This is a conversation between two sisters on memories from their childhood.

Zz

(1) t’i-tu-t č’emna-ra?
be.small-ATTR-IV.SG time(IV).IN-QUEST
During childhood, right?

(2) Вот это я тусар (bag(IV)[SG.ABS]) помню на вешалке
I remember those bags on clothing rack (RUS).

(3) Отец принес это q”arbik’-mul (sweet(IV)-PL.ABS) называется драже маленькие горошины, которые внутри орех или горох бывает и…
Father brought this…sweets (ARCHI) small boiled sweets which have a nut or a pea inside (RUS).

(4) Я когда Зумзум говорила, давай Зумзум, бери, она мне говорит, дай сперва лучше дай я посмотрю, погляну в туссыра, потом только начинала.
When I would say to Zumzum: come on, Zumzum, take some, she would say: no, let me have a look first. Only then she would start (RUS)

(5) Я помню только то
I only remember…(RUS)

(6) Asmaʕ χ’ir d-a-r-tu-r anyč:-um a-s
ž”en č’olla ocir
2SG.ABS outside.IN 2SG.stand.IMP
zon nesen Asmaʕ χ’ir aŋu-na d-eq’i bo-na
1.SG.ABS now Asma(II)[SG.ABS] behind (ILS)make.PFV-CVB II.SG-come.POT say.PFV-CVB
I would bring Asma (to others) to have a fight, I would say: you wait here, I will bring Asma round.

The support of AHRC is gratefully acknowledged
(7) i Asma'-u ɬir aou-na
  and(RUS) Asma(II)[SG.ABS] behind 〈IL.SG〉make.PFV-CVB
  anyː-um a-r-ʃi ikir doš:ob-če-ːu
  fight(IV)-PL.ABS 〈IV.PL〉do-IPFV-CVB 〈IV.SG〉be.ITER girl.PL-PL.OBL-COMIT
  k‘olma-ːt'u-t hekl‘ena sin-t'u
  be.other-ATTR-IV.SG thing(IV)[SG.ABS] know-NEG
  And after I‘d brought Asma, we would have fights with girls; I don‘t know anything else (I cannot remember anything else).

(8) osla Asma‘-li-n-u  is:-u  anyː-um eti-li anyː:um eti-li anyː:um eti-li
  once Asma(II)-SG.OBL-GEN-and 〈IV.PL〉.SG.GEN-and fight(IV)-PL.ABS 〈IV.PL〉become.PFV-EVID (3 times)
  ja-t dunil-i-t k‘olma aw bec‘ːo-t‘u-ʃi
  that-IV.SG world(IV)-SG.OBL-SUPER be.other 〈IV.SG〉do.PFV be.able.PFV-NEG-CVB
  Once I‘d had a fight with Asma, they could not pull us apart at all.

00:00:50, Bulbul

(9) anyː:-um eti-li
  anyː:-um eti-li anyː:-um eti-li
  fight(IV)-PL.ABS 〈IV.PL〉become.PFV-EVID (3 times)
  Fought, fought, fought (Zumzum‘s comment: Bulbul is teasing her for repeating these words).

Zz:

(10) pišt‘an-iʃt‘u jasa ikir-t‘u-ra
  very-EMPH 〈IV.SG〉 now 〈IV.SG〉be.ITER-NEG-QUEST
  pišt‘an asma‘ ɬir:on-nu-r dːikir-t‘u-ra
  very Asma(II)[SG.ABS] be.evil-ATTR-IL.SG IL.SG-be.ITER-NEG-QUEST
  ɬʃitːa ja-t un os t‘i-ːt‘u-t kľ‘an-t‘u-ːt‘u-t
  then this-IV.SG you[SG.ERG] one be.small-ATTR-IV.SG love-NEG-ATTR-IV.SG
  hekl‘ena uw-em‘čiš
  thing(IV)[SG.ABS] 〈IV.SG〉do.PFV-COND
  Too much… now… is there not… Asma was very nasty, if you did one little thing she didn‘t like…

Bž (interrupts):
Asma(II)[SG.ABS] in-general(RUS) be.evil-ATTR-II.SG II.SG-be.ITER
Asma was very, very nasty.

