV.SG]leave.PFV   [IV.SG]become.PFV-CVB

      eši   u‹w›kɬi-s   i‹w›tːaː-tʼu-ši
      here   ‹I.SG›come-FIN   ‹I.SG›happen.FUT.NEG-NEG-CVB
      (His) money ran out and he could not come back.

(17) jasda   jamu-mu   noːqʼukan   čʼem-u   aču-li
      thus   that.I.SG-SG.ERG   a.lot   time(IV)[SG.ABS]-and   [IV.SG]do.PFV-CVB

      hekɬʼena   uw-li   qʼʷˤe-bo-s   teni-k   mižgil-l-a-k
      thing(IV)[SG.ABS]   [IV.SG]do.PFV-CVB   two-say-FIN   there-LAT   mosque(III)-SG.OBL-IN-LAT

      uqˤa-tːu   makak   a‹b›a-s   os   bošor-mu   bo-li
      I.SG.come.PFV-ATTR.I.SG   prayer(III)[SG.ABS]   ‹III.SG›do-FIN   one   man(I)-SG.ERG   say.PFV-EVID
      He was there for a long time and once, when he came to the mosque to pray, one man said…

(18) un   daki   qʼu‹w›di   iši-k   bo-li
      2SG.ABS   why   ‹I.SG›sit.down.PFV   here-LAT   say.PFV-EVID
      Why are you sitting here?

(19) ju-w-mu   b-is   res-u   b-i-tʼu   haraː-ši
      that-I.SG-SG.ERG   III.SG-1SG.GEN   possibility(III)[SG.ABS]   III.SG-be.PRS-NEG   forward-ALL

      u‹w›kɬi-s   žu-n‹tʼ›u   mačʼaj-ši
      ‹I.SG›go-FIN   LOGOPH.SG.OBL.I-GEN‹IV.SG›   place(IV).SG.IN-ALL

      jemmet-kul-l-a   i‹w›χːu-li   w-i-tːu   bo-li
      thus-MSD(IV)-SG.OBL-IN   ‹I.SG›remain.PFV-CVB   I.SG-be.PRS-ATTR.I.SG   say.PFV-EVID
      He said: I cannot go home, in my own place, that's why I have remained here.

(20) jamu-t-mi-s   kumak   a‹b›a-s   wit   daʁistan-na-š

this-IV.SG-SG.OBL-DAT help(III)[SG.ABS] ‹III.SG›DO-FIN 2.SG.GEN Daghestan-SG.OBL-IN-EL

os bošor w-i-na bo-li
one man(I)[SG.ABS] I.SG-be.PRS-CVB say.PFV-EVID

jamu-mu tu-w-mi a‹b›u bec'u-qi bo-li kumak
that-SG.ERG this-I.SG-SG.ERG ‹III.SG›do.PFV be.able-FUT say.PFV-EVID help(III)[SG.ABS]

This problem can be helped by one man from Daghestan, he was told.

(21) han-a-t:i-š sin i‹w›t:i-qi w-ez?
what(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP-EL know ‹I.SG›become.PFV-FUT I.SG-1DAT

How will I recognise him?

(22) jasda ju-w-mu boli tu-w-mu-n boli os os
now that-i.SG-SG.ERG say.PFV-EVID this-I.SG-SG.OBL-GEN say.PFV-EVID one one

tu-w-mi-n-t'aw i-t'u tumij-t:e-n aqadan
this-I.SG-SG.OBL-GEN-NEG be.PRS-NEG morocco(IV)-SG.OBL-GEN shoes(IV)[SG.ABS]

i bo-li tu-w-mu-n
[IV.SG]be.PRS say.PFV-EVID this-I.SG-SG.OBL-GEN

The local one said: he has Moroccan leather shoes that no one else has.

(23) te-b aqadan sa-lli un q'u‹w›q'i bo-li
that-PL shoes(IV/III)[PL.ABS] [IV/III.PL]hold-IMP.CVB 2SG.ABS ‹I.SG›sit.IMP say.PFV-EVID

tu-w q͡ʕʷa-t:u-t saʕanna tu-w-mi-r-ši ba bo-li
that-I.SG.ABS I.SG.come-ATTR-IV.SG time(IV).IN that-I.SG-SG.OBL-CONT-ALL say.IMP say.PFV-EVID

Getting hold of these shoes, sit there and wait for him, and when he approaches you, tell him…

(24) jam-um aq'ʕul-li-n ɬʷaːna jam-u hamannu q'u‹w›di-li imi-k
this-III.SG advice(III)-SG.OBL-GEN be.near this-I.SG Lak(I)[SG.ABS] ‹I.SG›sit.PFV-CVB here-LAT

jam-um aqadan-u so-li
this-III.SG shoes(III/IV)[PL.ABS]-and [III/IV.PL]hold.PFV-EVID

The Lak person listen to this advice and sat next to the shoes.

