

Text 8. T'it:ut č'emlin haq'liq'

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

Zz

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

00:00:03, **Bž**

- (2) Вот это я *tusər* (bag(IV)[SG.ABS]) помню на вешалке
I remember those bags on clothing rack (RUS).
- (3) Отец приносил это *q'wərbikl'-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 Zumzum говорила, давай Zumzum, 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)

00:00:30, **Zz**

- (5) Я помню только то
I only remember...(RUS)
- (6) Asmaʔ χir d-a-r-t:u-r anχ:-um a-s
Asma(II)[SG.ABS] behind II.SG-do-IPFV-ATTR-II.SG fight(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL]do-FIN
ž^wen č'olla oc:ir
2SG.ABS outside.IN 2SG.stand.IMP
zon nes:en Asmaʔ χir aχu-na d-eq'i bo-na
1.SG.ABS now Asma(II)[SG.ABS] behind <II.SG>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

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- (7) i Asmaʕ-u χir aɾu-na
and(RUS) Asma(II)[SG.ABS] behind <II.SG>make.PFV-CVB
anχ:-um a-r-ši ikir doš:ob-če-ʕ:u
fight(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL]do-IPFV-CVB [IV.SG]be.ITER girl.PL-PL.OBL-COMIT
k'olma-t:u-t hekʔ'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 Asmaʕ-li-n-u is:-u anχ:-um et:i-li anχ:um et:i-li anχ:um et:i-li
once Asma(II)-SG.OBL-GEN-and [IV.PL]1SG.GEN-and fight(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL]become.PFV-EVID (3 times)
ja-t dunil-i-t k'olma aw bec:'o-t'u-ši
that-IV.SG world(IV)-SG.OBL-SUPER be.other [IV.SG]do.PFV be.able.PFV-NEG-CVB
Once I had a fight with Asma, they could not pull us apart at all.

00:00:50, Bulbul

- (9) anχ:-um et:i-li anχ:-um et:i-li anχ:-um et:i-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-ij(t'u) jas:a ikir-t'u-ra
very-EMPH<IV.SG> now [IV.SG]be.ITER-NEG-QUEST
pišt'an asmaʕ χ:ʕ'on-nu-r d-ikir-t'u-ra
very Asma(II)[SG.ABS] be.evil-ATTR-II.SG II.SG-be.ITER-NEG-QUEST
χi:ta ja-t un os t'i-t:u-t kʔ'an-t'u-t:u-t
then this-IV.SG you[SG.ERG] one be.small-ATTR-IV.SG love-NEG-ATTR-IV.SG
hekʔ'ena uw-emč'iš
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):

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(11) asmaʃ vapše χ:⁵on-nu-r d-ikir
 Asma(II)[SG.ABS] in.general(RUS) be.evil-ATTR-II.SG II.SG-be.ITER
 Asma was very, very nasty.

Zz:

(12) anχ:
 war(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]do.IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.ITER
 She fought.

(13) i to srazu mamərči-t:a-k χat-ur
 and(RUS) that(RUS) at.once(RUS) face(IV)-SUP-LAT scratch(III)-PL.ABS
 daɾχi-r-ši ikir q'ama-t:u klan-ši ikir
 [III.PL]⟨IPFV⟩hit-IPFV-CVB [III.PL]be.ITER hair(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL]pull.IPFV-CVB [IV.PL]be.ITER
 [pronounced: daɾχiršikir, ... klanšikir]
 She would go for your face at once, scratch, hit, pull hair;

(14) is do:z-ib q'ama-t:u ikir
 [IV.PL]1SG.GEN be.big-PL hair(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL]be.ITER
 jas:a k'an-ni-ši-j(t'u) ʃelež-ib
 now bottom(IV)-SG.OBL-ALL-EMPH⟨IV.SG⟩ be.ugly-PL
 nu hekʃ'ena uw-t:ib di⁵ča-t: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-t:ij-š d-oso-li d-aklan-ši zon
 this.PL-PL hair(IV)-PL.OBL-EL II.SG-hold.PFV-CVB II.SG-pull.IPFV-CVB 1SG.ABS
 kʃolij-š te:n-ši
 yard(IV).SG.OBL-EL there-ALL
 Having grabbed me by the hair, she pulls across the front yard.