Zz:

(12) anχː ar-ši d-ikir
war(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]do.IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.ITER
She fought.

(13) i to srazu mamərči-tːa-k χat-ur
and(RUS) that(RUS) at.once(RUS) face(IV)-SUP-LAT scratch(III)-PL.ABS
darχi-r-ši ikir q'ama-tːu klan-ši ikir
[pronounced: darχirši, ... klanšikir]
She would go for your face at once, scratch, hit, pull hair;

(14) is doːz-ib q'ama-tːu ikir
[IV.PL]1SG.GEN be.big-PL hair(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL]be.ITER
jasːa k'an-ni-ši-jt'u ʃelež-ib
now bottom(IV)-SG.OBL-ALL-EMPH<IV.SG> be.ugly-PL
nu hekl'ena uy-tː-ib diʃca-tː-ib
well(RUS) thing(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]do.PFV-ATTR-PL be.thick-ATTR-PL.
Even back to the start (since childhood) I had big hair, ugly, but well, thick.

(15) jem-im q'ama-tijː-š d-osο-li d-aklan-ši zon
this.PL-PL hair(IV)-PL.OBL-EL II.SG-hold.PFV-CVB II.SG-pull.IPFV-CVB I.SG.ABS
klolij-š ten-ši
yard(IV).SG.OBL-EL there-ALL
Having grabbed me by the hair, she pulls across the front yard.
(16) cimint hinc baran eb:dî-t'u buwa-te-n
cement(III)[SG.ABS] now like ⟨III.SG⟩be.PST-NEG mother(II)-PL.OBL-GEN
naq"w edî teni-k
earth(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]be.PST there-LAT
At (our) parents’ there was no cement, as it is now, it was (just) earth.

(17) klolijš tem-ši d-osoli q'ama-tijš d-akănši
yard(IV).SG.OBL-EL there-ALL II.SG-hold.PFV-CVB hair(IV)-PL.OBL-EL II.SG-pull.IPV-FV-CVB
ti-tu-r lo eerdî
be.small-ATTR-II.SG child(II)[SG.ABS] (II.SG)be.PST
q"we:bos:u-b b:t:bos:u-b klas-l-a oörüklî-ši
two-say.ATTR-III.SG three-say.ATTR-III.SG class(IV)-SG.OBL-IN [IV.SG]IPFV-learn.IPV-CVB
eerdî-li d-očo-qi k'olma-tu-r eerdî-t'u
⟨II.SG⟩be.PST-CVB II.SG-find-FUT be.other-ATTR-II.SG ⟨II.SG⟩be.PST-NEG
She pulls me across the front yard. I was a little girl then. I was probably in the second or third grade at school, no more.

(18) chi:tta inmiš d-aq'ta-tu-r buwa aril-i-tiš
then there-EL II.SG-come.PFV-ATTR-II.SG mother(II)[SG.ABS] work(IV)SG.OBL-SUP-EL
biblotika-l-a-š čo:ti-b nen jamu-t arčî-li-t
library(III)-SG.OBL-IN-EL [1PL]find.PFV-ATTR-PL 1PL.EXCL this-IV.SG war(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP
q"we:ru-wu so-li os lič'i-l-a-k ak'u
two(II.SG) and [1PL]hold.PFV-CVB one shed(III)-SG.OBL-IN-LAT [1PL]drive.PFV
dolu:ma-k osu-r č'ölļi:xu-tu-b dolu:ma aq'u
Then mother came back from work, from the library, found us fighting and, having got hold of both of us, drove one into the heifers’ section in the shed and left another one in the outer shed.

(19) e'mmu zon e'mmu bala-ši ac:i-r-ši q'ama-tu
cry.PFV 1SG.ABS cry.PFV cry.PFV badly-ADV [IV.PL]ache-IPFV-CVB hair(IV)-PL.ABS
d-ak'α-qi-ši d-i lič'i-l-a marq"wš adču-li
II.SG-die-POT-CVB II.SG-be.PRS shed(III)-SG.OBL-IN nail(III)[SG.ABS] ⟨III.SG⟩put.IPV-CVB
I was locked in the shed (they put the nail on), there was no possibility for me to go out, otherwise I would have shown that Asma. Asma did not know trouble, she was upset, I was offended, my hair is aching, I am done badly, I was locked in the shed (they put the nail on), there was no possibility for me to go out, otherwise I would have shown that Asma.

