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## Granddad (Uspan-Magomed)

- (1) ulu dozja uq<sup>ʃ</sup>a-li i<w>di-li šat:a-ši  
 I.SG.PL.EXCL.GEN granddad(I)[SG.ABS] I.SG.go.PFV-CVB <I.SG>be.PAST-EVID Chittab-ALL  
 ganasi š:ubu-s  
 plough(IV)[SG.ABS] IV.SG.buy-FINALIS  
 Our granddad went to Chittab to buy a plough.
- (2) nokʔ-a-t:ib dija-t:aj tʼaluw-li  
 house(IV)-SG.LOC-ATTR-PL father(I)-PL.ERG send.I.SG.PFV-EVID  
 Elders (lit. house fathers) sent him.
- (3) χit:a deq<sup>ʃ</sup>-li-t χu<sup>w</sup>-t:u-ma  
 then road(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP find.I.SG.PFV-ATTR-CVB.LOC  
 tu-w-mi wa-r-ši-wa-r-ši žu-s:u<tʼ>u  
 that-I.SG-SG.ERG speak-IPFV-CVB.RPD LOGOPH.OBL.M-DAT<IV.SG>  
 exmu-s i-tʼaw puruz š:ubu-s-er-ši jat:i-q<sup>ʃ</sup>-t:a  
 IV.SG.forget-FINALIS [IV.SG]be.PRS-CVB.NEG puruz [IV.SG]buy-FINALIS-RPRT-CVB Avar-INTER-INCESS  
 Then while on the road he was repeating to himself, not to forget, *puruz* to buy, in Avar.
- (4) χit:a kana-k i<w>di-muxur eχni-li oq<sup>ʃ</sup>a-li  
 then there-LAT <I.SG>be.PAST-WHEN [IV.SG]forget.PFV-CVB [IV.SG]leave.PFV-EVID  
 Then, when he was there, he forgot.
- (5) to-w-mi kana-k bo-li okʔi-mokʔor  
 that-I.SG-SG.ERG there-LAT say.PFV-EVID yoke(IV)-stick(III)[SG.ABS]

kʰan      peʰkʰe      bo-li  
 want      give      say.PFV-EVID  
 There he said yoke-stick (Archi) want, give (Avar) said.

- (6)    tij-me-s            han-i-ti-k            war-e:nu      sin-t'aw  
 those-OBL.PL-DAT    what(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP-LAT    say.IPFV-PRT    know-CVB.NEG  
 ja-t      ak:u-s            uw-li  
 this-IV.SG    [IV.SG]see-FINALIS    IV.SG.make.PFV-EVID  
 to-t      ak:u-s            uw-li  
 that-IV.SG    [IV.SG]see-FINALIS    IV.SG.make.PFV-EVID  
 ak:u-s      ʃalam-i-t:-ij<t'u      eχ:u-li-t'u  
 [IV.SG]see-FINALIS    curiosity(IV)-(IV.SG)EMPH    IV.SG.stay-EVID-NEG  
 Them, having not known which thing he called that (lit. “not knowing on what he was saying” (*okl'i-mokl'or* in (5)). (They) showed him this, showed him that, until there were no curiosities left to show.

- (7)    nokʰa            i-jnut  
 house(IV).INESS    [IV.SG]be.PRS-PRT  
 Everything that was in the house.

- (8)    aχilit:u    ganasi            ak:u-s            uw-li  
 at.last    plough(IV)[SG.ABS]    [IV.SG]see-FINALIS    IV.SG.make.PFV-EVID  
 In the end they show him the plough.

- (9)    χit:a      to-t:-u            kʰo-li  
 then      that-IV.SG-and    [IV.SG]give.PFV-EVID  
 ganasi-li-ti-k            jat:i-qʰ-t:a      puruc    war  
 plough(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP-LAT    avar-INTER-INESS    puruc    say.IPFV  
 Then they give him that one. The plough is *puruc* in Avar.

- (10)    a      to-w-mi-s            to-t            eχni-li            oqʰa-li            edi-li

but that-I.SG-SG.OBL-DAT that-IV.SG[ABS] [IV.SG]forget.PFV-CVB [IV.SG]leave.PFV-CVB IV.SG-be.PAST-EVID  
 tu-w q<sup>ʃ</sup>a-ši kuwšu-li  
 that.one-I.SG[ABS] be.wrong-CVB happen.I.SG.PFV-EVID  
 It turned out he had forgotten it, he happened to be wrong.

(11) jati-k e<b>di-li tij-mej to-t ak:u-s uw-li  
 there-LAT <I/II.PL>be.PAST-EVID 3PL-PL.ERG that.one-IV.SG IV.SG.see-FINALIS IV.SG.make.PFV-EVID  
 tu-w-mu hu bo-li axilit:u kɫo-li duχaj q<sup>ʃw</sup>a  
 that.one-I.SG-SG.ERG yes say.PFV-CVB at.last IV.SG-give.PFV-CVB upstream I.SG.come.PFV  
 When they there showed him the plough, he said: “yes” and finally, they having gave it to him, he came back  
 (to Archi).