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- (16) cimint hinc baran eɓdi-t'u buwa-t:e-n
 cement(III)[SG.ABS] now like <III.SG>be.PST-NEG mother(II)-PL.OBL-GEN
 naq^w edi 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) kɔlij-š te:n-ši d-oso-li q'ama-t:ij-š d-akɫan-ši
 yard(IV).SG.OBL-EL there-ALL II.SG-hold.PFV-CVB hair(IV)-PL.OBL-EL II.SG-pull.IPFV-CVB
 t'i-t:u-r lo eɾdi
 be.small-ATTR-II.SG child(II)[SG.ABS] <II.SG>be.PST
 q^{wɛ}e-bos:u-b ɫeb-bos:u-b klas-l-a oɾkɫin-ši
 two-say.ATTR-III.SG three-say.ATTR-III.SG class(IV)-SG.OBL-IN [IV.SG]<IPFV>learn.IPFV-CVB
 eɾdi-li d-oɣo-qi k'olma-t:u-r eɾdi-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) χit:a imi-š d-aq'a-t:u-r buwa aril-i-t:i-š
 then there-EL II.SG-come.PFV-ATTR-II.SG mother(II)[SG.ABS] work(IV)SG.OBL-SUP-EL
 biblotika-l-a-š χo-ti-b nen jamu-t anχ-li-t
 library(III)-SG.OBL-IN-EL [1PL]find.PFV-ATTR-PL 1PL.EXCL this-IV.SG war(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP
 q^wweɾu-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
 doɫuma-k os:u-r č'ollijχu-t:u-b doɫuma aq:'u
 shed(III).IN-LAT one.ATTR-II.SG outside-ATTR-III.SG shed(III).in [1PL]leave.PFV
 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^smmu zon e^smmu e^smmu bala-ši ac'i-r-ši q'ama-t:u
 cry.PFV 1SG.ABS cry.PFV cry.PFV badly-ADV [IV.PL]ache-IPFV-CVB hair(IV)-PL.ABS
 d-ak'a-qi-ši d-i lič'i-l-a marq^{wɛ} aɓč'u-li
 II.SG-die-POT-CVB II.SG-be.PRS shed(III)-SG.OBL-IN nail(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>put.PFV-CVB

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zon č'olla-ši aɾɾti-qi-tu-b hal b-i-t'u
 1SG.ABS outside-ALL <II.SG>let.go-POT-ATTR-III.SG state(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-be.PRS-NEG
 zon č'olla-ši aɾɾkti-s d-eke-r-ši d-i-t'u t'ijt:an
 1SG.ABS outside-ALL <II.SG>let.go-FIN II.SG-become-IPFV-CVB II.SG-BE.PRS-NEG otherwise
 zari to-r Asmaɣ-li-s buruk:an aɓu-qi-ši b-i-di
 1SG.ERG that-II.SG Asma-SG.OBL-DAT trouble(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>make-POT-CVB III.SG-BE.APPR
 I cried and cried, 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 č'olla-ši aɾɾti-t'u
 this-IV.SG.ABS what(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]do.PFV-CONC outside-ALL <II.SG>let.go.PFV-NEG
 No matter what I did, I was not let out.

(21) χit:a oq'a safat oq'asaſat oq'a saſat
 then [IV.SG]go.PFV time(IV)[SG.ABS] (3 times)
 buwa-s nen eχni-li oq'a-li
 mother(II)-SG.DAT 1PL.EXCL.ABS [1PL]forget.PFV-CVB [1PL]go.PFV-EVID
 doɭuma-k ak'u-li i-kul
 shed(III).IN-LAT [1PL]drive.PFV-CVB [1PL]be.PRS-MSD
 Then much time passed; mother forgot that she locked us in the cattle shed.