00:01:47

(20) ja-t han uw-šaw čolla-ši aroti-t’u
this-IV.SG.ABS what(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]do.PFV-CONC outside-ALL <IL.SG>let.go.PFV-NEG
No matter what I did, I was not let out.

(21) čitta oq’ā safāt oq’āsaṭat oq’ā safāt
then [IV.SG]go.PFV time(IV)[SG.ABS] (3 times)
buwa-s nen eχnī-li oq’ā-li
mother(II)-SG.DAT 1PL.EXCL.ABS [1PL]forget.PFV-CVB [1PL]go.PFV-EVID
dołuma-k ak’u-li i-kul
Then much time passed; mother forgot that she locked us in the cattle shed.

(22) že-nēt’u ṭuχa-ši oруq’anu sin-t’u
LOGOPH.OBL-GEN(IV.SG) field(IV)IN-ALL <IL.SG>go.PFV.WHAT know-NEG
dašhan orouq’anu sint’u os:-ib lo-bur-če-ra-k
where.all.what <ILSG>GO.PFV.what know-NEG one-PL child-PL-OBL.PL-CONT-LAT
d-aq’a-čugu han uw-emu sin-t’u
II.SG-go.PFV-PCL what(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]do.PFV-PCL know-NEG
d-i-t’u jasa buwa
II.SG-be.PRS-NEG then mother(II)[SG.ABS]
I don’t know whether she gone to the field, or somewhere else; or might have gone to other children; I don’t know what she did, but she did not come to us (lit: there is no mother).

And gran worked as a nurse in the hospital at the time, right?

Then (she) came…in some time mother remember about us and came, and we two were crying, we two had made up (by then) and were sitting there, with nobody coming to open the door of the shed.
Finally, mother let us go outside.

No matter what, I cannot forget this thing (this thing does not go forgotten).
(They) hid the books in the big basket (in the hay shed).

Zz

(32) danni-ri dołuma t'ono-l-a laqʔʷar-ši ikir
   where-QUEST shed(III.IN) trough(IV)-SG.OBL-INV [III/IV.PL.]hide-IPFV-CVB [III/IV.PL.]be.ITER
   buc'i-l dołuma-t'aw q'ot laqʔʷar-ši ikir-t'u
   k'an interessnij b iqʔʷma-k q'onq' edi-muχur
   bottom(IV)[SG.NOM] interesting(RUS) place(IV).LOC-LAT book(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG.]be.PST-when
   ja-r q'wεmα-mi ja-r-mu-wu Mammohommadhażijo-mu-wu
   this-II.SG two<II.SG.-SG.ERG this-II.SG.-SG.ERG-and Mammagomedhadzhi(1)-SG.ERG-and
   And where they hid them, in the shed, in the trough, nowhere else (besides the shed they did not hide them); when the book was on the most interesting place, they two, she and Magomed (would hide it).

(33) waj Allah aɾča-r-ši ikir ez iq
   Oh, Allah, how they tormented me (lit. killed me the day).

00:02:55

Bż

(34) dija uɾq'i-r-ši w-ikir c'uri-ši iqna
   father(I)[SG.ABS] LSG<IPFV>-go-IPFV-CVB LSG-be.ITER curib-ALL every.day
   uɾq'i-r-ši w-ikir jasa director-ši w-i-muχur
   LSG<IPFV>-go-IPFV-CVB LSG-be.ITER then headmaster(RUS)-ADV LSG-BE.PRS-when
   daki χuwoṭi-t'u
   why <LSG>go.POT-NEG
   Father went to Curib every day, he went, well, he was a headmaster, why wouldn’t he go?

(35) ʔummal-l-a hekľ'en šu-r-ši ikir-t'u
   life(IV)-SG.OBL-IN thing(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG.]buy-IPFV-CVB [IV.SG.]be.ITER-NEG
   He never bought anything (He did not buy a thing in (whole) life).

(36) q'onq' šu-r-ši ikir
He bought books, there was a book with him (when he came back) for sure.