(25) č'elle-ši ukɬni-t:u mammadibirt:u nuʕbžal-u uw-li
outside-ALL I.SG.come.PFV-ATTR.ISG MD(I)[SG.ABS] prayer(IV)[SG.ABS]-and [IV.SG].do.PFV-CVB

jam-u-mu-s   χu-li   jam-u

this-I.SG-SG.OBL-DAT   I.SG.encounter.PFV-EVID   this-I.SG.ABS

When Mammadibir went out after his Friday prayer, he saw this one (Lak person).

(26)   ha   daki   q'u‹w›di   un   hekɬ'ena   jella   bo-li

ha   why   ‹I.SG›sit.PFV   2SG.ABS   thing(IV)[SG.ABS]   thus   say.PFV-EVID

Why are you sitting here like this?

(27)   zon   daʁistan-n-a-š   hamannu   bo-li   te:n-ši   qʷˤe-s

1SG.ABS   Daghestan-SG.OBL-IN-EL   Lak(I)[SG.ABS]   say.PFV-EVID   there-ALL   I.SG.go-FIN

b-is   res-u   b-aχˤ   e‹b›t:a-t'u-ši

III.SG-1SG.GEN   possibility(III)[SG.ABS]-and   III.SG-be.enough   ‹III.SG›become.POT.NEG-NEG-CVB

q'u‹w›di-t:u   bo-li   zon

‹I.SG›sit.PFV-ATTR.I.SG   say.PFV-EVID   1SG.ABS

I am a Lak from Daghestan, I cannot go there, have not enough means, that's why I remained here.

(28)   χit:a   jamu-mu   uka-li   te:n-ši   šahrul-li-n   bakʷ-t:i-ši

then   that.I.SG-SG.ERG   I.SG.drive.PFV-CVB   there-ALL   town(III)-SG.OBL-GEN   side(III)-SUPER-ALL

jamu-mu-r-ši   bo-li

that.I.SG-SG.OBL-CONT-ALL   say.PFV-EVID

un   w-is   s:on-ni-t   q'u‹w›q'i   bo-li

2.SG.ABS   I.SG-1SG.GEN   back(IV)-SG.OBL-SUPER   ‹I.SG›sit.IMP   say.PFV-EVID

Then he (MD) took him (Lak) to the edge of the town and told him: "Sit on my back"

(29)   q'u‹w›di-li   jamu-mu-n   s:on-ni-t

‹I.SG›sit.PFV-EVID   that.I.SG-SG.OBL-GEN   back(IV)-SG.OBL-SUPER

(He) sat on his back.

(30)   zari   daχa   a   bo-t'aw

1SG.ERG   open   [IV.SG]do.IMP   say.PFV-CVB.NEG

lur-u   daχa   a-r-gi   bo-li   un

eye(III)SG.ABS-and   open   [IV.SG]do-IPFV-PROH   say.PFV-EVID   2.SG.ERG

Until I say "open", don't open your eyes.

(31)

χitːa	teːni-š	jamu	žu-n‹t'›u	w-a‹r›kɬi-r-tːu-b
then	there-EL	that.I.SG.ABS	LOGOPH.SG.OBL.I-GEN‹IV.SG›	I.SG-go‹IPFV›-IPFV-ATTR-III.SG

ħalmat	qʷˤa-li
habit(III)[SG.ABS]	I.SG.come.PFV-EVID

Then he (MD) came back from there as usual.

(32)

iši-k	mocor-um-čaj	uwχːˤi-s	uw-li
here-LAT	alpine.pasture(III)-PL-PL.LOC	I.SG.climb.down-FIN	I.SG.do.PFV-CVB

jasda	lur	daχa	a	bo-li
now	eye(III)SG.ABS	open	[IV.SG]do.IMP	say.PFV-EVID

Here, in the alpine pastures, he sat him down and told him to open his eyes.

(33)

daχa	uw-li
open	IV.SG.do.PFV-CVB

(He) opened (them).