(22) že-nt'u uχa-ši oɾɾq'anu sin-t'u
 LOGOPH.OBL-GEN(IV.SG) field(IV)IN-ALL <II.SG>go.PFV.WHAT know-NEG
 dašhan oɾɾq'anu sint'u os:-ib lo-bur-če-ra-k
 where.all.what <II.SG>GO.PFV.what know-NEG one-PL child-PL-OBL.PL-CONT-LAT
 d-aq'a-čugu han uw-e:nu sin-t'u
 II.SG-go.PFV-PCL what(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]do.PFV-PCL know-NEG
 d-i-t'u jas:a buwa
 II.SG-be.PRS-NEG then mother(II)[SG.ABS]

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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).

00:01:58

- (23) do:ba-wu ari-li-ti-k sanitarka-ši e(ɾ)tt'u-ra
gran(II)[SG.ABS]-and work(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP-LAT nurse(II)-ADV <II.SG>become.PFV.NEG-QUEST
to-t č'emna bindici-l-a
that-IV.SG time(IV).IN hospital(IV)-SG.OBL-IN
And gran worked as a nurse in the hospital at the time, right?

Bž

- (24) laq'w-ijeti-qi-ra jas:a ja-r-mi-n...
finish-EMPH<III.SG><III.SG>become-POT-QUEST now that-II.SG-SG.OBL-GEN
Has she finished (her story) or what.

00:02:03, Zz

- (25) χit:a d-aq^ʰa-t:u-r ha os zamanə-li-ti-š buwa-s
then II.SG-come.PFV-ATTR-II.SG ha one time(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP-EL mother(II)-DAT
ik'-mi-s eku-li d-aq^ʰa-t:u-r
heart(IV)-SG.OBL-DAT [IV.SG]fall.PFV II.SG-come.PFV-ATTR-II.SG
nen q^ʰweɾu e^ʰwwu-r-ši
we 1PL.EXCL two<II.SG> cry-IPFV-CVB
q^ʰweɾu q'oc'o-li q'i^ʰjdi-li dak^ʰ dabla-s
two<II.SG> [1PL]reconcile.PFV-CVB [1PL]sit.PFV-EVID door(IV)[SG.ABS] unlock-FIN
adam he:^ʰ-t'u-ši dołum-li-n
person(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]come.POT.NEG-NEG-CVB shed(III)-SG.OBL-GEN
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.

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(26) χir aballaš buwa-mu č'olli-ši at:i
 then finally mother(II)-ERG outside-ALL [1PL]let.go.PFV
 Finally, mother let us go outside.

(27) han uw-šaw eχni-na χati-t'u
 what(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]do.PFV-CONC [IV.SG]forget.PFV-CVB [IV.SG]go.FUT-NEG
 ez jamu-t hekʔena
 [IV.SG]1.SG.DAT this-IV.SG thing(IV)[SG.ABS]
 No matter what, I cannot forget this thing (this thing does not go forgotten).

00:02:31, Bž

(28) Zumzum-li quč g^wa**ʔ**q'u-r-ši b-ikir-t'u
 Zumzum(II)-SG.ERG household(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>gather-IPFV-CVB III.SG-be.ITER-NEG
 nokʔ-a quč g^wa**ʔ**q'a-s wabš:e d-ikir-t'u-ra
 house(IV)-IN household(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>gather-FIN at.all(RUS) II.SG-be.ITER-NEG-QUEST
 q'onq'u sona q'a**ʔ**di-qi
 book(IV)[SG.ABS]-AND [IV.SG]hold-CVB <II.SG>sit-POT
 Zumzum did not look after the household, she did not look after it at all, right, she would just sit there with a book.