00:03:04

(37) os qʼwe(tʼu) ḳib(tʼu)
   one two IV.SG three IV.SG
   One, two, three (books).

Zz
(38) d-akki-so-s ḳiwijtʼu-wu ḳu-r-tu-b sapar
   II.SG-leave-please-XXX five IV.SG-and IV.SG.buy-IPFV-ATTR-III.SG trip(III)[SG.ABS]
   be-ke-r-š- ebdí
   III.SG-become-IPFV-CVB III.SG.be.PST
   Go away, there were trips when he would buy (even) five.

Bž
(39) labχanši-wu ḳu-r-ši ikir
   a.lot-and IV.SG.buy-IPFV-CVB IV.SG.be.ITER
   He used to buy a lot.

00:03:11 Marina
(40) was?
   2.SG.DAT
   For you?

Zz
(41) net el bona tʼo obši-me-s
   no(RUS) IV.SG.IPL.DAT say.PFV-CVB no all-PL.OBL-DAT
   No, not just for us, for everyone.
Then mother said: you never bought anything, you always come back dragging some books behind.

Making personal library was in fashion then, everybody was gathering books (for their) personal libraries.

He would come holding all sorts of staff under his arm, such as roman gazeta.

He would come holding all sort of staff under his arm, such as roman gazeta.

Bź
(44) roman-gazeta-tu han-hann-ib dan-dann-ib jem-im
χilikl’ sonna w-aɾkli-r-ɕi iʒədi
underarm III/IV.PL.hold.PFV-CPB LSG.IPfV.come-IPFV-CPB LSG.be.PST
He would come holding all sort of staff under his arm, such as roman-gazeta.

00:03:17 Zz
(43) ličnaja biblioteka aɓa-sxe-r-ʃi to-t č’emna
personal library(RUS) ʃil-IS.make-FIN-QUOTE-CPB what-IV.SG time(IV)IN
os moda-li-t edǐ
one fashion(iv)-SG.OBL-SUP IV.SG.be.PST
biblioteka-tu a-r-ʃi marči-maj q’ot gʷaɾq’u-r-ʃi
Making personal library was in fashion then, everybody was gathering books (for their) personal libraries.

00:03:26
(45) χita buwa wa-r-ʃi eɾtəi šummal-l-a-r
then mother(II)[SG.ABS] say-IPFV-CPB ʃil-IS.become.PFV life(IV)-SG.OBL-IN-RPRT
hek’ën ʃi:bu-s i-t’or ıq’nə
thing(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]buy-FIN [IV.SG]be.PRS-NEG.RPRT day(IV).LOC
q’ot ʃi ir ati-na w-aɾkli-r-er-ʃi eɾtəi
Then mother said: you never bought anything, you always come back dragging some books behind.
00:03:31

(46) či-ta či-tu-t iqqa uq'i-tu dunnil te-b

Then behind-ATTR-IV.SG day(IV).LOC I.SG.come.PFV-ATTR.I.SG a.lot this.PL-PL.

q"arbiq'-mul-che-n doz-ub paket b-i

sweet(IV)-PL-OBL-GEN be.big-ATTR.III.SG bag(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-be.PRS

Then next day he’s coming with a big bag with a lot of (boiled) sweets.

(47) či-ta ma-r bu-kne-r b-akl-ba-r jasmine k"a-tu-t

Then take.IMP-RPRT III.SG-eat.IMP-RPRT III.SG-give-IMP-RPRT now [IV.SG]need-ATTR-IV.SG

heklen a-Řa-r dija-mu s:ob ča-li
thing(IV)[SG.ABS] IV.SG.be.PRS-QUEST-RPRT father(I)-SG.ERG mouth(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]win.PFV-CVB
k"a-qi-shi w-i dija-wu
I.SG.die-POT-CVB I.SG-be.PRS father(I)[SG.ABS]-and

Then, here, he says, eat, he says and give (to the kids), this is a good thing (needed thing), right? Father is very happy that he pleased us.