(34)

su‹w›kːa	bo-li	jasda	hinc	godo-t	χˤor
‹I.SG›look.IMP	say.PFV-EVID	now	now	this-IV.SG	village(IV)[SG.ABS]

sin	ke-r-ši	irkːu-s
know	[IV.SG]become-IPFV-CVB	IV.SG.search-FIN

Have a look – he said – to try and recognize this village.

(35)

su‹w›kːu-li	jamu-mu	sin	etːi-li	χitːa
‹I.SG›look.PFV-CVB	that.I.SG-SG.ERG	know	[IV.SG]become.PFV-EVID	then

olo	χˤor	i	bo-li	jamu-t
IV.SG.1PL.EXCL.GEN	village(IV)[SG.ABS]	IV.SG.be.PRS	say.PFV-EVID	this-IV.SG

He looked, recognised, and said: this is our village

(36)

χitːa	jonsaw	jamu-mu-n	jem-im	muʕižizat-kul-mul-če-n
then	again	that.I.SG-SG.OBL-GEN	that.PL-PL	supernatural-MSD-PL-PL.OBL-GEN

Now more on his supernaturalness.

(37) jamu   jemmet   mak:a-li-ši   u‹r›qˤi-r-ši

that.I.SG.ABS   thus   mecca(IV)-SG.OBL-ALL   I.SG.go‹IPFV›-IPFV-CVB

w-i-muχur

I.SG-be.PRS-when

la‹b›u   iši-k   okɬni-t:-ib   no:q'ukan   ˤalim-til-u

1PLINCL.GEN‹I/II.PL›   here-LAT   learn.PFV-ATTR-PL   a.lot   scholar(I)-PL.ABS-and

b-i-muχur

I/II.PL-be.PRS-when

jem-im-me-s   jamu   ža-χur   χʷaqa-t:u

that.PL-PL-PL.OBL-DAT   that.I.SG.ABS   LOGOPH.PL.OBL-COMP   stand.out-ATTR.I.SG

w-i   bo-s   kɬ'an-ši   iwdi-li   w-i-t'u

I.SG-be.PRS   say-INF   want-CVB   ‹I.SG›be.PST-CVB   I.SG-be.PRS

Because he went to Mecca and because there were a lot of scholars here, they did not want him to consider himself better than they were.

(38) jamu   jasda   jamu-mi-r-ši   un   eši   daki   w-eˤ-t'o-r-ši

that.I.SG SG.ABS   then   that.I.SG-SG.OBL-CONT-ALL   2SG.ABS   here   why   I.SG-come-NEG-QUOT-CVB

χˤereqˤ   nuˤbžal-li-t:i-k

village(IV).SG.INTER   friday.prayer(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP-LAT

no:q'ukan   qˤapqˤi   b-eša:-r-ši   e‹b›di-li   jamu-mu-ɬ:u

a.lot   argue   I/II.PL-argue-IPFV-CVB   ‹I/II.PL›be.PST-EVID   that.I.SG-SG.OBL-COMIT

They were always in dispute with him, saying why are you not coming to the Friday prayer here, in Khere.

(39) χit:a   jamu-mu   bo-li   zon   χala-t:u   bošor-u   w-i,

then   that.I.SG-SG.ERG   say-EVID   1SG.ABS   be.old-ATTR.ISG   man(I)[SG.ABS]-and   I.SG-be.PRS

w-immuq'i   za-t:i-š   kʷa-t:u-t   i-ra   wež   bo-li

I.SG-leave.IMP   1.SG.OBL-SUP-EL   need-ATTR-IV.SG   [IV.SG]BE.PRS-QUEST   2PL.DAT   say-EVID

And he asked to be left alone, saying that he was an old person.

(40) w-aq'o:-t'u   bo-li   χir-t:u-t   nuˤbžal-li-t:i-k

I.SG-leave.FUT.NEG-NEG   say-EVID   behind-ATTR-IV.SG   friday.prayer(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP-LAT

χir   w-a   bo-li

behind   I.SG-do.IMP   say-EVID

χir	adam-til	t'ala‹b›u-li		χir	uwli	iši-k
behind	person(I)-PL.ABS	send‹I/II.PL›PVF-CVB		behind	I.SG.do.PFV-EVID	here-ALL

They said: we will not leave you, and, having said: bring him, they sent people for him, and brought him.