Zz

(29) q'ot o**ʔ**kʔin-ši
 book(IV).PL.ABS [IV.PL]<IPFV>read-CVB
 ...reading books.

Bž

(30) ke-r-ši ikir iqna anχ:-um
 [III/IV.PL]become-IPFV-CVB [III/IV.PL]be.ITER daily fight(IV)-PL.ABS
 There were fights every day.

00:02:41, Bulbul

(31) q'ot laq^wa-r-ši ikir laq^war-ši ikir kot' gubčit:i-l-a
 book(IV).PL.ABS [III/IV.PL]hide-IPFV-CVB [III/IV.PL]be.ITER(X2) big.basket(III) basket(IV)-SG.OBL-IN

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(They) hid the books in the big basket (in the hay shed).

Zz

- (32) *danni-ri dołuma t'ono-l-a laq'war-ši ikir*
 where-QUEST shed(III).IN trough(IV)-SG.OBL-IN [III/IV.PL]hide-IPFV-CVB [III/IV.PL]be.ITER
buc'i-l dołuma-t'aw q'ot laq'war-ši ikir-t'u
 cow(III).PL-XXX shed(III).IN-besides book(IV).PL.ABS [III/IV.PL]hide-IPFV-CVB [III/IV.PL]be.ITER-NEG
k'an interesnij biq'wma-k q'onq' edi-muxur
 bottom(IV)[SG.NOM] interesting(RUS) place(IV).LOC-LAT book(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]be.PST-when
ja-r q'weɾə-mi ja-r-mu-wu Mammohammadhažijo-mu-wu
 this-II.SG two<II.SG>-SG.ERG this-II.SG-SG.ERG-and Mammagomedhadzhi(I)-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 [IV.SG]<IPFV>kill-IPFV-CVB [IV.SG]be.ITER [IV.SG]1SG.DAT day(IV)[SG.ABS]
 Oh, Allah, how they tormented me (lit. killed me the day).

00:02:55

Bž

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

- (35) *ɣummal-l-a hekl'en š:u-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' š:u-r-ši ikir*

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book(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]buy-IPFV-CVB [IV.SG]be.ITER
abizatel'na tu-w-mi-ʔ:u q'onq' ikir
for.sure(RUS) that-I.SG-SG.OBL-COMIT book(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]be.ITER
He bought books, there was a book with him (when he came back) for sure.

00:03:04

(37) os q'wet'u ʔib(t'u)
one two<IV.SG> three<IV.SG>
One, two, three (books).

Zz

(38) d-akki-so-s ʔiwij(t'u)-wu š:u-r-t:u-b sapor
II.SG-leave-please-XXX five<IV.SG>-and IV.SG.buy-IPFV-ATTR-III.SG trip(III)[SG.ABS]
be-ke-r-š- edi
III.SG-become-IPFV-CVB <III.SG>be.PST
Go away, there were trips when he would buy (even) five.

Bž

(39) labχanši-wu š:u-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 t'o obš:i-me-s
no(RUS) IV.SG.IPL.DAT say.PFV-CVB no all-PL.OBL-DAT
No, not just for us, for everyone.

Text 8 Sisters

Bž

- (42) net žu-s:-ut'u oklmu-s χudožestwennij q'ot
no(RUS) LOGOPH.OBL.M-dat-⟨IV.PL⟩ IV.PL.read-FIN fiction(RUS) book(IV).ABS.PL
tam po rabote han kwat'-ši χo-šaw q'ot
there for.work(RUS) what(IV)[SG.ABS] need-CVB IV.PL.find.PFV-CONC book(IV).ABS.PL
No, (he would buy) for himself fiction books to read, books needed for work, all sorts of books.