(48) či-ta hekl'ena ebχkni tus:ɔl-a-k aču-li

Then thing(IV)[SG.ABS] III.ISG.give.PFV bag(III)-SG.OBL-IN-LAT [IV.PL]put.PFV-CVB

tus:ara ebχkni wesalka-li-t

bag(III)[SG.ABS] III.ISG.give.PFV hook(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP

Then...thing...hung...she put these things in the bag and hung the bag on the hook.

(49) či-ta buwa-mu el teni-š čat aψe'c'-u-na

Then mother(II)-SG.ERG [IV.PL]1PL.DAT there-EL handful(III)[SG.ABS] III.ISG.fill.PFV-CVB
klo-r-ši jasmine
[IV.PL]GIVE-IPFV-CVB then

Then mother gives us sweets from there (by handful)

00:03:57 CHECK ALL LONG VOWELS in sentences (41) to (49)

(50) buwa ari-li-ti-k oq'a-li

mother(II)[SG.ABS] work(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP-LAT III.ISG.leave.PFV-CVB
zot:n-uu Zumzum-u Asma's-u
Mother went to work, we children, me, Zumzum and Asma stayed (at home) together.

Then Zumzum said: come on, let’s us two tidy up and then we will eat the sweets without mother knowing.

Then: “Give me one-two-three sweets for me to tidy up”.

We will look inside the bag.

Then: “Give me one-two-three sweets for me to tidy up”.

(Text 8 Sisters)
Text 8 Sisters

(56) klo libr’u q’arbikl’ klo
[IV.SG]give.PFV three(IV.SG) sweet(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]give.PFV
I did. Three sweets I gave her.

00:04:19

(57) toː-t-u kunne-li d-ak:e os zon ja-t-mi aːc’u-t’u
that-IV.SG-and [IV.SG]eat.PFV-CVB II.SG-go.away.IMP one 1SG.ABS this-IV.SG-ERG [IV.SG]fill.PFV-NEG
os jonsu-w-tu-t libr’u oq’e g’abq’u-q’i
one once.more-ATTR-IV.SG three(IV.SG) [IV.SG]give.IMP 〈III.SG>gather-FUT
She ate these and: “go away, these did not fill me up, give me another three and then I will tidy up.”

(58) χiːt’a ik’-mi-s eku ha klo-qi zari ja-t-u
then heart(IV)-SG.OBL-DAT [IV.SG]fall.PFV ha [IV.SG]give-FUT 1SG.ERG this-IV.SG-and
g’abq’ot’-irk’u-s ɔʔortal
〈II.SG〉gather.FUT.NEG-SEARCH-FIN together
Then I thought: “okay, I will give her that too, maybe she will tidy up with me.”

00:04:28

Zz:

(59) zon t’iː-ʃi do-χo-qi χiːt’a jamu-t ċ’emna
1SG.ABS be.small-CVB II.SG-find-FUT then that-IV.SG time(IV)IN.ESS
I guess I was little at that time.

Bz:

(60) gel-k’oč’o čuːbo-s: i daki wikł-middiːt’u
mug〈III〉-plate〈IV〉[ABS.SGS] wash-FIN [IV.SG]be.PRS why seven-eight〈IV.SG〉
adam-li-n nokl’ ekl’a-s i
person〈IV-SG.OBL-GEN house〈IV〉[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]sweep-FIN [IV.SG]be.PRS
mas-mul g’aq’-a-s i dunil ari i
bed〈III-PL.ABS [III-PL]gather-FIN [III-PL]be.PRS a.lot work〈IV〉[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]be.PRS
There is crockery to wash, why, a house for seven-eight people to sweep, there are beds to tidy up, a lot of work there is.
There is butter to make. (by rocking the pitcher)
Text 8 Sisters

Zz:
(65) bo un gel-k’oč’o čuča-ba bo
say.PFV 2SG.ERG mug(III)-plate(IV)[ABS.SG] wash-IMP say.PFV
zon ḡan ac’a-s ɣaːrti
1SG.ABS water(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]fill-FIN 1SG.go.FUT
You said: you (Zumzum), do the washing up, and I will go and get the water.