(41)
χir	uw-li	nuˤbžal-laqq'u	et:i-ma-š		χara:ši
behind	I.SG.do.PFV-EVID	friday(IV)-XXX	[IV.SG]become-CVB.LOC-EL		after

murči	o‹b›qˤa-li	imi-k	okɫnenu
everybody[PL.ABS]	‹I/II.PL›come.PFV-EVID	there-LAT	XXX

jam-u	buq'i‹w›u	ʕalim-u	i‹w›χu-li
that-I.SG	forty‹I.SG›	scholar(I)[SG.ABS]-and	‹I.SGL›stay.PFV-EVID

They brought him, everybody came there too, and after the Friday prayer he stayed there with forty scholars

(42)
ju-w-mi-r-ši	boli	un	daki	w-e:ˤ-t'u
that-I.SG-SG.OBL-CONT-ALL	say.PFV-EVID	2.SG.ABS	why	I.SG-come-FUT.NEG-NEG

daki	hekɫ'ena-r	un	jemmet	χʷaqat:u	χu-mč'iš
why	thing(IV)[SG.ABS]-RPRT	2.SG.ABS	thus	stand.out-ATTR.I.SG	I.SGfind-if

a	χit:a	os:en-nu-t	hekɫ'ena
[IV.SG]do.IMP	then	one.XXX-ATTR-IV.SG	thing(IV)[SG.ABS]

They asked him, why you are not coming (to the mosque), and, if you are so outstanding, do something (a miracle).

(43)
jam-u-mu	godo-b	hinc	dimmu-li	b-i-t:u-b	ijχˤurma
that-I.SG-SG.ERG	that-III.SG	now	destroy.PFV-EVID	III.SG-be.PRS-ATTR-III.SG	ijxurma

mižgil-l-a	jem-im	q'eˤ‹b›di-t:i-b
mosque(III)-SG.OBL-IN	that-PL	sit‹I/II.PL›PFV-ATTR-PL

obši	krug	a‹b›u-li
all	ring(III)[SG.ABS]	‹III.SG›make.PFV-CVB

ʕalim-til-če-s	harak	lur	č'ˤen	bo-li
scholar(I)-PL-PL.OBL-DAT	in.front	eye(IV)[SG.ABS]	[IV.SG]shut.IMP	say-PFV-EVID

And he, in Ijxurma, where now there is a destroyed mosque, told the scholars to make a circle and shut their eyes.

(44)
č'ˤenne-li	χit:a	jam-u-mu	jam-um	mižgil
[IV.SG]shut.PFV-EVID	then	that-I.SG-SG.ERG	that-III.SG	mosque(III)[SG.ABS]

kʷe‹b›k:i-s	a‹b›u-li	aq-ur	χˤolo-ši

‹III.SG›turn-FIN	‹III.SG›make.PFV-EVID	leg(IV)-PL	upwards-LAT

They shut (them) and he turned that mosque upside down.

(45)

χitːa	jamu-t-mu-tːu	hekɬ'ena	uw-li	jem-im	χir
then	that-IV.SG-SG.OBL-ATTR.I.SG	thing(IV)[SG.ABS]	[IV.SG]do.PFV-EVID	that.PL-PL	behind

q'ʷˤebos	edi-mat	mut'uˤh	e‹b›tːa-t'u-ši	b-i-ši
second	[IV.SG]be.PST-CVB	be.resigned	‹I/II.PL›become.NEG.FUT-NEG-CVB	I/II.PL-be.PRS-CVB

edi-mat	tuw-mu	χːurk'-um	jak	gʷaq'u-li
[IV.SG]be.PST-CVB	that.I.SG-SG.ERG	pigeon(III)-PL.ABS	inside	[III/IV.PL]gather.PFV-EVID

obši	χːurk'-um-ij‹t'›u
all	pigeon(III)-PL.ABS-EMPH‹III/IV.PL›

After he did such thing, they still would not resign to be second (place), and then he brought pigeons inside the mosque, all the pigeons.

(46)

jemme-tːu-t	hekɬ'ena	uw-li	χitːa	imi-š	χaraːši
this-ATTR-IV.SG	thing(IV)[SG.ABS]	[IV.SG]do.PFV-EVID	then	here-EL	after

jamu-mu-ɬːu	qapqˤi	b-ešteː-t'u-ši	bije‹b›ɬu-li
that.I.SG-SG.OBL-COMIT	argue	III.SG-argue.NEG.FUT-NEG-CVB	‹I/II.PL›begin.PFV-EVID

jem-im	bokɬ
that.PL-PL	people(I/II)[PL.ABS]

Since the time he did such a thing that those people stopped arguing with him.