00:03:17 Zz

- (43) ličnaja biblioteka aɓa-s:e-r-ši to-t č'emna
personal library(RUS) ⟨III.SG⟩make-FIN-QUOT-CVB that-IV.SG time(IV)IN
os moda-li-t edi
one fashion(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP IV.SG.be.PST
bibloteka-t:u a-r-ši marči-maj q'ot g^waɾq'u-r-ši
library(III)-ABS.PL III.PL.do-IPFV-CVB all-PL.ERG book(IV).ABS.PL III.PL.⟨IPFV⟩gather-IPFV-CVB
Making personal library was in fashion then, everybody was gathering books (for their) personal libraries.

Bž

- (44) roman-gazeta-t:u han-hann-ib dan-dann-ib jem-im
XXX(RUS)-ABS.PL what-what-ATTR-PL where-where-ATTR-PL that.PL-PL
χilikl' sonna w-aɾkɫi-r-ši iɓdi
underarm III/IV.PL.hold.PFV-CVB I.SG.⟨IPFV⟩come-IPFV-CVB ⟨I.SG⟩be.PST
He would come holding all sort of staff under his arm, such as roman-gazeta.

00:03:26

- (45) χit:a buwa wa-r-ši eɾti ɕummal-l-a-r
then mother(II)[SG.ABS] say-IPFV-CVB ⟨II.SG⟩become.PFV life(IV)-SG.OBL-IN-RPRT
hekl'en š:ubu-s i-t'or iqna
thing(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]buy-FIN [IV.SG]be.PRS-NEG.RPRT day(IV).LOC
q'ot χir at:i-na w-aɾkɫi-r-er-ši eɾti
book(IV).PL.ABS behind [IV.PL]drive.PVF-CVB I.SG-come⟨IPFV⟩-IPFV-RPRT-CVB ⟨II.SG⟩become.PFV
Then mother said: you never bought anything, you always come back dragging some books behind.

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00:03:31

(46) χit:a χir-tu-t iqna uq^ʰi-t:u dunnil te-b
 then behind-ATTR-IV.SG day(IV).LOC I.SG.come.PFV-ATTR.I.SG a.lot this.PL-PL
 q^warbikl^ʰ-mul-če-n do:z-ub paket b-i
 sweet(IV)-PL-OBL.PL-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) χit:a ma-r bu-kne-r b-akl^ʰ-ba-r jas:a k^wa-t:u-t
 then take.IMP-RPRT III.SG-eat.IMP-RPRT III.SG-give-IMP-RPRT now [IV.SG]need-ATTR-IV.SG
 hek^ʰena i-ra-r dija-mu s:ob χa-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^wa-qi-ši 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) χit:a hek^ʰena eχni tus:ə-l-a-k aču-li
 then thing(IV)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>hang.PFV bag(III)-SG.OBL-IN-LAT [IV.PL]put.PFV-CVB
 tus:əra eχni wešalka-li-t
 bag(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>hang.PFV hook(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP
 Then...thing...hung...she put these things in the bag and hung the bag on the hook.

(49) χit:a buwa-mu el teni-š χat ac^ʰu-na
 then mother(II)-SG.ERG [IV.PL]1PL.DAT there-EL handful(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>fill.PFV-CVB
 k^ʰo-r-ši jas:a
 [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 o<ɾ>q^ʰa-li
 mother(II)[SG.ABS] work(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP-LAT <II.SG>leave.PFV-CVB
 zo:n-u Zumzu:m-u Asma:ɾ-u

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1.SG.ABS-and Zumzum(II)[SG.ABS]-and Asma(II)[SG.ABS]-and
 šʼortal lobur eχ:u-li
 together child(IV).PL.ABS 1PL.stay.PFV-EVID
 Mother went to work, we children, me, Zumzum and Asma stayed (at home) together.