(66) harak aču-li te-b laqʷa-laq’a-tːi-b
in.front [IV.PL]put.PFV-CVB that.PL-PL be.multicoloured-RDP-ATTR-PL
rang-rang-li-n-n-ib qʷarbikl’-mul edi
colour(IV)-RDP-SG.OBL-GEN-ATTR-PL sweet(IV)-PL-ABS [IV.PL]be.PST
teː-b-u harak aču-li
that.PL-PL-and in.front [IV.PL]put.PFV-CVB
daq’a-daq’a-r-ši q’arodi-li d-i
laugh-RDP-IPFV-CVB 1SG.sit.PFV-CVB 1SG-be.PRS
gel-k’oč’o-wu ɛtu-li
mug(III)-plate(IV)[ABS.SG] [IV.PL]put.PFV-CVB
She put these multicoloured sweets in front of here and there she is sitting, laughing, having left the dishes (=having put the dishes).
00:04:59

(67) daki q’arodi zumzum?
why 1SG.sit.PFV zumzum
Why are you sitting, Zumzum? (lit.: why have you sat down?).

(68) ha os ha je-b han-nu-t iz-u-t irku-s
well one well this.PL-PL what-ATTR-IV.SG be.sweet-ATTR-IV.SG [IV.SG]look-FIN
kʷan-ši kʷan-ši q’arodi-li d-i-tːu-r
Well, I am eating them to see which ones are sweet. (pronounced q’ardi-l ditːur)

(69) etːi qʰweɾʊ-mi-n anyː-um
Text 8 Sisters

00:05:06

(70) ašba bo buwa-r-ši han wa-r-k:u-s
wait.IMP say.PFV mother(II)-CONT-ALL what(IV)[SG.ABS] say-IPFV-CHECK-FIN
I said: you wait and see what I say to mother.

(71) eֵwwur-ši zon quč gʷwaḇq’a-r-ši d-i
cry-IPFV-CVB I.SG.ABS household(III)[SG.ABS] t:IILSG>gather-IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
a godo-r te-b-u sebe-k aroča-r-ši
and(RUS) that-ILSG that.PL-PL-and mouth(IV).OBL-GEN fight(IV)-PL.ABS
q’aɾd̪i-li d-i
t:IILSG>sit.PFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
Crying, I am tidying up, and that one is sitting putting them (sweets) in her mouth.

(72) oɾq:‘a-s aɾu bec:’u-t’u
t:IILSG>lose-FIN t:IILSG>do.PFV be.able-PFV-NEG
I was not able to make her do anything.

(73) huleʔtí-t’u aɾi za-ɬ:u uw-t’u
???t:IILSG>become.PFV-NEG work(IV)[SG.ABS] I.SG.OBL-COMIT [IV.SG]do.PFV-NEG
quč gʷwaḇq’u-t’u jamu-r laha	household(III)[SG.ABS] t:IILSG>gather.PFV-NEG this-IL SG girl(II).SG.ERG
This girl did not do any work with me, did not tidy up the house.

00:05:19

(74) χitːa buwa da-q’ä qimis zari gʷaḇq’u-li iːk’en
then mother(II)[SG.ABS] I.SG-come-PPFV at.midday I.SG.ERG t:IILSG>gather.PFV-EVID everything
Then mother came (home) at midday, I have tidied (it) all (by then).
(75) buwa-n nastraenie aŋkli-r-ši edi
mother(II)-SG.GEN good.mood(IV)[SG.ABS] ʻIPFV-come-IPFV-CVB [IV.SG]be.PST
quč gʻarəqʻu-muχur
household(III)[SG.ABS] ʻIII.SG.gather.PFV-WHEN
lapijəu χʻari de-ke-r-ši d-ikir jasa
very〈II.SG〉 be.happy II.SG-become-IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.HAB then
Mother always was in a good mood when the house was tidy.

(76) wajo i:kʻen hibat:iβ doš:ob gʻarəqʻu-li-ra
WAJO everything good-PL girl(II).PL.ABS ʻII.SG.gather.PFV-EVID-QUEST
Hey, good girls, didn’t they tidy up everything.

00:05:31

(77) is nibqi-goʻroš:t:u heʻarqi-r-ši
And my tears are rolling down.