(47)

t'ijtan	jamu	kɬ'anši	i‹w›dili	w-i-t'u
a.little	that.I.SG.ABS	love	‹I.SG›become.PFV-CVB	I.SG-be.PRS-NEG

os	k'illij‹w›u	la‹b›u	arše-tːe-s
one	entirely‹I.SG›	‹I/II.PL›1PL.INCLGEN	archi-PL.OBL-DAT

But on the whole the Archi didn't love him too much.

(48)

jemmetːij‹t'›u	jamu-mu-n	edi-li	č'abu
thus.EMPH‹III/IV.PL›	this.I.SG-SG.OBL-GEN	[III/IV.PL]BE.PST-EVID	sheep(III).PL.ABS

He also had sheep.

(49)

č'abe-χur	i‹w›di-tːu	uɬdu	jamu	uɬmu
sheep(III).PL.OBL-COMP	‹I.SG›be.PST-ATTR.I.SG	shepherd(I)[SG.ABS]	that.ISG	shepherd(I).SG.ERG

os   ħawan   b-uq'uli   e‹b›ł:u-li
one   animal(III)[SG.ABS]   III.SG-slaughter.PFV-CVB   ‹III.SG›leave.PFV-CVB

b-aq'u-li   e‹b›di-li   žune‹b›u   ʁono:-k   laq'ʷa‹b›u-li
III.SG-leave.PFV-CVB   ‹III.SG›be.PST-CVB   LOGOPH.‹III.SG›SG.GEN   up.there-LAT   leave.PFV‹III.SG›-EVID

There was a shepherd who looked after the sheep. That shepherd slaughtered one of the sheep and hid it up in the mountains.

(50)   qʷˤa-t:u   ju-w-mi-ra-k
       I.SG.come.PFV-ATTR.I.SG   this-I.SG-SG.OBL-CONT-LAT
       ha   hanžugur   i   č'abu
       well   how   [III/IV.PL]be.PRS   sheep(III).PL.ABS
       hekł'ena   i   is   mu:-ši   i-ra?
       thing(IV)[SG.ABS]   [IV.SG]be.PRS   [IV.SG]1SG.GEN   be.good-CVB   [IV.SG]be.PRS-QUEST
       And (when) he came, (MD said) to him: well how are my sheep, how is my thing, is it all right?

(51)   - i   i   bo-li
       [IV.SG]be.PRS   [IV.SG]be.PRS   say.PFV-EVID
       Yes, yes – he said.

(52)   ha   χit:a   uq'ˤa-li   bo-li   to-b   ʁono:-k   laq'ʷa‹b›u-li
       well   then   I.SG.go.PFV-CVB   say.PFV-EVID   that-III.SG   up.there-LAT   leave.PFV‹III.SG›-EVID
       b-aq'u-t:u-b   to-b   ħawan   b-eše-lli   zaba   bo-li
       III.SG-leave.PFV-ATTR-III.SG   that-III.SG   animal(III)[SG.ABS]   III.SG-bring-CVB.IMP   come.IMP   say.PFV-EVID
       Well, then go and bring me the animal which you have hidden up there.

(53)   sin   e‹b›t:i-li   ju-w-mu-s
       know   ‹III.SG›become.PFV-EVID   that-I.SG-SG.OBL-DAT
       He already knew.

(54)   χit:a   i‹w›qˤni-t:u   jamu   ułdu
       then   ‹III.SG›get.frightened.PFV-ATTR.I.SG   that.I.SG   shepherd(I)[SG.ABS]
       uq'ˤa-li   b-aχ:a-li   qʷˤa-li
       I.SG.go.PFV-CVB   III.SG-bring.PFV-CVB   I.SG.come.PFV-EVID
       Then that shepherd got frightened, went, brought (it), came back.

(55) χitːa ʁana-š qˤʷa-tːa ju-w-mu jarχul ik'mul
then up.there-EL I.SG.come.PFV-CVB.LOC that-I.SG-SG.ERG equal piece(IV)[SG.ABS]

k'olma uw-li tu-w uɬmu-s kɬo-li
separate [IV.SG]do.PFV-CVB that-I.SG shepherd(I).SG.OBL-DAT [IV.SG]give.PFV-EVID

When he came back from up there, he (MD), cut a half of that sheep and gave it to the shepherd.

(56) jamu-t ħalal-ši jarχul ik'mul-u kɬo-li
that-IV.SG halal-ADV equal piece(IV)[SG.ABS]-AND [IV.SG]give.PFV-EVID

ħalal-ši aqː'u-li
halal-ADV [IV.SG]leave.PFV-EVID

So that half was given as halal (right) and the whole thing was left halal (right).