(51) χit:a Zumzum bo durba bo qʷʷe-nn-im-maj
 then Zumzum(II)[SG.ABS] say.PFV lets'go say.PFV two-ATTR-PL-PL.ERG
 šʼortal qu:č-u gʷaq:'u-na χit:a χir
 together household(III)[SG.ABS]-and <III.SG>gather.PFV-CVB then behind
 nen<t'>u qʷʷarbikł'-mul kunne-qi buwa-s sin-t'u-mat
 1PL.EXCL.ERG<IV.SG> sweet(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL]eat-FUT mother(II)-SG.DAT know-NEG-CVB
 Then Zumzum said: come on, let's us two tidy up and then we will eat the sweets without mother knowing.

(52) tus:əl-l-a-k sak:u-qi
 bag(III)-SG.OBL-IN-LAT 1PL.look-FUT
 We will look inside the bag.

00:04:10

(53) χit:a os qʷʷet'>u ħib<t'>u qʷʷarbikł' oq'e zari gʷaq:'a-s
 then one two<IV.SG> three<IV.SG> sweet(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]give.IMP 1SG.ERG <III.SG>gather-FIN
 Then: "Give me one-two-three sweets for me to tidy up".

(54) χit:a
 then
 then...

Bb:

(55) Ahmadxan
 Akhmedkhan
 (She is like) Akhmedkhan.

Bž:

Text 8 Sisters

(56) kɫo ɦibɫ'ɔu q^warbikɫ' kɫo
 [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) to:-t-u kunne-li d-ak:ɛ os zon ja-t-mi a:c'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 jonsuw-t:u-t ɦibɫ'ɔu oq'e g^waɫbɫq:'u-qi
 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) χit:a ik'-mi-s eku ha kɫo-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^waɫbɫq:'o:t'-irk:u-s š^oortal
 <III.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'i-ši do-χo-qi χit:a jamu-t č'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.

Bž:

(60) gel-k'oč'o čučəbo-s: i daki wikɫ-mikɫijɫ'ɔu
 mug(III)-plate(IV)[ABS.SGS] wash-FIN [IV.SG]be.PRS why seven-eight<IV.SG>
 adam-li-n nokɫ' ekɫ'a-s i
 person(IV)-SG.OBL-GEN house(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]sweep-FIN [IV.SG]be.PRS
 mas-mul g^waq'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.

Text 8 Sisters

Zz

(61) č'ut daɓɓɔχi-s b-i daki
pitcher(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>beat-FIN III.SG-be.PRS why
There is butter to make. (by rocking the pitcher)

Bž:

(62) ha č'ut haraši č'ut daɓɓɔχi-r-ši b-ikir-muχur
yes pitcher(III)[SG.ABS] before pitcher(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>beat-IPFV-CVB III.SG-be.HAB-WHEN
č'ut daɓɓɔχi-s b-i
pitcher(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>beat-FIN [III.SG]be.PRS
ɬ:an ac'a-s i
water(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]fill-FIN [IV.SG]be.PRS
i-t'u-t-u-t ari i-t'u
[IV.SG]be.PRS-NEG-ATTR-IV.SG work(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]be.PRS-NEG
Ah, yes, the jug, then we used to rock the pitcher (to make butter), so there is butter to make, water to bring, all sorts of work there was. (=a non-existing job there wasn't)

Zz:

(63) χ^ɛeχ^ɛ-mul eɬ:a-s i jas:a k'olma-t:-ib
ferment-MSD(IV)[SG.ABS] (IV.SG)put-FIN [IV.SG]be.PRS then different-ATTR-PL
oci:i-s i-kir-t'u hinc baran halɬ:a-ši ett'u
[IV.SG]stop-FIN [IV.SG]be-HAB-NEG now like be.easy-CVB [IV.SG]become.PFV.NEG
to-t č'emna
that-IV.SG time(IV)LOC
There was dough to start, well, it was different, there was no time to stop, as it is now, it was not easy.

00:04:45

Bž:

(64) χit:a kɬo jamu:-t:-u
then [IV.SG]give.PFV that-IV.SG-and
Then I gave her that.