(78) bala-ši ez godo-r-mi jemmet teb qʻarbi:kʻ-mul kʻan-ši
hurt-CVB [IV.SG]I SG.DAT that-II.SG-ERG thus that-PL sweet(IV).PL.ABS [IV.PL]eat.IPFV-CVB
qʻarədi-li a zon jamu-t a-s aŋkʻu-li
〈II.SG〉sit.down.PFV-EVID and(RUS) 1SG.ABS that-IV.SG [IV.SG]do-FIN 〈II.SG〉drive.PFV-EVID
I was hurt that she was sitting (there) eating those sweets, and made me do all that.

(79) χi:t’a i:kʻen bo buwa-r-ši zari-jtʻu uw bo
then everything say.PFV mother(II)-CONT-ALL 1SG.ERG(IV.SG) [IV.SG]do.PFV say.PFV
Zumzum-li nacʼ uw-tʻu bo
Zumzum(II)-SG.ERG nothing(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]do.PFV-NEG say.PFV
Then I told mother everything, I said: it was me who did (it all), Zumzum did nothing.

00:05:44
(80) dak-er heloww-er eχː-ut gerkːe-r-ši q’aœdi-l-er
why-RPRT ???-RPRT cheek(IV)-PL.ABS hang.over-IPFV-CVB (ILS) sit.down.PFV-EVID-RPRT
Why, (mother) says, you are sitting (here), she says, with cheeks hanging over (stuffed cheeks).

(81) zari buwo: q”arbičl’-mul kunne
1SG.ERG mother(II).VOC sweet(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL] eat.PFV
aœc’ën q”arbičl’-mul kunne
<ILS> fill.until sweet(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL] eat.PFV
(Zumzum says): I, mother, ate the sweets, until I was full.’

(82) ja jar ḥi aœk’u-li eœd-er1 un-er tus:al-l-a-k
well well who.ERG <ILS> drive.PFV-CVB <ILS> be.PST-RPRT 2SG.NOM.RPRT bag(IV)-SG.OBL-IN-LAT
sæœk-ke-s-er c’iχːdi du-χːa-s-er buwa-mu ja-r-mi-ti-k
<ILS> look-FIN-RPRT steal II.SG steal-FIN-RPRT lmother(II)-SG.ERG that-II.SG.OBL-SUP-LAT
q”ara-s: eœrχːdi
angry-FIN <ILS> become.PFV
Well, well, who, she said, made you look into the bag and steal; mother got angry with her.

00:06:00

(83) ez ik’-mi-s eku os muš-ši
1SG.DAT heart(IV)-SG.OBL-DAT [IV.SG] fall.PFV one be.good-CVB
daœʃe-ti:Ι-dikini ik’w εœn
beat.up<ILS>-EVID-APPROB heart(IV)[SG.ABS] ???
I thought: it will be good if mother beats her up properly.

(84) χita:a hek’ena buwa-mu daχdi godo-r-m-is ti’-ši
then thing(IV)[SG.ABS] mother(II)-SG.ERG hit.PFV that-II.SG-OBL-DAT be.little.CVB
daχdi-ti:jːρu e’mmu-s bijeːŋːu huhuʃ bo-li godo-r

1 Pronounced ark’ulerder
hit.PFV-EMPH<ILSG> cry-FIN <ILSG>begin.PFV HUHU say.PFV that-ILSG.ABS

Then, well, mother hit her, just a bit, and she immediately started crying.

(85) t'i-ši-t'aw daχdi-t'u daχdi-t'u-šaw e⁶mmu-s bijer̄u
be.little-CVB-CONC hit.PFV-NEG hit.PFV-NEG-CONC cry-FIN <ILSG>begin.PFV

Though (mother) only hit her a little, (she) started crying.

(86) eˁwwur-ši q'ar̄di q'ar̄di χiːa ez ik'-mi-s eku
cry-CVB <ILSG>sit.down.PFV <ILSG>sit.down.PFV then 1SG.DAT heart(IV)-SG.OBL-DAT[IV.SG]fall.PFV

ha godo-r e⁶mmu-s-en-nu-r e⁶mmu jasːa
well that-ILSG.ABS cry-FIN-XXX-ATTR-ILSG cry.PFV then

She was sitting there, crying and I thought: well, at least she’s crying now.

Zz

(87) piriq'a eɾtːi
be.peaceful <ILSG>become.PFV

(You) calmed down.