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 ʔ:an ac'a-s χaɾti
 1SG.ABS water(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]fill-FIN <II.SG>go.FUT
 You said: you (Zumzum), do the washing up, and I will go and get the water.

(66) harak aču-li te-b laq^sa-laq'a-ti-b
 in.front [IV.PL]put.PFV-CVB that.PL-PL be.multicoloured-RDP-ATTR-PL
 rang-rang-li-n-n-ib q^warbikʔ-mul edi
 colour(IV)-RDP-SG.OBL-GEN-ATTR-PL sweet(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL]be.PST
 te:b-u harak aču-li
 that.PL-PL-and in.front [IV.PL]put.PFV-CVB
 daq^a-daq^a-r-ši q'aɾdi-li d-i
 laugh-RDP-IPFV-CVB <II.SG>sit.PFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
 gel-k'oč'o-wu eʔ:u-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'aɾdi zumzum?
 why <II.SG>sit.PFV zumzum
 Why are you sitting, Zumzum? (lit.: why have you sat down?).

(68) ha os ha je-b han-nu-t i:z-u-t irk:u-s
 well one well this.PL-PL what-ATTR-IV.SG be.sweet-ATTR-IV.SG [IV.SG]look-FIN
 k^wan-ši k^wan-ši q'aɾdi-li d-i-t:u-r
 [IV.SG]eat-IPFV-CVB [IV.SG]eat-IPFV-CVB <II.SG>sit.PFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS-ATTR-II.SG
 Well, I am eating them to see which ones are sweet. (pronounced q'ardi-l dit:ur)

(69) eti q^sweɾu-mi-n anχ:-um

Text 8 Sisters

[IV.PL]become.PFV <II.SG>two-SG.OBL-GEN fight(IV)-PL.ABS
We two had a fight.

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) e^swwur-ši zon quč g^wwaq'a-r-ši d-i
cry-IPFV-CVB 1SG.ABS household(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>gather-IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
a godo-r te-b-u s:ebe-k aɾča-r-ši
and(RUS) that-II.SG that.PL-PL-and mouth(IV).SG.OBL-LAT [IV.PL]<IPFV>put-IPFV-CVB
q'aɾdi-li d-i
<II.SG>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:ˀa-s aɾu bec:ˀu-t'u
<II.SG>lose-FIN <II.SG>do.PFV be.able-PFV-NEG
I was not able to make her do anything.

(73) huleɾɔ:ɪ-t'u ari za-ɬ:u uw-t'u
???<II.SG>become.PFV-NEG work(IV)[SG.ABS] 1SG.OBL-COMIT [IV.SG]do.PFV-NEG
quč g^wwaq'u-t'u jamu-r laha
household(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>gather.PFV-NEG this-II.SG girl(II).SG.ERG
This girl did not do any work with me, did not tidy up the house.

00:05:19

(74) χit:a buwa da-q'a qimis zari g^waq'u-li i:k'en
then mother(II)[SG.ABS] II.SG-come-PFV at.midday 1SG.ERG <III.SG>gather.PFV-EVID everything
Then mother came (home) at midday, I have tidied (it) all (by then).

Text 8 Sisters

(75) buwa-n nastraenie aɾkʰi-r-ši edi
 mother(II)-SG.GEN good.mood(IV)[SG.ABS] <IPFV>come-IPFV-CVB [IV.SG]be.PST
 quč g^waɁq'u-muχur
 household(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>gather.PFV-WHEN
 lapijɾu χ:^wari de-ke-r-ši d-ikir jas:a
 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 ik'en hibat:-ib doš:ob g^waɁq'u-li-ra
 WAJO everything good-PL girl(II).PL.ABS <III.SG>gather.PFV-EVID-QUEST
 Hey, good girls, didn't they tidy up everything.

00:05:31

(77) is nibqi-n go^rro^s-t:u he^rqi-r-ši
 [IV.PL]1SG.GEN tear(IV).SG.OBL-GEN ball(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL]<IPFV>go-IPFV-CVB
 And my tears are rolling down.

(78) bala-ši ez godo-r-mi jemmet teb q^warbikʰ-mul k^wan-ši
 hurt-CVB [IV.SG]1SG.DAT that-II.SG-SG.ERG thus that-PL sweet(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL]eat.IPFV-CVB
 q'arɁdi-li a zon jamu-t a-s aɾk'u-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) χit:a ik'en bo buwa-r-ši zari-jɁ'u uw bo
 then everything say.PFV mother(II)-CONT-ALL 1SG.ERG<IV.SG> [IV.SG]do.PFV say.PFV
 Zumzum-li nac' uw-t'u 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

Text 8 Sisters

(80) dak-er heloww-er eχ:⁵-ut gerk:e-r-ši q'aɾdi-l-er
 why-RPRT ???-RPRT cheek(IV)-PL.ABS hang.over-IPFV-CVB <II.SG>sit.down.PFV-EVID-RPRT
 Why, (mother) says, you are sitting (here), she says, with cheeks hanging over (stuffed cheeks).

(81) zari buwo: q^warbikɫ'-mul kunne
 I.SG.ERG mother(II).VOC sweet(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL]eat.PFV
 aɾc:'en q^warbikɫ'-mul kunne
 <II.SG>fill.until sweet(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL]eat.PFV
 (Zumzum says): I, mother, ate the sweets, until I was full.'

(82) ja jar ɫ:i aɾk'u-li eɾd-er¹ un-er tus:əl-l-a-k
 well well who.ERG <II.SG>drive.PFV-CVB <II.SG>be.PST-RPRT 2SG.NOM.RPRT bag(IV)-SG.OBL-IN-LAT
 saɾk:e-s:-er c'iχdi du-χ:a-s:-er buwa-mu ja-r-mi-ti-k
 <II.SG>look-FIN-RPRT steal II.SG-steal-FIN-RPRT Imother(II)-SG.ERG that-II.SG-SG.OBL-SUP-LAT
 q^sara-s: eɾχdi
 angry-FIN <II.SG>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
 I.SG.DAT heart(IV)-SG.OBL-DAT [IV.SG]fall.PFV one be.good-CVB
 daɫ:eɾ:ti-l-dikini ik^w eɫ:en
 beat.up<II.SG>-EVID-APPROB heart(IV)[SG.ABS] ???
 I thought: it will be good if mother beats her up properly.

(84) χit:a hekɫ'ena buwa-mu daydi godo-r-m-is t'i-ši
 then thing(IV)[SG.ABS] mother(II)-SG.ERG hit.PFV that-II.SG-SG.OBL-DAT be.little.CVB
 daydi-tijɾu e^smmu-s bijeɾɫu huhuɫ bo-li godo-r

¹ Pronounced ark'ulerder

Text 8 Sisters

hit.PFV-EMPH<II.SG> cry-FIN <II.SG>begin.PFV HUHU say.PFV that-II.SG.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 e^hmmu-s bijeɾɾɿ
be.little-CVB-CONC hit.PFV-NEG hit.PFV-NEG-CONC cry-FIN <II.SG>begin.PFV
Though (mother) only hit her a little, (she) started crying.

(86) e^hwwur-ši q'aɾdi q'aɾdi χit:a ez ik'-mi-s eku
cry-CVB <II.SG>sit.down.PFV <II.SG>sit.down.PFV then 1SG.DAT heart(IV)-SG.OBL-DAT[IV.SG]fall.PFV
ha godo-r e^hmmu-s:en-nu-r e^hmmu jas:a
well that-II.SG.ABS cry-FIN-XXX-ATTR-II.SG cry.PFV then
She was sitting there, crying and I thought: well, at least she's crying now.

Zz

(87) piriq'a eɾti
be.peaceful <II.SG>become.PFV
(You) calmed down.